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V.II.

The Effigies of Mr. Jn. Nieuhoff.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Remarkable
VOYAGES & TRAVELLS into ye
best Provinces of ye West and East Indies.
VOL. II.

A

COLLECTION

OF

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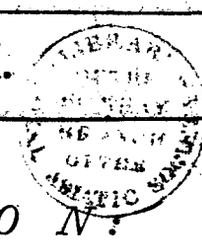

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For JOHN WALTHOE, over-againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*; THO. WOTTON, at the *Queen's-Head* and *Three Daggers* over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church, in *Fleet-ſtreet*; SAMUEL BIRT, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, *Ludgate-ſtreet*; DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; THOMAS OSBORN, in *Gray's-Inn*; JOHN SHUCKBURGH, at the *Sun*, next the *Inner-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleetſtreet*; and HENRY LINTOT, at the *Croſs-Keys*, againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church, in *Fleetſtreet*. M DCC XXXII.

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VOYAGES

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO *BRASIL* AND THE *EAST-INDIES*.

CONTAINING,

An exact Deſcription of the *DUTCH BRASIL*, and divers Parts of the *EAST-INDIES*; their PROVINCES, CITIES, LIVING CREATURES, and PRODUCTS; the MANNERS, CUSTOMS, HABITS, and RELIGION of the INHABITANTS:

WITH

A particular ACCOUNT of all the remarkable Paſſages that happened during the Author's ſtay of nine Years in *BRASIL*; eſpecially in Relation to the REVOLT of the *Portugueſe*, and the inteſtine War carried on there from 1640, to 1649.

AS ALSO

A moſt ample Deſcription of the moſt famous City of *BATAVIA* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. By Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF*.

Both adorned with COPPER PLATES, done after the Life. Tranſlated from the *Dutch* Original.

ADVERTISEMENT to the READER.

IT *is about nineteen years ſince my brother,* John Nieuhoff, *juſt before his ſecond voyage into the* Indies, *preſented me with his deſcription of* China, *and certain draughts he had made during his embaſſy in that empire, which being afterwards publiſhed, were ſoon after tranſlated into ſix ſeveral languages.*

My brother had, before that time, not only been in Braſil, *and ſeveral other places in thoſe parts, but alſo ſince that time, has had the opportunity of travelling through a great part of* Aſia, *till* 1671. *when returning into* Holland, *he brought along with him all his papers, obſervations, and draughts, he had collected during his voyages; which, though much coveted by all curious perſons, yet, for ſome reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he did not think fit to commit to publick view.*

But, after his deceaſe, conſidering with myſelf, that ſuch uſeful collections ought not to be buried in oblivion, I thought fit to publiſh them for the publick good.

As thoſe things which he relates of the revolt of the Portugueſe *in* Braſil, *are extracted* verbatim *out of the records kept during my brother's abode of nine years in* Braſil, *under the government of the lords,* Henry Hamel, Peter Bas, *and* Adrian Bulleſtrate, *and authentick letters; ſo the truth thereof admits not of the leaſt doubt from unbiaſs'd perſons.*

The vaſt countries through which my brother travell'd in his life-time, as Braſil, *part of* Perſia, Malabar, Madura, Coromandel, Amboyna, Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Tagowan, *and part of* China, *beſides many iſlands, could not in the leaſt infect him with that diſeaſe, ſo incident to travellers, to relate fables inſtead of hiſtories, it having been his conſtant practice, to adhere moſt religiouſly in all his treatiſes, to the naked truth, without the leaſt diſguiſe.*

His laſt voyage to the iſle of Madagaſcar, *where he was loſt, I have taken partly out of his own letters, partly out of the journal of captain* Reinard Claeſon, *which he brought along with him from thence.*

As to his perſon, I will only add thus much: He was born at Uſſen, *in the earldom of* Benthem, *(where his father, brother, and brother-in-law, were all three Burgomaſters) of a good family, the* 22d *of* July 1618. *He was a comely perſon, of a good underſtanding, good humour'd, and agreeable in converſation; a great admirer of poeſy, drawing, and muſick: As he delighted in travelling, ſo he was thereby become maſter of divers languages: In what ſtation he lived during his abode in* Braſil, *and the* Eaſt-Indies, *will beſt appear by the two following treatiſes.*

HENRY NIEUHOFF.

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A Braſilian

Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF's*

REMARKABLE

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS

TO

BRASIL.

1640. IN the year 1640, I entred into the ſervice of the *Weſt-India* company, and on the 24th of *October*, went in the quality of merchant ſupercargo, aboard the ſhip called the *Roebuck*, of 28 guns and 130 men, commanded by *Nicholas Selles* of *Durkendam*. We ſet ſail out of the *Texel* the ſame day, in company of ſeveral other veſſels bound for *France*, *Spain* and the *Streights*; and purſued our voyage the 28th with a favourable gale through the channel betwixt *France* and *England*.

His departure out of Holland.

On the 29th we were overtaken with a moſt violent tempeſt, which obliged us to take in all our great ſails: It continued from morning to night, when the fury of the winds being ſomewhat allay'd, we found that we had eſcaped without any conſiderable damage; but the ſea continued very turbulent all that night. The next day following our ſeamen catch'd a wood ſnipe, a wild pidgeon, and ſeveral other ſmall birds; which were forc'd into the ſea by the violence of the ſtorm.

A violent ſtorm.

On the 31st we found ourſelves under the 45th degree of northern latitude. The next morning being the firſt of *November*, ſome of our ſeamen catch'd a ſea-hog by the means of a harpeon: It was ſo big, that four men could ſcarce lift it into the ſhip. It's taſte was not very agreeable, but rankiſh, which was the reaſon our men did not catch any more of them, though they ſwam in vaſt numbers round about our veſſel. By ſun-ſet the wind beginning to encreaſe, we parted from the other ſhips, bound for *Spain* and the *Streights*, which were not ſeparated from us in the laſt ſtorm, ſteering our courſe ſouth-weſt. The 2d and 3d it blew very hard, with thunder and lightning, ſo that we were forc'd to take in all our great ſails, and the ſhip being very leaky ever ſince the laſt tempeſt, to ply the pump with all our might.

Another, moſt violent ſtorm.

The 4th we found ourſelves under the 40 deg. 30 min. when about midnight the wind encreaſed with ſo much violence, that the air which ſurrounded us, appearing no otherwiſe than one continual fire, occaſion'd by the lightning, which ſcarce ever ceas'd all that night. During this calamity we perceived certain ſmall fires or lights fix'd to the maſt: They are called *Peaceable's fires* by the ſeamen. Theſe fires are ſuppos'd to be certain ſulphureous vapours, forc'd by the violence of the winds from the ſhore into the ſea, where being lightned by the violent agitation of the air, they burn till their oily ſubſtance be conſumed. The ſeamen look upon them as a good omen, that the ſtorm is going to abate; which prov'd true in effect, the fury of the winds beginning to allay from that

Wild-fire.

that time; and we had the good fortune to diſcover two leaks near our forecaſtle, which elſe might have prov'd of dangerous conſequence.

They paſs the Barrels. The 5th we paſs'd the *Barrels*, under the 39th degree; where according to an antient cuſtom, every one, of what quality or degree ſoever, that has not paſſed there before, is obliged to be baptized, or redeem himſelf from it. He that is to be baptized, has a rope tied round his middle, wherewith he is drawn up to the very top of the bowſprit, and from thence three times ſucceſſively tumbled into the water. There were ſome who look'd very blank upon the Matter, but others went cheerfully about it, and for a meaſure of *Spaniſh* wine, ſuffered themſelves to be rebaptized for the maſter and the merchant. But this cuſtom is aboliſhed of late years, by ſpecial orders from the governors of the company, to avoid broils and quarrels, which uſed often to ariſe upon this occaſion.

The 6th, as we were ſteering our courſe *S. S. W.* with a freſh gale, we deſcried two veſſels, making all the ſail they could towards us, whom we ſuppoſed to be *Turkiſh* pirates (as indeed they proved afterwards) it was reſolved to defend us till the utmoſt extremity. Accordingly orders were given to clear every thing upon the deck, and to furniſh the ſeamen with muſquets, hangers, pikes, and other ſuch like weapons. Every one having taken his ſtation, we put up the bloody flag, and expected their coming under the ſound of our trumpets. The maſter of the ſhip, being all that time very ill of ſome wounds he had received formerly, which were now broken up afreſh; and the commiſſary *Francis Zweers*, not being in a condition, by reaſon of his great age, to remain upon deck, I was fain to undertake the whole management of the ſhip, and encouraged them to fight bravely for their lives and liberty, ordering them not to fire at all, till they were in their full reach, they being much better mann'd than we.

They diſcover two Turkiſh *veſſels.*

Prepare for an engagement.

About noon we ſaw the *Turks* make up towards us with orange-colour'd flags, which however they ſoon after changed for the bloody flags, and the biggeſt of them ſaluted us with two cannon ſhot out of his forecaſtle, without doing us the leaſt harm, but the ſecond time almoſt ſhot our foremaſt in pieces. In the mean while we were come ſo near to one another, that we ſent them a good broadſide into their ſhip, which the *Turks* repay'd us immediately; but it was not long before we obſerv'd the biggeſt of the two had received a ſhot betwixt wind and water, which made her keep at ſome farther diſtance, till ſhe had repaired her damage, which gave me opportunity to encourage our people with words, and a good proportion of wine; which they mix'd with ſome gunpowder, and I, to pleaſe them, followed their example.

An engagement with two Turkiſh *rovers.*

By this time they returned both to the charge, and ſaluted us ſo fiercely with their cannon and ſmall ſhot, that they took away the roof of our great cabin, and did us ſome damage in our rigging. I then changed my ſcimeter for a muſquet, and diſcharged continually upon the enemy, and I found myſelf ſore ſeveral weeks after, by the hurt I received from a muſquet of one that ſtood hard by me, which being by a cannon ball forced out of his hands againſt my body, I fell down ſtretch'd all along upon the deck, without ſenſe or motion; but having after ſome time recovered myſelf, I returned to my poſt. I then perceived the captain of the biggeſt *Turkiſh* ſhip with a turbant on his head, in the ſtern, encouraging his men, which made me order thoſe about me, to aim at him with their ſmall ſhot, which, as I ſuppoſe, ſucceeded according to our hopes, it being not long before we loſt ſight of him. Notwithſtanding this, the heat of the fight encreaſed on both ſides, many broadſides paſſing betwixt us, accompanied with moſt dreadful outcries and lamentations of the wounded on both ſides. However, the *Turks* durſt not attempt to board us; whether it were that they thought us better mann'd than really we were, or that they feared we would ſet fire to the ſhip, which we threatned we would, ſhewing them a match ready for that purpoſe. They anſwered us in *Dutch*, that they would not part with us upon thoſe terms; yet was it not long before we ſaw them make away from us, having received many ſhots thro' their ſhips; and we with a briſk gale, made all the ſail we could to be rid of theſe unwelcome gueſts, ſteering a quite different courſe, which with the advantage of the darkneſs of the night, brought us quite out of ſight of them by next morning.

The Turks *leave the fight.*

We gave thanks to God for his having delivered us from the danger of ſlavery, and crowning our endeavours with ſucceſs againſt an enemy much ſtronger than us, the biggeſt of them carrying twenty-four guns, and the other two; whereas we had no more than eighteen, beſides that they were much better mann'd than we. After having taken a view of our ſhip, and found it ſound under water, we betook ourſelves to repair the damage we had received during the fight; but whilſt we were buſy in this work, we were on the 7th ſurprized by ſo violent a ſtorm, that we were forced to

take

1640. take in all our ſails. This put us to a great nonplus, but by good fortune the ſtorm blew ſoon over, when orders were given to give an Allowance of three pounds and a half of biſket *per* week to the ſeamen, all our other bread being become muſty by that time. The 10th we found ourſelves under the 39th deg. and 30 min. about 20 leagues off of the *Canary Iſlands*; here we diſcovered the pike of *Tenariff*, being two leagues and a half high, and accounted the higheſt mountain in the world. It may be diſcovered at 60 leagues diſtance from the ſhore. Thus we continued our voyage till the 14th, without any memorable accident, when we paſſed the tropick of *Cancer*. About noon we were overtaken by another ſtorm, which made us take in moſt of our great ſails, for fear of the worſt, but it laſted not long.

This tract of the ſea is called by the *Dutch*, the *Kroos Sea*; by the *Portugueſe*, *Mar del Aragaco* (or *Largaco*, or *Suargaco*) i. e. *The Sea of Ducks-meat*, becauſe hereabouts, *viz.* from the 18th to the 30th degree, or as ſome will have it, from the 20th to the 22d and 23d degree of northern latitude, it is found in great quantity, and carried along with the ſtream: Its leaves are of a pale green colour, like that of parrots, ſmall, thin and carved at the end. It bears berries of the ſame colour, about the bigneſs of a pepper corn, that are quite hollow, without any ſeed within or taſte. It is ſometimes ſo cloſely twiſted together, that it ſtops a ſhip in its full courſe; tho' we had the good fortune to paſs thro' it without much difficulty, being then about 400 leagues from the coaſt of *Africk*, where are no iſlands nor anchorage. It may be pickled with ſalt and pepper, and uſed like as we do capers, being accounted a good remedy againſt the gravel. It is generally found without roots, having only a few thin ſprouts, which, as it is ſuppoſed, take root in the ſandy grounds of the ſea; tho' others are of opinion, that it is carried by the violence of the ſtream from the iſlands into the ſea.

The 18th, one of our ſhips crew died, who was the next day thrown overboard, at which time I obſerved, what indeed I had heard often before, that the dead carcaſſes always float with their heads to the eaſt at ſea.

Travado, what. The 22d we were overtaken by another tempeſt, called *Travado*, which with horrible thunder and lightning ſurprizes the ſhips ſo ſuddenly, that they have ſcarce leiſure to take in their ſails, and ſometimes returns three times in an hour. We catch'd here abundance of fiſh, ſuch as *Bonytes* of ten foot long, and *Korets*, and a great lamprey, which we had enough to do to bring aboard; we only took out the brains, being look'd upon as a ſovereign remedy againſt the ſtone in the bladder, the fleſh being of an oily taſte. 1640.

They catch abundance of fiſh.

The 24th we ſaw great quantities of ſmall birds about our veſſel, and catch'd one not unlike a crane, but ſomewhat ſmaller, it being a very fair day.

The 26th, being under the fifth degree, 47 minutes, we were ſo becalmed that we could not perceive the ſhip to move, and ſpent our time in catching of fiſh, of which we had ſuch plenty, that we choſe only the beſt for our eating; among the reſt we met with a fiſh called the *king's-fiſh*: For by reaſon of the impenetrable depth of the ſea in this place, the waters are ſo clear and tranſparent in ſtill weather, that you may ſee the fiſh in vaſt numbers ſwimming near two feet deep; ſo that you need but faſten a crooked nail or any thing elſe like a hook to a ſtring, and hanging it in the ſea, you may catch as many fiſh as you pleaſe. This calm was followed by a moſt violent ſtorm of rain.

The 30th we found ourſelves under the fourth degree, 41 minutes, where we ſaw abundance of *flying fiſh*.

The 3d of *December* we came under the firſt degree, 30 minutes, where we met with millions of fiſh, and did catch as many as we thought fit: Some we put in ſalt, others we rubbed in the belly with pepper and ſalt, and hung them up by the tail in the ſun.

The 4th, by break of day, being very clear weather, we ſaw the iſland of *St. Paulo*, as it is called by the *Portugueſe*, which at a diſtance repreſents a ſail, which as you approach nearer to it, proves five high rocks. About noon we found ourſelves at 53 minutes of northern latitude, taking our courſe five leagues to the weſt. Here at ſeveral times we catch'd ſome ſea-gulls; thoſe birds make a ſhew as if they would bite you, but remain unmoveable in the place, till they are caught or kill'd.

They diſcover the iſland of St. Paulo.

The 5th, about eleven a clock we paſſed the equinoctial line, ſo that in the afternoon we found ourſelves at five minutes ſouthern latitude, where we had but little reaſon to complain of cold; it being often ſo calm here, that ſhips are forced to ſpend a conſiderable time in paſſing this tract. It is extreamly hot here, and great ſcarcity of good and ſweet water, the rain water being not wholeſome, but cauſing the ſcurvy, by reaſon of its being corrupted by the violent heat of ſun.

About three years after my arrival in *Braſil*, a certan *Portugueſe* ſhip was found adrift under the equinoctial line, without

1643. any living creature in it, which according to the journal, had been ſix whole weeks under the line. We had a very good paſſage, and catched abundance of fiſh, and among the reſt a certain fiſh called the *Blower*, which ſwallow a conſiderable quantity of water in their guts, and then at once ſpout it forth again. They will follow the ſhips for a long time.

They paſs the Equinoctial Line.

The 8th we paſſed by the iſle called *Ilha Ferdinando* of *Neronha*; it being very ſerene weather, we ſaw vaſt numbers of birds, and whole ſhoals of flying fiſh, which were followed by the *Bonytes* and *Korets*.

The Iſle of Ferdinando.

The iſland of *Ferdinando* of *Neronha*, ſituate under the fourth degree of ſouthern latitude, about fifty leagues from the coaſt of *Braſil*, was about the year 1630. inhabited by the *Dutch*, but by reaſon of the vaſt numbers of rats, which conſumed all the fruits of the earth, deſerted by them a few years after; it being otherwiſe a very fruitful iſland, and abounding with fiſh, the inhabitants of *Reeief* being uſed to ſend their fiſherboats thither, which return commonly well freighted with fiſh. The council of *Braſil* did afterwards ſend a certain number of negroes thither, under the conduct of one *Gellis Vepant*, to cultivate the ground for their ſubſiſtence, who likewiſe ſtayed there for ſome time. About a year and a half after, the council of juſtice baniſhed ſeveral malefactors into that iſland, who being furniſhed with neceſſary inſtruments for cultivating the ground, were forced to ſeek for their ſuſtenance there.

The 11th at night we found ourſelves under the ſeventh degree, over againſt the province of *Goyana*, about twenty leagues on this ſide of *Olinda*; with break of day we ſaw the ſhore of *Braſil*, but kept out at ſea till it was broad day.

The 12th it was very foggy, and we kept our courſe with fair wind and water all along the coaſt, and arrived before noon ſafely near the *Recief*, where we caſt our anchor at ſeveral fathoms depth, after we had ſpent ſeven weeks and one day in the voyage.

Their Arrival in Braſil.

After we had returned our thanks to God for his deliverance from the dangers of the ſea, and ſlavery of the *Turks*; I went aſhore the ſame night with the maſter and commiſſary in a boat, to notify our happy arrival, and to deliver a letter to count *Maurice*, and the governor of the council. I continued aſhore that night, but returned aboard the next day. And,

The 15th the pilots conducted our veſſel into the harbour of the *Recief*, where we found twenty-eight veſſels and two yachts lying behind the *Water Caſtel*.

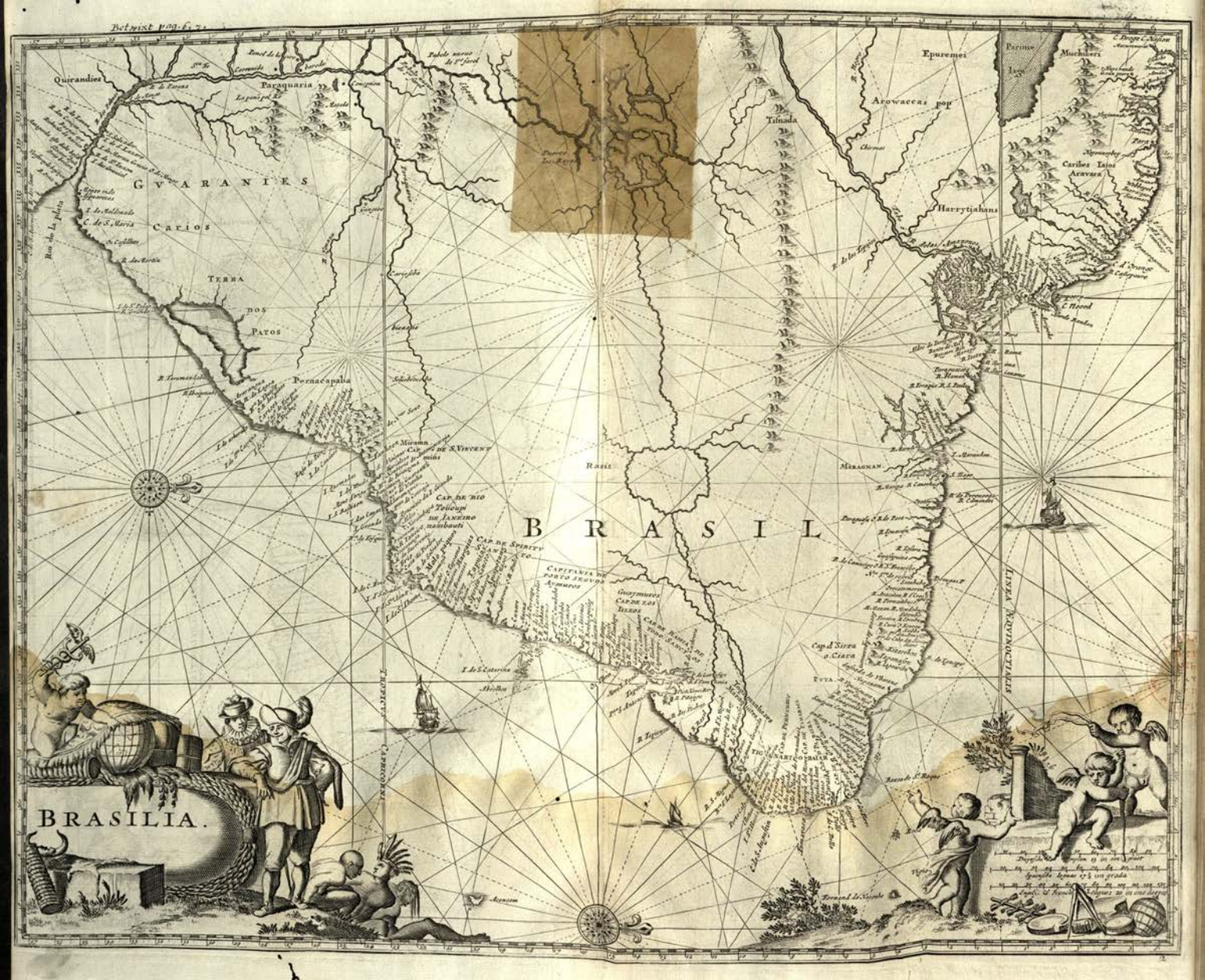
1643. Towards the latter end of *Auguſt* 1643, I received orders from the council to ſail with the yacht called the *Sea-Hog*, loaden with fullers-earth to the iſle of St. *Thomas*, to exchange it for black ſugar, this being the chief commodity tranſported from thence. My voyage proved fortunate enough, not meeting with any miniſter accident, except with a violent tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rains, and came the 9th of *September* at an anchor there; the cargoe did bear no good price, yet after a ſtay of fourteen days, I returned with a cargoe of black ſugar to *Braſil*, where I arrived the 3d of *October* before the *Recief*, after a voyage of near three months. 1643.

The Iſland of St. Thomas.

The iſle of St. *Thomas* is of a circular figure, about thirty-ſix leagues in compaſs; the high mountains in the midſt of that iſland are always covered with ſnow, notwithſtanding that in the low grounds, by reaſon of its ſituation under the line, it is exceſſive hot. It is very fertile in black ſugar and ginger; the ſugar-fields being continually moiſtned by the melted ſnow that falls down from the mountains. There were at that time above ſixty ſugar mills there, but the air is the moſt unwholſome in the world, no foreigner daring to ſtay ſo much as one night aſhore, without running the hazard of his life; becauſe by the heat of the ſun beams ſuch venomous vapours are drawn from the earth, as are unſupportable to ſtrangers. This fog continues till about ten a clock in the morning, when the ſame is diſperſed, and the air cleared, which made us always ſtay aboard till after that time. This miſt is not obſerved at ſea.

The air here is very hot and moiſt throughout the year, except in the ſummer about *June*, when the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt winds abate much of the heat of the climate. The vapours drawn up by the ſun, occaſion certain epidemical intermittent fevers, which carry off the patient in a few days, with exceſſive pains in the head, and violent torments in the bowels; though ſome attribute it to the immoderate uſe of women, and of the juice of *Coco*'s. Certain is it, that among a hundred foreigners, ſcarce ten eſcape with life, and thoſe ſeldom live till fifty years of age; though ſome of the inhabitants, as likewiſe the negroes (who are all louſy here) live to a great age. Its firſt inhabitants were *Jews*, baniſhed out of *Portugal*; they are of a very odd complexion. Among the mountains dwell abundance of negroes, who are run away from the *Portugueſe*, and make ſometimes excurſions to the very gates of the city of *Pavaoſa*. It is almoſt next to a miracle, that any people ſhould inhabit ſo unwholſome a climate; but that the hopes of lucre makes all danger eaſy.

The city of *Pavaoſa*, belonging to this iſland


Betwixt pag. 6. 7.
BRASILIA.
BRASIL
GVARANIES
Carios
TERRA DOS PATOS
Quirandies
Paraquaria
Pernacapaba
Arowaccas pop
Tisnada
Epuremei
Parime
Muchiberi
Caribes Iaios
Aravaca
Harrytiahans
Rio de la plata
C. de S. Maria
Cap. de S. Vincent
Cap. de Rio de Janeiro
Cap. de Spiritu Santo
Capitania de Porto Seguro
Cap. de Sierra o Ciara
Cap. d'Orange
C. Hoond
Maragnan
Tropicus Capricorni
Linea Aequinoctialis

1643. island, is situate upon a rivulet; it contains about eight hundred houses, and three churches. This city, as well as the whole island, was 1641, *October* 16, conquered by the admiral *Cornelius Tol*, after a siege of forty days, without any considerable loss; but both he and his lieutenant, as well as several other commanders and many seamen, were swept away by this pestilential air; and of three hundred *Brasilians*, not above sixty escaped with life.

But, before I proceed to give you an account of all the remarkable passages that happened in *Brasil*, since the revolt of the *Portuguese*, and during my stay of eight years there; it will not be amiss to insert a short description of this countrey.

A description of Brasil.

America (or the *West-Indies*) is divided into the *northern* and *southern America*. *Brasil* is part of the last.

The *northern America* borders to the *North* upon the *Terra incognita*, or rather upon *Hudson's Streights*; to the *South* and *West* upon the *South-Sea*, and to the *East* upon the streights of *Panama*, the bay of *Mexico*, or *Nieu Spain*, and the *North-Sea*.

It comprehends the following provinces, *Estotiland* and *Labrador*, *Nieu France*, *Canada*, *Bakalaos*, *Nieu England*, *Virginia*, *Florida*, *Nieu Spain*, the provinces of *Mexico*, *Nieu Mexico*, *Tlaskalla*, *Guaxaka*, *Mechoakana*, *Zakatula*, *Kolim*, *Yukatan*, *Tabasko*, *Nieu Gallicia*, *Nieu Biscay*, *Chiametla*, *Kuliaka*, *Cimalon*, *Nieu Granada*, *Kalifornia*, *Anian*, *Quivira* or *Nieu Albion*, *Konibas*, *Guatemala*, *Sokonusko*, *Chiapa*, *Vera pas*, *Honduras*, *Nikaragua*, *Kostarika*, and *Veragua*.

The *southern America* is a demi-island in form of a pyramid; the basis of which lies to the *North*, the point extends to the streights of *Magellan*, under the 53[d] degree of southern latitude; bordering to the east upon the *Atlantick Ocean*, or *North-Sea*, and to the west upon the *South-Sea*, its whole circuit being of about four thousand *Italian* or one thousand *German* miles. It contains the provinces of *Kastilla d'Or*, *Tierra fierma*, called by the *Portuguese*, *Paria*, *Kumana*, *Karibana*, *Brasil*, *Chika* to the east, to the west *Popayan*, *Peru*, *Chili*, besides several inland provinces.

First Discovery of Brasil. *Brasil* was first discovered by *Pedro Alvaro Kapralis*, a *Portuguese*, sometime before *Americus Vesputius*, viz. in the year 1500. He gave it the name of *Santa Cruz*, which was afterwards by the *Portuguese* changed into that of *Brasil*, from the wood of the same name, which is found there in great quantity, and from thence transported into all parts of *Europe*, for the use of the dyers. 1643.

Its Situation. It is situate in the midst of the *Torrid Zone*, extending to the *Tropick* of *Cancer* and the *Temperate Zone*.

Extent. Concerning its extent from *north to south*, there is no small difference among the geographers; but according to the best computations, its beginning may be fixed under the second degree and a half of northern latitude, near the river *Para*, and its end under the twenty-fourth degree and a half of southern latitude, to the river *Capibari*, two leagues above the city of St. *Vincent*; so that its whole extent from north to south, comprehends twenty-five degrees, or three hundred seventy-five leagues; some place *Brasil* betwixt the river of *Maranhaen* and *Rio de la Plata*. The extent of *Brasil* from the east (where it borders upon the *North-Sea*) to the west, is not determined hitherto, there being very few who have penetrated so deep into the countrey; tho' its bigness from east to west may be computed to be seven hundred forty-two leagues; there are however some who extend its limits farther to the east, and to the west as far as *Peru* or *Guiana*, which makes an addition of one hundred eighty-eight leagues. Some make the boundaries of *Brasil* to the north the river of the *Amazons*; to the south *Rio de la Plata*; to the east the *North-Sea*, and to the west the mountains of *Peru* or *Guiana*.

Its Division. *Brasil* thus limited, is divided by the *Portuguese* into fourteen districts, called by them *Kapitanias*, or Captainships; *viz. Paria*, the first of all towards the north; *Maranhaon*, *Siara*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande*, *Paraiba*, *Parnambuko*, *Tarmarika* or *Itamarika*, *Seregippo del Rey*, *Quirimune* or *Bahia dos todos los Santos*, *Nhoe-Kombe*, or *os Ilhos*, *Pakata*, or *Porto Securo*, *Rio de Janeiro* or *Nheteroya*, *St. Vincent* and *Espiritu St.*

Whilst part of *Brasil* was in our possession, it might conveniently be divided into the *Dutch* and *Portuguese Brasil*. Each of these captainships is watered by some considerable river or other, besides several others of less note; most of these have very rapid currents in the rainy months, and overflow the adjacent countrey.

The River of St. Francis. The river of St. *Francis*, the largest and most considerable in those parts, is the common boundary of the captainship of *Parnambuko* and *Bahia dos todos los Santos*, or the *Bay of all Saints*. In some places it is so broad, that a six-pounder can scarce reach over it, and its depth is eight, twelve, and sometimes fifteen yards; but it admits of no Ships of burthen, because its Entrance is choak'd up with sands.

Its first spring is said to arise out of a

1643. certain lake, which being augmented by many rivelets out of the mountains of *Peru*, but eſpecially by the rivers of *Rio de la Plata* and *Maranhaon* exonerates it ſelf into the ſea. Some of our people went in a ſhallop near forty leagues up the river, and found it of a good depth and pretty broad. If we may believe the *Portugueſe*, there are about fifty leagues from the ſea, certain impaſſable cataracts or water-falls, called by them *Kakocras*; beyond thoſe the river winds to the north, till you come to its ſource in the lake, in which are many pleaſant iſlands, inhabited by the barbarians; as is likewiſe the ſhore round about it. They find good ſtore of gold-duſt in this lake, but it is none of the beſt, being carried thither by the many rivulets, which waſh the gold-bearing rocks of *Peru*; here is alſo moſt excellent ſalt-petre.

It is obſervable, that in the ſummer and and thoſe winter months, when it rains but ſeldom, this river has more water than in the rain ſeaſon: The reaſon alledged for it is, the vaſt diſtance from its firſt ſource, whether the rains that fall from the mountains muſt firſt be convey'd by many rivulets: All the other rivers near the *Receif*, are ſo empty of water during the ſummer ſeaſon, that they are rendred quite unnavigable. But the ridges of mountains which lie not far from the ſea-ſhore, exonerate their waters as well here as in *Peru*, backward to the weſt, and dividing themſelves into two branches; the firſt runs into the north, and joins with the large and moſt rapid rivers of *Maranhaon*, and of the *Amazons*; the other with the rivers of St. *Francis de la Plata*, and *Janeiro*. The waters of theſe rivers being conſiderably encreaſed by many rivulets, they exonerate themſelves with ſo much violence into the ſea, that the ſeamen meet often with freſh water at a conſiderable diſtance at ſea.

The increaſe of the waters in this river, during the dry ſeaſon, may likewiſe be attributed to the vaſt quantity of ſnow among the mountains, which being melted by the heat of the ſun, occaſions the river to tranſgreſs its ordinary bounds; which in this point is quite different from other rivers, which commonly in the winter time over-flow their banks.

The Dutch Braſil. Six of thoſe *captainſhips* were under the juriſdiction of the *Weſt-India* company, before the *Portugueſe* revolted from the *Dutch*, which they had conquer'd with their Swords, *viz.* The *captainſhip*, (it begins on the ſouth-ſide) *Seregippe del Rey* of *Parnambuko*, *Itamarika*, unto which belongs *Gauiana*, *Paraiba*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande* and *Siara* or *Ciara*. The *captainſhip* of *Maranhaon* was 1644, by ſpecial command of the company, left by the *Dutch*. This part of *Braſil* uſed to be called by the *Portugueſe*, the *Northern-Braſil*, as the other remaining in their poſſeſſion went by the name of *South-Braſil*. 1643.

The ſix *Dutch captainſhips* did extend all along the ſea coaſt from north to ſouth, in length about a hundred and ſixty or a hundred and eighty leagues; for from *Rio Grande*, to the northern border of *Seregippe del Rey*, is a hundred leagues: The two others, *viz.* that of *Siara* to the north, and *Seregippe del Rey* to the ſouth, make up the reſt. Each of theſe *captainſhips* contain ſeveral other leſſer diſtricts, call'd by the *Portugueſe Fregeſias*, and by us *Fregeſien*; as for inſtance, in *Seregippe del Rey*, are *Pojuka*, *Kameragibi*, *Porto Calvo*, *Serinhaim*, and ſeveral others. *Fregaſie*, comprehends a contract of ground, compoſed of divers villages, rivers, hills and vallies, betwixt each of which is commonly a tract of barren hills, of about three or four leagues in length. Moſt of the *Dutch captainſhips*, are but indifferently cultivated, becauſe the *Portugueſe* uſed not to manure the ground in thoſe parts, beyond three or four, or at fartheſt, five leagues diſtant from the Sea.

Seregippe del Rey. The *captainſhip* of *Seregippe del Rey*, is likewiſe called *Carigi*, from a certain ſmall lake of that name; it is ſituate in the ſouthern part of *Braſil*, extending about thirty two leagues along the ſea coaſt, bordering on the north ſide, upon the river of St. *Francis*, by which it is divided from *Parnambuko*, as on the ſouth ſide it is ſeparated by *Rio Real*, from *Bahia dos todos los Santos*. *Seregippe del Rey*, has among others, a certain *Fregaſie*, called *Porto Calvo*, ſituated betwixt the 9th and the 10th degree of ſouthern latitude; being encompaſſed on the north-weſt ſide by the *Fregaſie* of *Serinhaim*, and the ſmall river of *Piraſenunga*, extending to the ſouth as far as the river *Parepuera*, by which it is divided from the *Fregaſie* of *Alagoaſi*, containing in all about twelve leagues in length near the ſea ſhore, its bounds on the land ſide reaching to the unpaſſable woods.

The village of Bon Succeſſo de Porto Calvo. In this *Fregaſie*, *is* a village call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Villa de bon ſucceſſo de Porto Calo*, but was formerly called *Portocano Dos quatros Rios*, it being ſituate at the confluence of the four rivers, *Maleita*, *Tapamunde*, *Commentabunda* and *Monguaba*. It is built upon a riſing ground, about four leagues from the ſea ſhore, and by the *Dutch* ſtrengthened with two forts; the biggeſt of which was called *Bon Succeſſo*, being built all of ſtone, ſurrounded with a good counterſcarp, with a large baſon for freſh water within. The other fort was called by us, the *New-Church*, being created out of the ruins

1643. ruins of an old church, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Noſſa Senhora de Preſentacao*. Betwixt both theſe forts, a third was ordered to be erected by count *Maurice*, upon the banks of the river, but it lying within the reach of musket-ſhot from the mountains, was not brought to perfection.

The village has two ſtreets, the chief of which runs parallel with the river, from one fort to the other, and is call'd *St. Joſeph's-ſtreet*; it contain'd no more than three houſes of one ſtory high, and about thirty ſix others cover'd with pantiles, being only built upon the ground. The *Portugueſe* have in lieu of their churches, which are demoliſhed, when the fortifications were erected, built themſelves another on the other ſide of the river, where they ſometimes hear maſs. The village is ſituate in a moſt pleaſant and wholeſome air, being cooled by the continual breezes from the ſea, which are not ſtopp'd by any hills, betwixt them and the ſhore. In the night time they enjoy the benefit of the land wind, which drives the cool vapours ariſing from the neighbouring rivers thither: Formerly there was a certain town called *Seregippe del Rey*, ſomewhat higher up the river, in a very barren place, of a conſiderable bigneſs, and well built, with three goodly churches, and a monaſtery belonging to the *Franciſcans*, but without any fortifications. Above this town you ſee a chapel dedicated to St. *Chriſtopher*, whether the *Roman Catholicks* come on pilgrimage.

This *captainſhip* was firſt of all reduced under the obedience of the *Portugueſe* or *Spaniards*, by *Chriſtovan de Barros*; who for this his good ſervice, had all the lands betwixt the ſmall lake of *Seregippe* and *St. Franciſco*, granted to him, with full power to ſettle colonies there within a limited time. This drew many of the inhabitants of the *Bay of all Saints* thither; who within a few years after laid the foundations of this town, by erecting four ſugar-mills, and building about a hundred houſes, with four hundred ſtables for their cattle. But this town, with all the circumjacent houſes, was 1637, the 24th of *December*, laid deſolate by our people, the inhabitants retiring to the *Bay of all Saints*. For the *Spaniſh* general *Benjola* being, 1637, poſted with a body of two thouſand men near that place, did with ravaging and burning, conſiderable damage to our colonies, which oblig'd count *Maurice* to diſlodge him from thence; but being then ſick of an ague, he committed this expedition to the charge of colonel *Schoppe*; for which purpoſe having gather'd a body of two thouſand three hundred men, beſides four hundred *Braſilians*, and two hundred and fifty ſeamen out of the the adjacent Places, near the river of *St. Francis*, *Alagoas*, the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, out of the *Receif* and *Moribeka*, and given him for his aſſiſtant Mr. *John van Gieſſelen*, a member of the great council, he commanded the *Dutch* admiral *Lichthart*, to cruiſe with his fleet near the *Bay of all Saints*, thereby to draw the enemy out of his advantageous poſt to the ſea-ſhoar. The *Spaniſh* general had no ſooner notice of our paſſing the river, but fearing to be encloſed betwixt us and the fleet, march'd with his body to *Torre Garcie de Avila*, a place about fourteen leagues to the north of the city of *St. Salvador*. 1643.

The *Dutch* general *Schoppe*, hearing of his removal, immediately attack'd the place, which he laid deſolate, and returned with incredible ſwiftneſs to the ſouth ſide of the river of *St. Francis*.

Here he intrench'd himſelf, with an intention to annoy the enemy, by cutting off his proviſions, and driving away his cattle; which ſucceeded ſo well, that we kill'd above three thouſand of their horned beaſts, beſides what was carried away on the other ſide of the river; ſo that what was left by the ſoldiers, was by the inhabitants carried to the *Bay of all Saints*; from whence it is evident, what vaſt numbers of cattle this countrey did produce at that time.

The great council took once a reſolution to re-people that part of the countrey, and agreed for this purpoſe with *Nunno Olferdi*, councellor of juſtice in the *Receif*, who found means to ſettle ſeveral families there: But the council of nineteen diſapproving the matter, it was laid aſide.

In the year 1641, count *Maurice* reduced this place under the obedience of the *Weſt-India* company, erected a fort there, and ſurrounded the town *Seregippe del Rey* with a ditch. It lies upon a ſmall river, betwixt *St. Franciſco* and *Real*, which however at ſpring-tide has fourteen foot water or thereabouts. Within the juriſdiction of this *captainſhip*, is the mountain of *Tabayna*; from whence ſeveral ſorts of valuable oar was preſented to the council of nineteen; but upon proof was found not worth farther looking after.

The captainſhip *of* Parnambuko.

The *captainſhip* of *Parnambuko*, is one of the chiefeſt and biggeſt of the *Dutch-Braſil*. It extends above ſixty leagues along the coaſt, betwixt the river of *St. Francis*, and the captainſhip of *Tamarika*. *Parnambuko* properly denotes the entrance of the harbour, which by reaſon of the many rocks and ſhelves hidden under water, was called by the *Portugueſe*, *Inferno Bokko*, and broken

1643. broken *Parnambuko*, or the *Mouth of Hell*. It is ſubdivided into eleven leſſer diſtricts, inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, *viz.* the city of *Olinda*, *Garazu*, *Receif*, *Moribeka*, *St. Anthony*, *Poyuka*, *Serinhaim*, *Conſalvi d'Una*, *Porto Calvo*, the *Northern Alagoa*, and the *Southern Alagoa*. Among which *Olinda* and *Garazu* were the chief-ſt.

Eleven towns and villages of Parnambuko.

Garazu. The town, or rather the village of *Garazu*, lies at ſome diſtance from the ſhoar, over againſt the Iſland of *Tamarika*, upon a river of the ſame name, about five leagues from *Olinda*. It was formerly inhabited by *Portugueſe* handicrafts men, but ſince our taking of *Olinda*, ſeveral rich Families ſettled there; we became maſters of the place 1633, in *May*.

Moribeka. *Moribeka* lies deeper into the countrey, more to the ſouth, about five leagues off of the *Receif*.

St. Anthony. *St. Anthony* is about ſeven or eight leagues diſtant from the *Receif* to the ſouth, near the *Cape of St. Auſtin*.

Poyuka. The city of *St. Michael de Poyuka*, lies about ten leagues to the ſouth of the *Receif* upon a river of the ſame name, which diſembogues in the ſea, on the ſouth ſide of the *Cape of St. Auſtin*. It was formerly a very populous place, and had thirteen ſugar-mills.

Serinhaim. The village *Serinhaim*, much about the ſame diſtance thence with the former, is a very pleaſant place, has twelve ſugar-mills, each of which produces ſix or ſeven hundred *Aroba's*, an *Aroba* making about twenty ſeven or twenty eight pound weight.

Gonſalvi d'Una. The village of *Gonſalvi d'Una*, lies twenty leagues from the *Receif*; it has five ſugar-mills.

Porto Calvo. The village called *Porto Calvo*, is twenty leagues diſtant from the *Receif*; it has ſeven or eight ſugar-mills. Here is the caſtle of *Porocano*, which was not conquer'd by us, till under the government of count *Maurice*.

The towns of the northern and ſouthern *Alagoa's*, are forty leagues from the *Receif*.

Within the diſtrict of *Parnambuko*, are two woods, called by the *Portugueſes* the *greater* and *leſſer Palmairas*, or *Palmtree-Woods*.

The two Palmairas. The *Leſſer Palmairas*, which is inhabited by ſix thouſand negroes, lies about twenty leagues above the *Alagoas*, being encloſed with woods near the ſmall lake of *Guagohuhi*, which exonerates it ſelf into the great lake of *Parayba*, ſix leagues from thence to the north, about four leagues from the lake *Meridai*, to the ſouth of the *Northern Alagoa*, being near that point of land commonly called *Jaragoa*. The village conſiſts of three ſtreets, each near half a league in length. Their huts are made of ſtraw twiſted together, one near another, their plantations being behind. They retain ſomething of the religious worſhip of the *Portugueſe*, but have their peculiar prieſts and judges. Their buſineſs is to rob the *Portugueſe* of their ſlaves, who remain in ſlavery among them, 'till they have redeemed themſelves by ſtealing another: But ſuch ſlaves as run over to them, are as free as the reſt. Their food is dates, beans, meal, barley, ſugar-canes, tame-fowl, (of which they have great plenty) and fiſh, which the lake furniſhes them withal. They have twice a year a harveſt of barley, which being over, they make merry for a whole Week together. Before ſowing time, they light great fires for fourteen days, which may be ſeen at a great diſtance. The ſhorteſt way from the *Receif* to this *Palmairas*, is along the lake of the *Northern Alago*. 1643.

The greater *Palmairas* is betwixt twenty and thirty leagues diſtant behind the village of St. *Amar*, near the mountain of *Bebe*, being ſurrounded with a double encloſure. About eight thouſand Negroes are ſaid to inhabit the Vallies near the mountains, beſides many others, who dwell in leſſer numbers of fifty or a hundred, in other places. Their houſes lie ſtraggling, they ſow and reap among the woods, and have certain caves whither they retreat in caſe of neceſſity. They dreſs their victuals in the day time, and at night tell over their whole number, to ſee whether any be wanting; if not, they conclude the evening with dancing and beating the drum, which may be heard at a great diſtance. Then they go to ſleep 'till nine or ten a clock the next day. During the dry ſeaſon, they detach a certain number among them, to ſteal ſlaves from the *Portugueſe*. The ſhorteſt cut to their habitations, is from the *Alagoas* through St. *Amar*, and ſo croſs the plains of *Nhumahu* and *Kororipe*, towards the backſide of the mountain of *Warrakaka*, 'till you come to the lake *Paraiba*; along which you paſs 'till you reach the mountain *Bebe*, from whence you go directly into the vallies. Under the Government of Count *Maurice*, the negroes of this *Palmairas* did conſiderable miſchief, eſpecially to the country people about the *Alagoas*; to repreſs which, he ſent three hundred firelocks, a hundred *Mamelukes*, and ſeven hundred *Braſilians*.

The Receif, Maurice's *town, and* Anthony Vaez.

The Receif. The *Receif* is, by reaſon of its commodious and advantagious ſituation the ſtrong-

eſt

1643. eſt place of all *Braſil*; beſides that, it is ſtrengthened and defended by ſeveral adjacent Forts: But to give you the moſt commodious view both of the *Receif*, and the ſituation of *Maurice*'s town, it is to be obſerved, that the whole coaſt of *Braſil*, is from one end to the other ſurrounded with a long, thick, and flat ridge of rocks, which in ſome Places is twenty, and in others thirty paces broad: However, there are certain paſſages in this ridge, through which the ſhips approach the ſhoar, and ſome few places, where this ridge is not found at all. Thus a league on this ſide *Rio dolee*, two leagues on the northſide of the city of *Olinda*, there is nothing of this ridge to be found; but begins again near *Poumarelle* or *Soxamardo*, and extends to the iſle of *Itamarika*. Betwixt the ridge and the continent, you may paſs in boats at high water; for at low-tide moſt of thoſe rocks appear above water; tho' the tide never fails to cover the ſame. The rock over-againſt the *Receif* of *Parnambuko*, is between twenty and thirty paces broad, being not only at ſpring-tides, but at all other tides overflown by the ſea; it is there-abouts very flat, without any prominencies, and extends for a league from ſouth to north. On the north point is an open Paſſage for ſhips to approach the ſhoar, lying five hundred paces further to the north, than the *Receif* it ſelf. It is but narrow, and at ſpring-tide not above twenty two foot deep. 1643.

The ſtone ridge round the coaſt of Braſil.

Betwixt this rocky ridge and the continent, there is a ſandy ridge, or ſmall iſland extended to the ſouth from *Olinda*, a league in length, and about two hundred paces broad. This is by our people commonly called, *The Sandy Receif*, to diſtinguiſh it from *The Stony Receif*.

The ſandy Receif.

On the ſouthern point of this little iſland, a league off *Olinda*, the *Portugueſe* had built a village, called *Povoacano*, which ſignifies *peopling*, or elſe *Reciffo*; it was very populous for a conſiderable time, 'till the building of *Maurice*'s town, in the iſland of *Anthony Vaez*. For after *Olinda* was forſaken by its inhabitants, and deſtroy'd by us, many of them, but eſpecially the merchants, ſettled in this *Reciffo*, or the village of *Povoacano*, where they erected magnificent ſtructures. At our firſt arrival, we found

no

1643. no more than two hundred houſes there, which were afterwards increaſed to above two thouſand, ſome of which are very goodly edifices. We ſurrounded it with Palliſadoes on the ſide of the river *Biberibi*, which at low-water is fordable; and for its better ſecurity fortified it with three bulwarks, one towards *Olinda*, the other to the harbour, and the third towards the *Salt River*; upon each of which was raiſed a good battery with three great cannon. This *Receif* is ſituate under the 8th degree 20 minutes ſouthern latitude.

The derivation of the word Receif.

Some derive the word *Reciffo* from the *Latin*, *recipere* and *receptus* to receive, which after was turned into *Reciffo*, becauſe the ſhips uſed to be received betwixt the ſtony and ſandy *Receifs*, to load and unload their goods. Before the building of *Maurice's* town, we kept here our factories, and all buſineſs both of peace and war, was tranſacted in this place. In the time of the *Portugueſe*, all the ſhips coming out of the ſea, did unload on the village of *Povoacano*, or the *Receif*, and the goods were from thence in boats and lighters conveyed up the river *Biberibi*, to the ſuburbs of *Olinda*.

Before the building of *Maurice's* town, moſt of the traffick was in the *Receif*, where all the great merchants had their habitations, and from hence the Sugar was tranſported into *Holland*. To prevent the frauds in the cuſtoms, it was ſurrounded with palliſadoes, and a goodly hoſpital was erected for the conveniency of the ſick and wounded, and the education of orphans, under the tuition of four governors, and as many governeſſes.

Upon the uttermoſt point of the ſtony *Receif*, on the left ſide as you enter the harbour out of the ſea, is a ſtrong and large caſtle, built of free-ſtone, ſurrounded with a very high wall, upon which are mounted many heavy cannon, with ſuitable artillery and other proviſions. When we took the place, we found nine braſs, and twenty two iron pieces of cannon within it; ſo that it ſeems both by art and nature impregnable; there being no coming near it on foot, at high-water.

About five leagues higher, upon a branch of the great river, lies a ſmall town of little conſequence, called by our people, *The New City*; and upon another branch of the ſame river, oppoſite to the former, a village called *Atapuepe*.

The iſland of Anthony Vaez, *and* Maurice's Town.

The iſle of Anthony Vaez.

To the ſouth of the *Receif*, oppoſite to it, lies the iſle of *Anthony Vaez*, ſo called by our People, from its ancient poſſeſſor. 1643. It is about half a league in circuit, being divided from the *Receif*, by the *Salt-River*, or *Biberibi*.

On the eaſt-ſide of this iſland, count *Maurice* laid the foundation of a city; which, after his own Name, he called *Maurice's* town or city; the ruines of the churches or monaſteries of the city of *Olinda*, furniſh'd the materials for the building of it, which were from thence carried to the *Receif*, and ſo tranſported to this place. *Maurice's* Town.

On the weſt-ſide it is environ'd with a moraſs; and on the eaſt-ſide waſh'd by the ſea, which paſſes the ſtony ridge. Beſides which, it is on the land-ſide ſtrengthen'd with an earthen wall, four bulwarks and a large moat.

On that ſide where the fort of *Erneſtus* was, the town lay open, and the houſes took up a larger compaſs than thoſe in the *Receif*; but after the revolt of the *Portugueſe*, moſt of thoſe houſes were pulled down; and the place drawn into a more narrow compaſs, to render it more defenſible: Yet was the place well ſtocked with inhabitants, as well merchants as handicrafts men.

Maurice's town was on each ſide guarded by a fort. On the ſouth ſide by the fort called *Frederick Henry*, or the quinquangular fort, from its five bulwarks. This fort was beſides this, ſurrounded by a large ditch and palliſadoes, and ſtrengthened by two horn-works, ſo that it commanded the whole plain, which at ſpring-tides uſed to be overflown by the ſea. *The Fort* Frederick-Henry.

The ſecond fort *Erneſtus*, thus called after *John Erneſt*, the brother of count *Maurice*, was four-ſquare, with four bulwarks, with a very large ditch; it commanded the river, the plains, and *Maurice's* town. Near this laſt fort was the garden of count *Maurice*, ſtored with all ſorts of trees, brought thither from *Europe* and both the *Indies*. *The Fort* Erneſtus.

Upon the north point of the *Stony Receif*, juſt over againſt the *Sandy Receif*, lies the beforenamed fort, built all of ſtone, being about a hundred paces in circumference, provided with a good garriſon and twenty pieces of great cannon, though in ſtormy weather the water flies over it on all ſides. It commands the harbour, the land fort, the *Bruin Fort*, and the *Receif*. *The Fort of Stone.*

As the iſle of *Antony Vaez* was joined to the continent by a bridge, ſo it was thought neceſſary to join the *Receif* with another bridge to the ſaid iſland, for the conveniency of carriage; the ſugar cheſts being before that time never to be tranſported to the *Receif*, except at low water, unleſs the owners would run the hazard of expoſing them to the danger of the ſea in ſmall boats. Accordingly *The Bridge betwixt the* Receif *and the Iſland.*

1643. cordingly the great council, with consent of the governor count *Maurice*, agreed with a certain architect for the building of a bridge with stone arches, for the sum of two hundred fifty thousand florins. But after the architect had consumed a prodigious quantity of stone, and raised the structure near to the height of the banks of the river, finding that at low-water there was still eleven foot water, and despairing to be able to accomplish it, left it unfinished. But the council being unwilling to desist, renewed the work, which had already cost a hundred thousand florins; and by means of many trees of forty and fifty foot long, stopped the current till the bridge was brought to perfection, which was done in two months time, and a certain toll imposed upon all passengers, *viz.* for an inhabitant two pence, for a soldier and negroe one penny, for a horse four pence, and a waggon drawn by oxen seven pence.

The harbour. The space betwixt the *Sandy* and *Stony Receif*, is properly the harbour, which at high-water has about thirteen or fourteen foot depth, where the ships ride very safe, being defended from the sea by the stony *Receif*. The passage betwixt the *Sandy Receif* and the continent, is called the *Salt-River*, to distinguish it from the river *Kapivaribi*, which carries sweet water.

The river Kapivaribi. The river *Kapivaribi* has derived its name from a certain kind of river or sea hogs, which used to be found there, and were by the *Brasilians* called *Kapivaribi*. This river arises some leagues to the west, passing by the *Matta*, or the *Wood of Brasil*, *Matsyasti*, *St. Lorenzo* and *Real*, where joining with the river *Affogados*, near another river of the same name, disembogues in the sea, near the *Receif*. The river *Kapivaribi* divides itself into two branches; one turns to the south, and passes by the fort *William*, and is called *Affogados*; the other running to the north, retains its former name, continuing its course betwixt the continent and *Maurice*'s town, or the isle of *Anthony Vaez* (into which you may pass over it by a bridge) and so to *Waerdenburgh*, where it joins with the river *Biberibi*, or *Salt-River*, both which are afterwards mixed with the sea. The two branches of this river, surround the river *Biberibi* on the west-side, and to the east the isle of *Anthony Vaez*. Upon that branch of the river called *Affogados*, are abundance of sugar-mills, from whence the *Portuguese* used to convey their sugar-chests, either in boats by the way of the river, or in carts to *Baretta*, and from thence in flat bottomed boats to the *Receif*, and to *Olinda*.

A league to the south of *Maurice*'s Town upon the branch called *Affogados*, is a four-square fort of the same name, otherwise called fort *William*; from whence you may 1633. pass along a dike to the fort *Frederick Henry*, or *Maurice*'s Town. It was a noble *The fort* William. structure, surrounded with high and strong walls, a large ditch and pallisadoes, with six brass cannon: It defended the avenues to the plains.

About half a league from thence, and at the same distance from the continent, lies another fort on the sea shore, called *Baretta:* This commands the avenues both by *The fort* Baretta. sea and land to the cape of *St. Austin*, and the *Receif*.

Upon that part of the island which lies betwixt the rivers *Kapivaribi*, and *Biberibi*, and betwixt the forts of *Ernestus* and the *The garden of count* Maurice. triangular fort of *Waerdenburg*, were the before mentioned gardens of count *Maurice*, stored with all kinds of trees, fruits, flowers and greens, which either *Europe*, *Africk*, or both the *Indies* could afford. There were near seven hundred cocoa-trees of all sizes, some of which were thirty, forty, and fifty foot high; which being transplanted thither, out of the circumjacent countries, bore abundance of fruit the very first year: Above fifty lemon-trees, and eighteen citron-trees, eighty pomgranate-trees, and sixty-six fig-trees, were also to be seen in these gardens.

In the midst of it stood the seat itself, called *Vryburgh*, a noble structure indeed, which *The palace of count* Maurice. as is reported, cost six hundred thousand florins: It had a most admirable prospect, both to the sea and land side, and its two towers were of such a height, that they might be seen six or seven leagues off at sea, and served the seamen for a beacon. In the front of the house was a battery of marble, rising by degrees from the river-side, upon which were mounted ten pieces of cannon for the defence of the river. About two or three rods from the river, were several large basons in the garden, containing very sweet water, notwithstanding the river all round about afforded nothing but salt-water; besides this, there were divers fish-ponds, stocked with all sorts of fish.

At the very foot of the bridge which is *His summer seat.* built over the river *Kapivaribi*, from *Maurice*'s town to the continent, count *Maurice* had built a very pleasant summer seat, called by the *Portuguese*, *Baavista*, i. e. *A fair Prospect*. It was not only surrounded with very pleasant gardens and fish-ponds, but served likewise as a fort for the defence of the isle of *Anthony Vaez*, and *Maurice*'s Town.

Upon the *Sandy Receif*, opposite to the *Sea*, or *Water Fort*, was a strong fort built *The land fort.* of stone, called by the *Portuguese*, St. *Joris*, our people used to call it the *Land Fort*, to distinguish it from the beforementioned *Water Fort*; it defends the entrance of the har-

1643. bour with thirteen iron pieces of cannon.

About a muſket ſhot thence to the north, lies upon the ſame ſandy *Receif*, a ſmall fort with four baſtions, called the fort of *Bruin*; and about a muſket ſhot further to the north, a redoubt, called *Madame de Bruin*: Both theſe forts were built by the *Dutch*.

The fort Bruin.

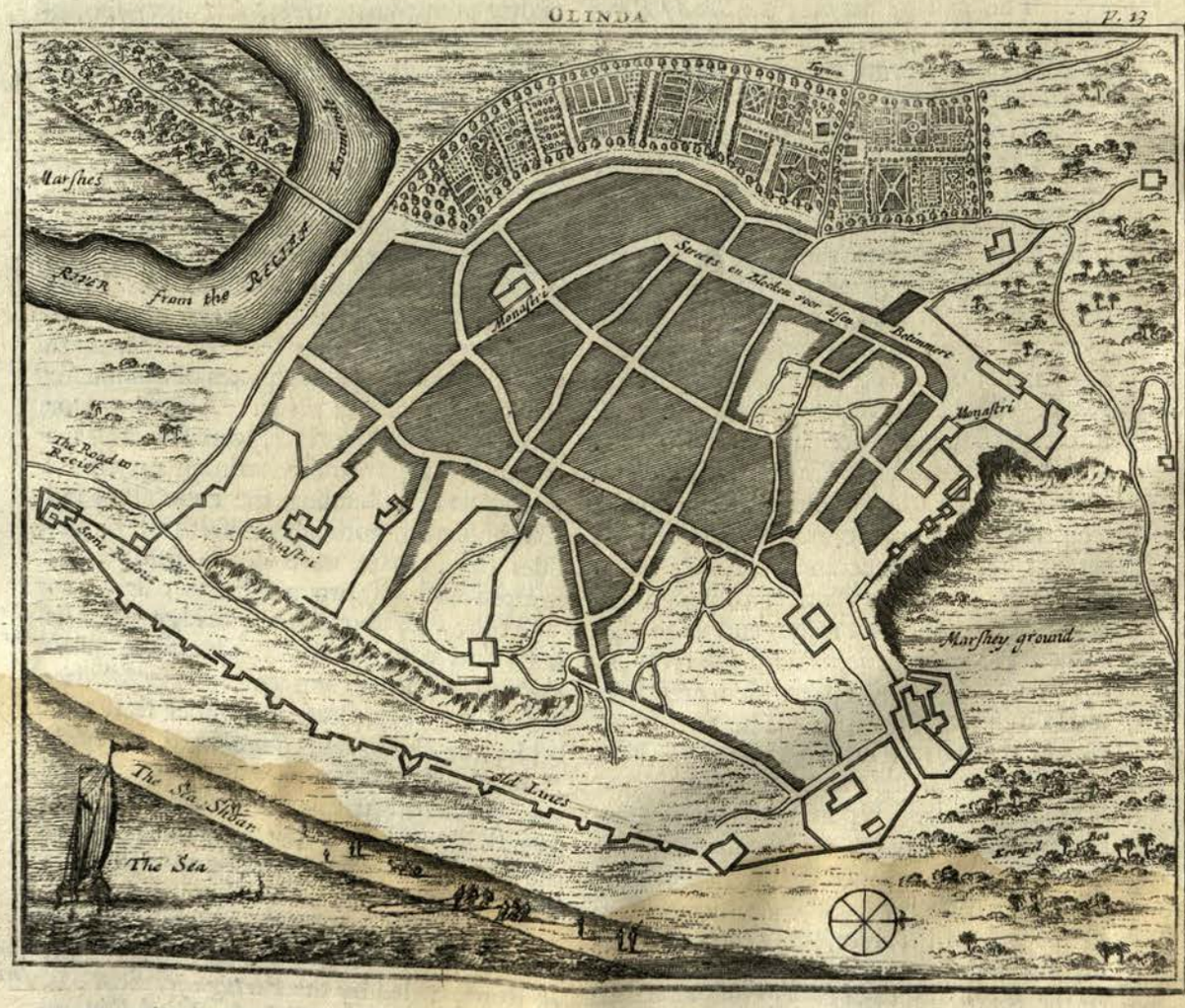
Near the continent, not far from the ſalt-pits, betwixt the *Sandy Receif*, and the iſle of *Anthony Vaez*, was a triangular fort called *Waerdenburgh*. It was at firſt a four-ſquare, but afterwards turned by the *Dutch* into a triangular fort, the fourth bulwark being not defenſible, by reaſon of the ground: Thoſe three bulwarks were afterwards changed into as many redoubts, and provided with ſome braſs guns: At high tide it is ſurrounded on all ſides with water.

The fort of Waerden-burgh.

The City of Olinda.

At a ſmall diſtance from the *Receif*, or *Maurice*'s Town, to the north, is the ruinated city of *Olinda*, once a famous place among the *Portugueſe*; the whole product of *Braſil*, being from thence tranſported by ſea into *Europe*. The beſt part of the city was built upon divers hill; towards the ſea, on the ſouth ſide, theſe hills were pretty plain, extending to the ſea-ſhore, which has a very white ſand all along that coaſt: Towards the land ſide, or the north, thoſe hills are more ſteep and craggy, full of thorn-buſhes, intermixed with a few orange-trees. Theſe hills are an additional ſtrength to the place, which beſides this, was guarded by ſeveral baſtions to the land ſide, though by reaſon of the great variety of hills contained in its circuit, it was a difficult taſk to bring the fortifications into a regular form. There is a very fair proſpect from the higher part of the town, both to the ſouth and north, or to the ſea and land ſide, by reaſon of the great quantity of circumjacent trees, which continue green all the year round. You may alſo from thence ſee the iſle of *Anthony Vaez*, and *Maurice*'s town. The point of land near *Olinda*, is called *Tipo* by the inhabitants. 1643.

Olinda.



Upon

1643. Upon the higheſt hill within the place, ſtood formerly a convent belonging to the *Jeſuits*, being a magnificent ſtructure, founded by *Sebaſtian* king of *Portugal*, who endowed it with conſiderable revenues. It had a very fair proſpect, and might be ſeen at a good diſtance at ſea. Not far from thence was another Monaſtery belonging to the *Capucines*; and near the ſea-ſhore, another of the *Dominican* fryars: Beſides which, it had two churches, the one called St. *Salvador*, the other St. *Peter*.

It contained above two thouſand inhabitants, beſides the clergymen and ſlaves, among whom were two hundred that were accounted very rich. On the foot of the mountain upon which the city of *Olinda* was built, a ſtrong redoubt was erected, which in the year 1645, was by a ſerjeant betrayed to the *Portugueſe* for a ſum of money. About a league from the city, near the water-ſide, were the ſuburbs, well ſtored with inhabitants and packhouſes; but deſtitute of freſh water, which they were fain to fetch from beyond the river.

The whole diſtrict of *Parnambuko* abounds in divers kinds of fruits and cattle. The vallies afford good paſturage, and the lower grounds near the rivers, great ſtore of ſugar reeds, which are much cultivated hereabouts. The mountains produce richer minerals here, than in the other captainſhips. During the rainy ſeaſon the heat is more tolerable here in the day time than the cold nights.

The Cameleon, *or* Indian Salamander, *otherwiſe called* Gekko.

This creature, which is not only found in *Braſil*, but alſo in the iſle of *Java*, belonging to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and which, by our people is called *Gekko*, from its conſtant cry (like among us that of the *Cuckoe*) is properly an *Indian Salamander*. It is about a foot long, its ſkin of a pale or ſea-green colour, with red ſpots. The head is not unlike that of a tortoiſe, with a ſtreight mouth. The eyes are very large, ſtarting out of the head, with long and ſmall eye-apples. The tail is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral white rings: Its teeth are ſo ſharp as to make an impreſſion even upon ſteel. Each of its four legs had five crooked claws armed on the end with nails. Its gait is very ſlow, but wherever it faſtens it is not eaſily removed. It dwells commonly upon rotten trees, or among the ruines of old houſes and churches; it oftentimes ſettles near the bedſteds, which makes ſometimes the moors pull down their huts.

Its conſtant cry is *Gekko*, but before it begins it makes a kind of hiſſing noiſe. The ſting of this creature is ſo venomous, that the wound proves mortal, unleſs it be immediately burnt with a red hot iron, or cut off. The blood is of a paliſh colour, reſembling poiſon itſelf. 1643.

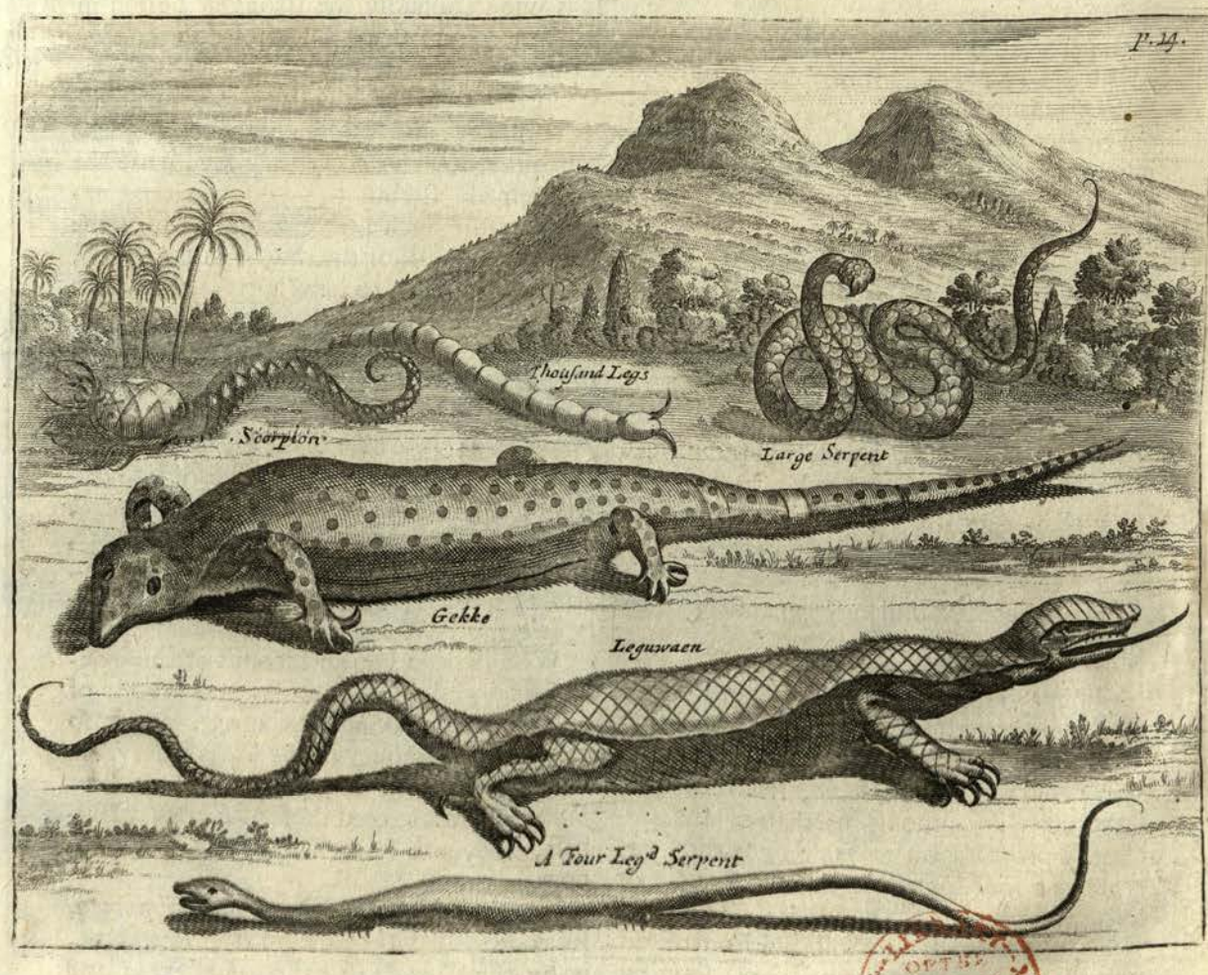
The *Javaneſe* uſe to dip their arrows in the blood of this creature; and thoſe who deal in poiſons among them (an art much eſteemed in the iſland of *Java*, by both ſexes) hang it up with a ſtring tied to the tail on the cieling, by which means it being exaſperated to the higheſt pitch, ſends forth a yellow liquor out of its mouth, which they gather in ſmall pots ſet underneath, and afterwards coagulate into a body in the ſun. This they continue for ſeveral months together, by giving daily food to the creature. It is unqueſtionably the ſtrongeſt poiſon in the world; its urine being of ſo corroſive a quality, that it not only raiſes bliſters, wherever it touches the ſkin, but turns the fleſh black, and cauſes a gangrene. The inhabitants of the *Eaſt-Indies* ſay, that the beſt remedy againſt this poiſon is the *Curcumie* root. Such a *Gekko* was got within the body of the wall of the church in the *Receif*, which obliged us to have a great hole made in the ſaid wall, to diſlodge it from thence. *The ſtrongeſt poiſon in the World.*

There are alſo ſeveral ſorts of *Serpents* in *Braſil*, ſuch as *Rattle Serpents*, *Double-headed Serpents*, and ſuch like; of which the *Braſilians* enumerate twenty-three, *viz. Boigvacu*, or *Liboya*, *Arabo*, *Bioby*, *Boicininga*, *Boitrapo*, *Boykupekanga*, *Bapoba*, *Kukuruku*, *Kaninana*, *Kurukakutinga*, *Grinipaijaguara*, *Ibiara*, *Jakapekoaja*, *Ibiboboca*, *Jararaka*, *Manima*, *Vona*, *Tarciboya*, *Kakaboya*, *Amorepinima*. *Serpents in* Braſil.

We will give you an account of thoſe only that dwell in the houſes and woods of *Parnambuko*, paſſing by the reſt, as not ſo well known among us; and it is obſervable that though ſome of the *American* or *Braſilians* ſerpents exceed thoſe of *Europe* in bigneſs, they are nevertheleſs not ſo poiſonous.

The ſerpent of *Boicininga*, or *Boicininginga*, likewiſe called *Boiquira* by the *Braſilians*, is by the *Portugueſe* called *Kaſkeveda* and *Tangedor*, i. e. *a Rattle*, and by our people a *Rattle Serpent*, becauſe it makes a noiſe with its tail, not unlike a rattle: This ſerpent is found both upon the highway and in deſolate places; it moves with ſuch ſwiftneſs, as if it had wings, and is extremely venomous. In the midſt it is about the thickneſs of a man's arm near the elbow, but grows thinner by degrees towards the head and tail. The belly and head is flattiſh, the laſt being of the length and breadth of a finger and a half, with very ſmall eyes. It has four peculiar teeth longer than all the reſt, white and ſharp like a thorn, which it hides ſometimes *The Rattle Serpent.*

1643. ſometimes within the gums. The ſkin is covered with thick ſcales, thoſe upon the back being ſomewhat higher than the reſt, and of a pale yellowiſh colour, with black edges. The ſides of the body are likewiſe yellowiſh with black ſcales on each ſide; but thoſe upon the belly are larger, four-ſquare, and of a yellow colour. It is three, four, and ſometimes five foot long; has a round tongue ſplit in the middle, with long and ſharp teeth. The tail is compoſed of ſeveral looſe and bony joints, which make ſuch a noiſe that it may be heard at a diſtance. Or rather at the end of the tail, is a long piece conſiſting of ſeveral joints, joined within one another in a moſt peculiar manner, not unlike a chain. Every year there is an addition of one of theſe joints, ſo that you may know the exact age of the ſerpent by their number; nature ſeeming in this point to have favoured mankind, as a warning to avoid this poiſonous creature by this noiſe. One of theſe joints put in the fundament cauſes immediate death; but the ſting of this creature proceeds much ſlower in its operation, for in the beginning a bloody matter iſſues from the wound, afterwards the fleſh turns blue, and the ulcer corrodes the adjacent parts by degrees. 1643.



The moſt ſovereign remedy uſed by the *Braſilians* againſt the poiſon of this and other ſerpents, is the head of the ſame ſerpent that has given the wound, which they bruiſe in a mortar, and in form of a plaiſter apply it to the affected part. They mix it commonly with faſting ſpittle, wherewith they alſo frequently moiſten the wound. If they find the poiſon begins to ſeize the nobler parts, they uſe the *Tiproka* as a cordial, and afterwards give ſtrong ſudorificks. They alſo lay open the wound, and apply cupping-glaſſes, to draw the venom from thence. Or elſe they burn it with a red hot iron.

The ſerpent *Kukuruku* is of an aſh colour, with yellow ſpots within and black ſpeckles without, and has juſt ſuch ſcales as the *Rattle Serpent*. Kukuruku.

The ſerpent *Guaku*, or *Liboya*, is queſtionleſs the biggeſt of all ſerpents; ſome being 18, 24, nay 30 foot long, and of the thickneſs of a man in the middle. The *Portugueſe* call it *Kobre dehado*, or the *Roebuck*

1643. *Roebuck serpent*, because it will swallow a whole roebuck or any other deer it meets with; and this is performed by sucking it through the throat, which is pretty narrow, but the belly vastly big. After they have swallowed such a deer, they fall asleep, and so are catch'd. Such a one I saw near *Paraiba*, which was 30 foot long, and as big as a barrel. Some negroes saw it accidentally swallow a roebuck, whereupon thirteen musqueteers were sent out, who shot it, and cut the roebuck out of its belly. It was of a greyish colour, though others are inclining more to the brown. It is not so venomous as the other serpents. The *Negroes* and *Portuguese*, nay even some of the *Dutch* eat the flesh; neither are its stings look'd upon as very infectious, the wound healing often up without any application of remedies; so that it ought not to be reckoned among the number of poisonous serpents, no more than the *Kaninana*, *Mavina* and *Vocia*. This serpent being a very devouring creature, greedy of prey, leaps from amongst the hedges and woods, and standing upright upon its tail, wrestles both with men and wild beasts; sometimes it leaps from the trees upon the traveller, whom it fastens upon, and beats the breath out of his body with its tail.

The Roebuck *serpent*.

Jararaka. The serpent *Jararaka* is short, seldom exceeding the length of an arm to the elbow. It has certain protuberant veins on the head like the adder, and makes much such a noise. The skin is covered with red and black spots, the rest being of an earth colour. The stings of this creature are as dangerous, and attended with the same symptoms, as those of other serpents. Its body, the head, tail and skin, being before taken away together with the entrails, boil'd in the water of the root of *Jurepeba*, with salt, dill, and such like, is look'd upon as a very good remedy.

Boitrapo. The serpent *Boitrapo*, call'd by the *Portugueze*, *Cobre de Cibo*, is about seven foot in length, of the thickness of a man's arm, feeds upon frogs, and is of an olive colour. It is very venomous, and when it stings, occasions the same symptoms as the serpent *Kukuruku*; nay, the wound is accounted past curing, unless you apply the hot iron.

Ibiara. The adder *Ibiara*, by the *Portuguese* called *Cobra Vega*, or *Cobra de das Cabecas*, i. e. *The Doubleheaded Serpent*, because it appears to have two heads, which however is not so. They are found in great numbers, lurking in holes under ground. They feed upon pismires, are of the thickness of the length of a finger, and a foot and a half long, of a silver colour; nothing is more poisonous than the stings of these creatures, tho' not beyond all hopes of cure, provided the before-mentioned remedies be applied in time.

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Ibiboboka. The serpent by the *Brasilians* called *Ibiboboka*, the *Portuguese* call *Cobra de Corais*. It is very beautiful, of a snow white colour, speckled with black and red spots, and about two foot long: Its sting is mortal, but kills by degrees.

Biobi. The serpent *Biobi*, called by the *Portuguese Cabro Verde*, or the *Green Serpent*, about three quarters of a yard long, and the thickness of a thumb; of a shining green colour. It lives among houses, and hurts no body, unless when provoked. Its sting is however full of poison, and scarce curable. A certain soldier being wounded by one of these creatures, which lay hidden in a hedge, in his thigh, did for want of proper remedies, die in few hours after: His body swell'd, and turn'd pale blue.

Kaninana. The serpent *Kaninana* is yellow on the belly and green on the back; its length is about eight hands, and is look'd upon as the least venomous of all. It feeds upon eggs and birds, and the *Negroes* and *Brasilians* eat the body, after they have cut off the head and tail.

Ibirakoa. The serpent call'd by the *Brasilians Ibirakoa*, is of several colours, with white, black, and red spots. The sting of this creature is very poisonous, attended with the same symptoms as that of *Kukuruku*; for it kills infallibly, unless proper remedies be applied immediately. If the poison has not seised the heart, they boil the flesh of the same serpent with certain roots, and give it the patient in wine.

The serpent *Tarciboya* and *Kakaboya*, are amphibious creatures. The first is of a blackish colour, very large, and stings when provoked, but is not very difficult to be cured. The *Kakaboya* is of a yellowish colour, six hands long, and feeds upon tame fowl.

Of the Senembi *or the* Leguan.

Not only in the *Captainship* of *Parnambuko*, but also all over *Brasil* and *America*; as likewise in the Isle of *Java* in the *East-Indies*, are a certain kind of *Land Crocodile*, call'd by the *Brasilians Senembi*, by our people *Leguan*: Some are larger than others, some being three, others four foot long, but seldom exceed five: They are all over covered with scales, which are somewhat bigger on the back, legs, and beginning of the tail, than on the other parts: The neck is about a finger and a half long, the eyes are black and bright, and the nostrils in the hindermost part of the head. Each jawbone is full of small, black,

1643. black, and ſhort teeth; the tongue is very thick: All along the back from the neck to the tail, are ſmall ſharp teeth of a greeniſh colour; they are biggeſt on the neck, and grow ſmaller and ſmaller towards the tail: Under the throat are likewiſe many of the ſame kind. The whole ſkin is of a delicate green, with black and white ſpots. It has four legs and feet, with five claws armed with very ſharp nails: It can live two or three months without food. Its fleſh is as white as that of a rabbit, and of as good a taſte as that of fowls or rabbits, if it be boil'd or well fry'd with butter. In the head of this creature are certain ſtones, which are an infallible remedy to break and drive the gravel out of the kidneys, given to the quantity of two drams at a time, or carried on ſome part of the body.

There are in *Brazil* lizards both great and ſmall; ſome are green, others greyiſh, and ſome four foot long, with ſparkling eyes. The *Negroes* feed upon ſome of them, whom they kill with blunt arrows; they broil them, after they have ſkin'd them, and eat them without the leaſt harm. Among all thoſe that are found among the thorns and briars, or the ruins of houſes, there is but one kind venomous, which is called *Bibora*. They are like the others, but leſſer, not exceeding the bigneſs of a thumb; they are of an aſh colour, inclining to white; the body and limbs thick and ſwell'd with the poiſon, but the tail ſhort and broad. The wounds given by them are full of a thin ſtinking matter, with blue ſwellings, with a pain near the heart, and in the bowels.

There are alſo certain creatures, called *Thouſand Legs*, as likewiſe *Hundred Legs*, by the natives called *Ambua*, who bend as they crawl along, and are accounted very poiſonous. The firſt are commonly found in the Houſes, and the laſt among the woods, where they not only ſpoil the fruits of the Earth, but alſo plague men and beaſts.

Scorpions. Scorpions, by the *Braſilians* called *Jaaciaiira*, are found here in great numbers, being in ſhape like the *European* ſcorpions, but not ſo peſtiferous, and conſequently the wounds given by them are eaſily cured. They lurk in houſes, behind old ſtools, benches and cheſts. They are exceeding big, no bigger being to be found in any other parts, ſome being five or ſix foot long, and of a conſiderable thickneſs.

There are ſuch prodigious quantities of piſmires in *Braſil*, that for this reaſon, they are called by the *Portugueſe*, *Rey de* *Piſmires.* *Braſil*, *i. e.* King of *Braſil*. They eat all that lights in their way, as fruit, fleſh, 1643. fiſh, and inſects without any harm. There is alſo a certain flying piſmire of a fingers length, with a triangular head, the body being ſeparated into two parts, and faſtned together by a ſmall ſtring. On the head are two ſmall and long horns, their eyes being very ſmall. On the foremoſt part of the body are ſix legs, three joints each, and four thin and tranſparent wings; to wit, two without, and two within; the hindermoſt part is of a bright colour and round, which is eaten by the *Negroes*. They dig into the ground like the moles, and conſume the ſeed.

There is another kind of great piſmires, reſembling a great fly; the whole body of which is about the length of half a finger, and ſeparated into three ſeveral parts. The laſt part reſembling in ſhape and bigneſs a barley corn; the middlemoſt of an oblong figure, with ſix legs, half a finger long, each of which has four joints: The foremoſt part, or the head, is pretty thick, in the ſhape of a heart, with two horns, and as many black crooked teeth: The white of the eyes is inclining to black, the whole compoſition of the head being the two eyes, placed oppoſite to one another, reſembling the figure of a heart. The fore and hindermoſt parts are of a bright red colour.

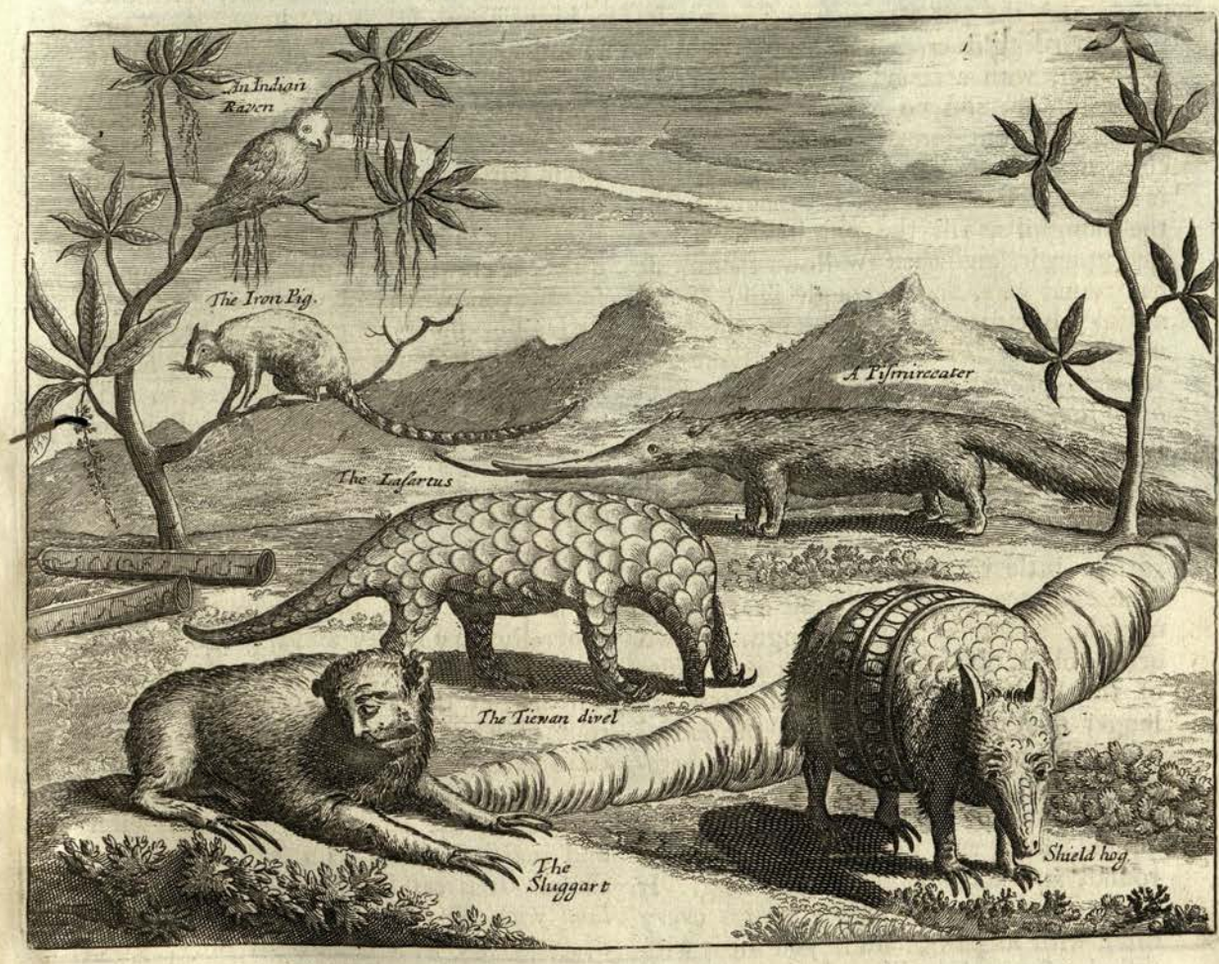
There is another kind of piſmire, of a bright black colour, with black and rough legs. It is about the length of a finger, with a large fourſquare head, ſtarting black eyes and teeth, and two horns, half a finger longer. The body is alſo ſeparated into three parts. The foremoſt of an oblong figure, not very thick, with ſix legs, each of the length of half a finger; the middlemoſt very ſmall and ſquare, not exceeding the bigneſs of a louſe; the hindermoſt is the biggeſt of the three, of an oval figure, and ſharp on the end. Theſe three parts are faſtned together with a ſingle ſtring, the *Braſilians* call it *Tapijai*.

There is beſides this another piſmire, call'd by the *Braſilians Kupia*, of a cheſnut brown colour; its head being as big as another piſmire, with black eyes, two horns, and two tuſks inſtead of teeth. The whole body is covered with hair; it is divided into two parts; The foremoſt with ſix legs, being ſomewhat leſs than the hindermoſt; at certain ſeaſons it gets four wings, the foremoſt being a little bigger than the hindermoſt, which it loſes again at a certain time.

The *Iron-pig* of *Braſil*, called by the *Braſilians Kuanda*; and by the *Portugueſe Ourico Kachiero*, is of the bigneſs of a large ape, its whole body being covered with

ſharp

1643. ſharp ſpikes of three or four fingers long, without any hair. Towards the body thoſe ſpikes are halfways yellowiſh, the remaining part is black, except the points, which are whitiſh, and as ſharp as an awl. When they are vexed, they are able, by a certain contraction of the ſkin, to throw or dart them with ſuch violence, that they wound, nay, ſometimes kill men or beaſts. Their whole body to meaſure from the hindermoſt part of the head to the beginning of the tail, is a foot long, and the tail a foot and five inches in length, which likewiſe has always ſharp ſpikes, the reſt being covered with briſtles like other hogs. The eyes are round, ſtarting and gliſtering like a Carbuncle; about the mouth and noſe are hair of four fingers length, reſembling thoſe of our cats or hares: The feet are like thoſe of apes, but with four fingers only without a thumb, inſtead of which you ſee a place vacant, as if it had been cut away. The four legs are leſs than the hindermoſt, they are likewiſe armed with ſpikes, but not the feet. 1643.



This creature commonly ſleeps in the day time, and roves about by night; it breaths through the noſtrils, is a great lover of fowl, and climbs up the trees, tho' very ſlowly. The fleſh is of no ungrateful taſte, but roaſted and eaten by the Inhabitants. It makes a noiſe *Jii*, like the *Luyaert*.

That four-legg'd creature, by the *Braſilians* called *Ai*, by the *Portugueſe Priguiza*, and by the *Dutch Luyaert* (lazy-back) from its lazy and ſlow pace, becauſe in fifteen days time it ſcarce walks above a ſtones throw. It is about the bigneſs of a middle-ſized fox, its length being a little above a foot, to meaſure from the neck (which is ſcarce three fingers long) to the tail. The fore-legs are ſeven fingers long to the feet, but the hindermoſt about ſix; the head round of three fingers in length: its mouth, which never is without a foam, is round and ſmall, its teeth neither large nor ſharp. The noſe is black, high, and glib, and the eyes ſmall, black and heavy. The body is covered all over with aſh-coloured hair, about two fingers long; which are more inclining to the white towards the back. Round about the neck the

1643. the hair is ſomewhat longer than the reſt. It is a very lazy creature, unable to undergo any fatigues, by reaſon its legs are as it were disjointed in the middle; yet it keeps upon the trees, but moves, or rather creeps along very ſlowly. Its food is the leaves of the trees, it never drinks, and when it rains, hides itſelf. Whereever it faſtens with its paws, it is not eaſily removed; it makes, tho' ſeldom, a noiſe like our cats.

The *Piſmire-Eater*, is thus called, becauſe he feeds upon nothing but piſmires; there are two ſorts, the great and the ſmall: The *Braſilians* call the firſt *Tamanduai*, and the laſt *Tamanduai-Guacu*. It is a four-legg'd creature, of the bigneſs of a dog, with a round head, long ſnout, ſmall mouth, and no teeth. The tongue is roundiſh, but ſometimes twenty-five inches, nay two foot and a half long. When it feeds, it ſtretches out its tongue upon the dunghills, till the piſmires have ſettled upon it, and then ſwallows them. It has round ears, and a rough tail; is not nimble, but may be taken with the hand in the field. The ſmall one, called *Tamanduai-Guacu*, is of the bigneſs of a *Braſilian* fox, about a foot in length. On the fore-feet it has four crooked claws, two big ones in the midſt, and the two leſſer on the ſides. The head is round, yet pointed at one end, a little bent below; with a little black mouth without teeth. The eyes are very ſmall, the ears ſtand upright about a fingers length. Two broad black liſts run along on both ſides of the back; the hairs on the tail are longer than thoſe on the back, the extremity of the tail is without hair, wherewith it faſtens to the branches of the trees. The hairs all over the body are of a pale yellow, hard and bright. Its tongue is round, and about eight fingers long. It is a very ſavage creature, graſps every thing with its paws, and if you hit it with a ſtick, ſits upright like a bear, and takes hold of it with its mouth. It ſleeps all day long, with its head and fore-feet under the neck, and roves about in the night time. As often as it drinks, the water ſpouts forth immediately through the noſtrils. 1643.

They have alſo a kind of ſerpents of about two fathoms long, without legs, with a ſkin of various colours, and four teeth. The tongue is ſplit in the middle, reſembling two arrows, and the poiſon is hid in a bladder in its tail.

The four legg'd creature, called by the *Braſilians*, *Tatu* and *Tatupera*, by the *Spaniards*, *Armadillo*, by the *Portugueſe*, *Encuberto*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schilt-Verken*, (Shield-Hog) becauſe it is defended with ſcales like as with an armour, reſembles in bigneſs and ſhape our hogs; there are ſeveral ſorts of them. The uppermoſt part of the body, as well as the head and tail, is covered with bony ſhields, compoſed of very fine ſcales. It has on the back ſeven partitions, betwixt each of which appears a dark brown ſkin. The head is altogether like that of a hog, with a ſharp noſe, wherewith they grub under ground; ſmall eyes, which lie deep in the head; a little, but ſharp tongue; dark brown and ſhort ears, without hair or ſcales: The colour of the whole body inclining to red; the tail in its beginning is about four fingers thick, but grows by degrees ſharp and round to the end, like thoſe of our pigs: But the belly, the breaſt, and legs are without any ſcales; but covered with a ſkin not unlike that of a gooſe, and whitiſh hair of a fingers length. It is generally very bulky and fat, living upon maleons and roots, and does conſiderable miſchief in the plantations. It loves to rout under ground, eats rabbets, and the dead carcaſſes of birds, or any other carrion: It drinks much, lives for the moſt part upon the land, yet loves the water and marſhy places. Its fleſh is fit to be eaten. It is catch'd like the doe in *Holland* with the rabbits, by ſending a ſmall dog abroad, who by his barking, gives notice where it lurks under ground, and ſo by digging up the ground it is found and catch'd. Shield-Hogs.

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Batts.

The batts in *Braſil*, called by the inhabitants *Andirika*, are of the bigneſs of our crows; they are very fierce, and bite moſt violently with their ſharp teeth. They build their neſts in hollow trees and holes.

Wild-geeſe.

The bird called by the *Braſilians*, *Ipekati Apoa*, by the *Portugueſe*, *Pata*, is no more than a gooſe; and for that reaſon by the *Dutch* called a wild gooſe. It is of the bigneſs of one of our geeſe of about nine months old, and in all other reſpects reſembles them. The belly and under part of the tail, as likewiſe the neck, is covered with white feathers; but on the back to the neck, on the wings and head, the feathers are black intermixed with ſome green. There are alſo ſome black feathers intermixed with the white ones on the neck and belly. They differ from our geeſe in this, that they are ſomewhat bigger; their bills reſemble rather thoſe of our ducks, but are black, and turned at the end, and on the top of it grows a broad, round, and black piece of fleſh, with white ſpeckles. They are commonly found near the river-ſide, are very fleſhy and well-taſted.

The bird Toukan.

The bird by the *Braſilians* called *Toukan*, or large bill, is about the bigneſs of a wood pigeon. It has a crop about the breaſt of three or four fingers in compaſs, of a ſaffron colour, with high red coloured feathers round the edges, which are yellow on the breaſt, but black on the back and all the other parts of the body. Its bill is very large, of the length of a palm of a hand, yellow without and red within. It is almoſt incredible how ſo ſmall a bird is able to manage ſo large a bill, but that it is very thin and light.

The bird Kokoi.

The bird called by the *Braſilians*, *Kokoi*, is a kind of a crane, very pleaſing to the ſight, as big as our ſtorks. Their bills are ſtreight and ſharp, about ſix fingers in length, of a yellowiſh colour inclining to green. The neck is fifteen fingers long, the body ten, the tail five: Their legs are half-ways covered with feathers, about eight fingers in length, the remaining part being ſix and an half. The neck and throat is white, both ſides of the head black, mixt with aſh-colour. On the far and undermoſt part of the neck are moſt delicious, white, long, and thin feathers, fit for plumes: The wings and tail are of an aſh-colour, yet mixt with ſome white feathers. All along the back you ſee long and light feathers, like thoſe

1643. on the necks, but are of an aſh-colour: Their flesh is very good, and of a grateful taſte. There is another kind of theſe birds, which is ſomewhat bigger than a tame duck. Its bill is ſtreight, and ſharp at the end, of the length of four fingers and a half, with a double ſet of teeth both above and below: The head and neck (which is two foot long) reſembles the crane, with black eyes encloſed in a gold coloured circle. The body is two foot and a half in length; the tail, which ſtands even with the extremity of the wings, four fingers. The bill is of an aſh colour towards the head, the reſt yellow, inclining to green. The head and upper part of the neck are covered with long pale yellowiſh feathers, intermixt with black. On the back and wings it hath aſh coloured feathers inclining to yellow: but the legs and feet are dark grey: The fleſh of this bird is eatable, and taſtes like that of a crane.

Jabiru-guaku. The bird called by the *Braſilians*, *Jabiru Guaku*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schuur Vogel*, or barn-bird, has no tongue, but a very large bill, near ſeven foot and a half long; round and crooked towards the end, of a grey colour. On the top of the head is a crown of white and green feathers. The eyes are black, behind each of which are two great concavities inſtead of ears. The neck is ten fingers in length, one half part of which as well as the head, is not covered with feathers, but with an aſh-coloured, whitiſh, rugged ſkin. This bird is of the bigneſs of a Stork, with a ſhort black tail, which ſtands even with the extremities of the wings. The other part of the neck, and the whole body, is covered with white feathers, and thoſe on the neck very long ones: The wings are likewiſe white, but mixt with ſome red. The fleſh if boiled, after the ſkin is taken of, is good food, being very white, but ſomewhat dry.

Braſil produces incredible quantities of other wild fowl of all ſorts, both great and ſmall, ſome of which live among the woods, others in the water, but are very good food.

Of the beſt kind are the thruſhes, called by them *Bamodi*; Pheaſants of divers kinds, called by the *Barbarians*, *Magnagu*, *Jaku*, and *Arakua*.

Mouton is a bird of the bigneſs of a peacock, but has black feathers, the fleſh is very good and tender. Becauſe this countrey is full of fruit trees and woody places, it produces abundance of ſparrow-hawks, and other hawks, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Gavilon*, and by the *Braſilians*, *Teguata* and *Inage*, which are always at enmity with the chickens and pidgeons.

Among thoſe that live both in the water and upon the land, the wild ducks claim the precedency; ſome of thoſe are ſmaller than the *European* ducks, others much exceed them, being as big as a gooſe. They have alſo a ſort of ſnipes, called *Jakana-miri* and *Jakana-guaku*. Beſides theſe there are cranes, quails and oſtridges, and many others of that kind; the fleſh of which is eatable, but not very toothſome. 1643.

The reſt of theſe birds are very greedy after the amber-greeſe, which is thrown aſhore by the boiſterous ſea, which they devour before the inhabitants can come thither to gather it. They have alſo abundance of *Parrakets*, or ſmall parrots, theſe never ſpeak; but their parrots are extraordinary fine and large, ſome of which learn to ſpeak as diſtinctly as a Man. I have ſeen ſome of theſe parrots expreſs every thing what they heard cried in the ſtreets very plainly; and among the reſt I ſaw one, which if put in a baſket upon the floor, would make a dog that belonged to the ſame houſe, ſit up before the baſket, crying out to him, ſit up, ſit up, you naſty toad. Neither did this parrot leave off calling and crying, till the dog came to ſit up before the baſket. It was afterwards preſented to the queen of *Sweden*.

There is among the reſt a certain ſmall bird, no bigger than a joint of a finger, which notwithſtanding this, makes a great noiſe, and is catched with the hands whilſt it is ſitting among the flowers, from whence it draws its nouriſhment. As often as you turn this bird, the feathers repreſent a different colour, which makes the *Braſilian* women faſten then with golden wires to their ears, as we do our rings. The birds here are never deſtitute of food, which they always meet with either among the flowers or fruits of the trees, which are never ſpoiled here during the winter ſeaſon.

The rivers and lakes of *Braſil*, as well as the neighbouring ſea, furniſhes them with great ſtore of all ſorts of fiſh, which are accounted ſo wholſome here, that they are even allowed for thoſe that are troubled with agues. The ſtanding waters near the ſea-ſide, which ſometimes are quite dried up, produce abundance of craw-fiſh, tortoiſes, ſhrimps, crabs, oyſters, and divers others of this kind, which are all very good food. *Their fiſh.*

There are abundance of fiſh in *Braſil*, common to the ſea and rivers, eſpecially during the rainy ſeaſon; when a great quantity of the river water being conveyed into the ſea, the ſweetneſs of the water allures the fiſh into the rivers, where meeting with abundance of green weeds (the product of the bottom of the rivers) they never return to the ſea.

Among the river fiſh the chiefeſt are, the *Duja*, *Prajuba*, and *Akara-Puku*, the laſt

of

1643. of which reſembles the beſt and largeſt of our perches.

Braſil produces alſo various kinds of inſects, ſome of which are of four fingers length, and an inch thick. They have likewiſe ſilk worms, called by the *Braſilians*, *Iſokuku*'s, and their ſilk, *Iſokurenimbo*. There are alſo divers ſorts of fire-flies, which are likewiſe found in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where we ſhall give you a further account of them. Beſides theſe, there are many ſorts of other flies, hornets, waſps, and bees: ſome of which produce honey, ſome none at all. 1643.

Spiders. Among other kinds of ſpiders there is one of a prodigious bigneſs, which is always found either in dunghills, or in the concavities of hollow trees: They call it *Nhanduguaka*. Theſe creatures weave cobwebs like other ſpiders; the ſkin is rough and black, provided with ſharp and long teeth. This creature if provoked wounds with its poiſonous ſting, which is ſo ſmall as ſcarce to be viſible, and raiſes a blueiſh tumour, which is very painful, and if care be not taken in time, occaſions an inflammation, attended with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms as prove afterwards incureable.

Ballar, *or* Kabitto. Near *Rio St. Franciſco* are vaſt numbers of a certain ſmall inſect not unlike our crickets; I have been very curious to get ſight of this creature, to ſatisfy myſelf as to its ſhape, and reſemblance to others of this kind; but though it makes a very ſhrill noiſe, which reſembles that of our crickets, I was never able to ſee any of them; for as ſoon as you approach they deſiſt, ſo that you are at a loſs which way to look. They ſing ſometimes for a quarter of an hour without intermiſſion. In the iſland of *Java* in the *Eaſt-Indies* it is commonly heard in the months of *February* and *June*. At laſt I had the good fortune to get one of theſe creatures into my hands, by means of a certain *Chineſe* woman, after I had often been in ſearch of it, both within and without the city of *Batavia*. The *Javaneſe* ſet two of theſe little creatures a fighting together, and lay money on both ſides, as we do at a cock-match.

There are alſo abundance of ravenous wild beaſts in *Braſil*, ſuch as tygers, leopards, *&c.* The tygers are extreamly ſavage here; they fall upon beaſts, and ſometimes

1643. times upon men, of whom ſeveral were killed by them in my time. A certain *Portugueſe* had a ſugar-mill very pleaſantly ſituated near a wood, whither we uſed to go to divert ourſelves ſometimes. The *Portugueſe* ſitting one time with four more of his friends in the houſe, with the windows drawn up for the conveniency of the land air, a dog belonging to the houſe, who had ventured too far into the adjacent wood, was purſued by a tyger, ſo that to ſave his life he leapt into the window to ſeek for ſhelter near his maſter; but the tyger cloſely purſuing him, leapt alſo through the window into the room, where the door being ſhut, he tore two of thoſe there preſent in pieces before the reſt could make their eſcape, and afterwards went his way. 1643.

There is another ſort of ſavage beaſt in thoſe parts, called by ſome of our people, *Jan-over-Zee*, or jack beyond ſea, which ſurpaſſes all others in nimbleneſs, and tears all to pieces it meets with.

Cattle. *Braſil* has alſo great plenty of cattle, but the fleſh will not keep above twenty-four hours after it is dreſs'd. The *Dutch* cut off the fat, and cut the lean in thin ſlices, and dry it in the ſun like fiſh. No butter is to be made here, becauſe the milk turns to curds immediately; the *Dutch* butter is drawn out of a veſſel like oil.

Hogs. Their hogs are ſmall and black, but very well taſted, and wholeſome; there is another kind of amphibious hogs, by the *Portugueſe* called *Kapiverres*, they are very near as black as the others, and good food.

There is another four legg'd creature in *Braſil*, called by the inhabitants *Taperete*, and by the *Portugueſe*, *Antes*; its fleſh has *Antes.* the taſte of beef, but ſomewhat finer. It is about the bigneſs of a calf, but ſhaped like a hog; it ſleeps all day among the woods, and ſeeks for belly-timber in the night: Its food is graſs, ſugar-reeds, cabbages, and ſuch like. They have likewiſe good ſtore of goats, called by them *Pakas*, and *Kotias*, and hares and rabbits, which don't give way in goodneſs to thoſe of *Europe*. There is alſo an excellent kind of lizards, called by the inhabitants, *Vuana* and *Teju*, which are accounted a dainty bit.

Fiſh. The fiſh in *Braſil* are no leſs conſiderable for the ſupply of our plantations, than the cattle, which are on the coaſts of *Braſil*, but eſpecially in *Parnambuko*, where they are found in ſuch plenty, that at one draught they catch ſometimes two or three thouſand fine fiſh, in the four or five ſummer months, for during the rainy ſeaſon, they catch but few. There are certain diſtricts along the ſea coaſt whither the fiſh moſt reſort; ſome of thoſe belong to the inhabitants, the reſt to the company, and are farmed at a certain rate *per annum*. The lakes as well as the bays, are ſtored with an incredible multitude of fiſh; the firſt are by the *Portugueſe* called *Alagoas*; and the beſt they produce are the *Sindia*, *Queba*, and *Noja*, all without ſcales. And though the fiſh which are catcht in the lakes are not ſo much eſteemed as the river-fiſh, nevertheleſs are they not much behind them in goodneſs, becauſe theſe lakes are not always ſtanding waters, but intermixt with ſeveral rivers. Some of theſe fiſh they dry in the ſun. The chiefeſt of this kind are thoſe called by the *Braſilians*, *Kurima Parati*, and by the *Dutch* inhabitants *Herders*. They abound no leſs in ſea-fiſh of all ſorts. The fiſh called by the *Braſilians*, *Karapantangele*, which is not unlike our perch, has the preference among them. And as the rivers furniſh infinite numbers of fiſh, ſo they are generally fatter and better taſted than the ſea-fiſh. Thoſe which are catcht in thoſe fiſheries near the ſea-ſhore, are for the moſt part ſalted, and carried from thence into the countrey, for the uſe of the ſugar-mills, which cauſe great plenty among them.

The craw-fiſh, which are in great quantities near the rivers and in the marſhy grounds, ſerve likewiſe for food to the *Braſilians* and negroes, and ſome of our people like them tolerably well.

It is further to be obſerved, that whereas a conſiderable number of cattle, during the war was run aſtray out of the parks into the foreſts and woods beyond the river of *St. Francis*, it was thought convenient by the great council of the company here, to agree with certain perſons to catch this cattle, and bring it to the *Receif*, in order to be killed for the uſe of the inhabitants. The time of the ſaid contract being expired, it was conſulted whether the ſame ſhould be renewed; but it being apparent that there were not enough left to quit coſt, the ſame was laid aſide, and this reſolution ſent to the council of nineteen. For in the mean while the inhabitants near *Rio St. Franciſco* and *Rio Grande*, having applied themſelves to the breeding of cattle, their parks were ſo well ſtockt by this time, that they not only furniſhed the inhabitants of the *Receif*, but alſo the ſugar-mills, with plenty of meat, which was bought at the rate of three and four pence *per* pound in the countrey; beſides that, they provided the garriſons with the ſame for a twelvemonth, after the ſtore-houſes of the *Receif* were emptied; and notwithſtanding this, the inhabitants of thoſe parts were not out of debt, when thoſe of *Parnambuko* and *Parayba*, were involved over head and ears; which ſhews what advantage they reapt from the breeding of cattle; and that if

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1643. the *Dutch Braſil* had continued in peace, thoſe parks might have furniſhed all the garriſons with meat, without impairing their ſtock for breeding; which, together with the great plenty of fiſh, are the two main pillars of the ſtate of *Braſil*.

Notwithſtanding all which, it is certain that the inhabitants of the *Dutch Braſil* cannot be provided with ſufficient maintenance, without a yearly ſupply from *Europe*, as well eatables as other commodities, as has been found by experience, to the great detriment of the company; after our ſtore-houſes were exhauſted by the ſeveral expeditions againſt *Angola*, *Meranhaon*, and other places.

Crocodiles. In the rivers and lakes here are alſo found crocodiles, by the *Braſilians* called *Jakare*, and in the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Kaymans*. They are like the *African* crocodiles, but not quite ſo big, ſeldom exceeding five foot in length. They lay twenty or thirty eggs bigger than geeſe eggs, which are eaten by the *Braſilians*, *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, as well as the fleſh.

In the ſeas near the coaſt of *Braſil*, they meet alſo ſometimes with great lampreys. Before the bridge from the *Receif* to *Maurice-town* was built, one of this kind of a conſiderable bigneſs did lurk near that paſſage, where the boats uſed to paſs over from one ſide to the other, and ſnatcht all that fell in his way, both men and dogs that ſwam ſometimes after the boat, into the water: But at a certain time, by the ſudden falling of the tide, being got aground with the foremoſt part of the body, he was with much ado brought aſhore.

The diſtrict of *Pernambuko* does alſo abound in various ſorts of fruits, as well as all the other parts of *Braſil*, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter.

Upon the captainſhip of *Pernambuko*, borders to the north the captainſhip of *Tamarika*, which owes its name to an iſland of the ſame name, being the chiefeſt part of this diſtrict, which however extends near thirty-five leagues along the ſea coaſt on the continent.

The iſland of *Tamarika* lies two leagues to the north of *Pomerello*, in the ſea; being parted from the continent by the river *Tamarika*, its moſt ſouthern point lying under the 7th degree 58m ſouthern latitude. It is from ſouth to north about two leagues long, and its circuit near ſeven. To the juriſdiction of this iſle did alſo belong *Goyana*, *Kapavaribi*, *Terukupa*, and *Abray* on the continent. Formerly it had but few inhabitants, and ſcarce any houſes, though it is a very pleaſant iſle, and tolerably fertile, producing braſil-wood, coco nuts, cotton, ſugar-reeds, melons, and ſuch like; beſides wood for firing, and freſh water for the conveniency of the *Receif*: It abounds likewiſe in wood both for building of houſes and ſhipping. This iſland was much infeſted with wild beaſts, which did great miſchief to the ſugar reeds: This moved *Peter Pas*, director of the captainſhip of *Itamarika*, to make his application to count *Maurice* and the great council in 1647, to know their pleaſure, whether they ſhould diſpoſe of thoſe beaſts by contract, to ſuch as would be at the charge of catching of them, or whether they ſhould be taken and killed for the uſe of the garriſons; but this was rejected by the council, who enjoined the inhabitants not to kill thoſe beaſts in the open fields, unleſs they ſhould break into their plantations, it being for the intereſt of the company to preſerve them in caſe of a neceſſity: The damage which from thence might accrue to the ſugar reeds, being to be prevented by ſurrounding their plantations with pales and ſtakes. 1643.

The conſequence of this iſle. The iſland is look'd upon as of the greateſt conſequence to us, it having been propoſed by ſome to transfer the ſeat of the *Dutch-Braſil* from the *Receif* thither; but the directors of the company did not agree to it, conſidering that at that time this iſland was quite deſolate; whereas upon the *Receif* were ſtore-houſes, magazines, ware-houſes, and ſuch like buildings ready to their hands, beſides that the place was much more pleaſant, fertile, and ſtronger; and the harbour much more convenient for ſhips: The river *Tamarika* on the other hand being not navigable, but for ſmall veſſels, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the harbour, which was noted for ſhipwracks. The defect of freſh water in the *Receif*, in which this iſle abounds, may be ſupplied from the river *Biberibi*; beſides that, they had ſeveral baſons with freſh water within the *Receif*, for their preſent uſe. During the war with the *Portugueſe* we were ſenſible of the conveniencies we received from this iſland, by reaſon of its ſtrength both by art and nature, which might ſerve as a ſafe retreat upon all emergencies; beſides, that its preſervation was abſolutely neceſſary for the *Receif*, which was ſupplied from thence with fiſh, and ſeveral other other ſorts of proviſions.

Upon the banks of the river at the ſouth entrance of the harbour, we had built a quadrangular fort, called *Orange*. It was provided with a goodly wall, but the ditch was not very deep, and for the moſt part without water, for which reaſon it was ſtrenghten'd with palliſadoes. On the north-ſide we had a hornwork, but much decayed; within the body of the fort was a powder-vault, and other conveniencies for the

1643. bedding of ſoldiers. Several batteries were raiſed upon the walls, mounted upon ſix braſs and as many iron great guns. In the iſland near the entrance of the river, cloſe by a moraſs full of thorn-buſhes, was a ſmall town, moſt inhabited by ſoldiers, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Noſtra Senhora de la Conceptiano*. Upon a hanging rock, juſt by, was an old redoubt erected by the *Portugueſe*, called by the ſame Names, which together with the whole iſland, was taken by the *Dutch*, under the command of colonel *Schop* from the *Portugueſe*, and the place, after his name, called *Schop's Town*. This fort was afterwards by the *Dutch* cloſed up on the backſide towards the church, ſo that it afterwards ſerved both for the defence of the town and the harbour, as the *Blockhouſe* on the north-ſide cover'd the gates. There were then eleven pieces of cannon mounted upon it. At the north entrance of the harbour, was another redoubt, which defended that paſſage on that ſide, with three iron cannon. One Mr. *Dortmont*, governor of *Itamarika*, found under the before-mention'd rock, in 1645, as he was digging a well, a ſpring of freſh water, which proved very uſeful for the garriſon, becauſe it could not be cut off by the enemy.

Hanging-rock.

Somewhat higher up the river *Tamarika*, lies an iſland called *Magioppe*, where are found abundance of *Mandihoka* roots. You may go quite round this iſland in barks; it having a kind of a harbour on both ends, *viz.* to the ſouth and north, but the firſt is the beſt; becauſe there ariſes from the northern ſhore of the continent, a ſhelf, which reaches very cloſe to the iſland, the channel betwixt both not having above ten or twelve foot water. The only harbour fit for uſe thereabouts is the ſouth-entrance of the river, which makes *Tamarika* an iſland, where ſhips that drew fourteen or fifteen foot water, may paſs through; there is no convenient anchorage. That end, where the river returns into the ſea, is by the *Dutch* called the northern-entrance, and by the *Portugueſe Katuamma*.

The rivers Marafarinha *and* Garaſſou.

Betwixt *Pomerello* and the river *Tamarika*, a river comes from the continent, fit for barges, called *Marafarinha*; and half a league within the mouth of the river *Tamarika*, another falls likewiſe from the continent called *Garaſſou*, but is of little moment. From thence to the north, are ſeveral other rivers near the ſea-ſhore, which are navigable with barges, for the conveniency of the ſugar-mills, of which there are ſeveral thereabouts.

Punto Pedra.

A league and an half further to the north of the north-entrance of *Tamarika*, is a noted point of land called by the *Portugueſe*, *Punto Pedra*, ſurrounded with a *Receif*, betwixt which you may paſs with barges and yachts. 1643.

The river Goyana.

A league further to the north from this point, and three leagues to the north-weſt of *Tamarika*, is the ſmall river *Goyana*, under 7 deg. 46 min. which diſembogues in two branches in the bay; at the entrance lies a great rock, where is great ſtore of ſea-fowl. Before it lies a great *Receif*, but within are ſo many ſhelves that renders the paſſage very dangerous.

The river Auyay.

About two leagues and a half beyond the river *Goyana*, to the north, is a great river, called *Auyay*, but the entrance is ſo choak'd up with ſands, that there is ſcarce any paſſage for barges. This river ſends forth ſeveral branches into the country, upon one of which to the north, lies the village of *Maurice*, and upon the ſouthern branch the village *Auyay*.

Porto Franciſco.

Among others, *Porto Franciſco* lies in a creek three long leagues to the north of the river *Auyay*; and five leagues to the north-weſt of the ſame river, an unnavigable river called *Grammana*, beſides ſeveral other rivulets.

Cape of Paraiba.

About a league and a half to the north-weſt of the river *Grammana*, is the *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, and three leagues from thence to the north-weſt, the cape of *Parayba*, being a long point of land, with a large adjacent bay. The whole coaſt from *Pomerello* to the cape of *Parayba*, is cover'd with receifs or rocks, which lying for the moſt part about half a league from the ſhore, and the water between them being generally very ſmooth, affords an eaſy paſſage to barges, even in tempeſtuous weather; when it is almoſt impoſſible for ſhips to paſs without the rocks, by reaſon of the violence of the current from the northern and the ſouthern winds, which blow there continually.

The Town of Goyana.

Three leagues within the mouth of the river *Goyana* is a town of the ſame name, where is kept the court of judicature of this *captainſhip*. There are five or ſix ſugar-mills thereabouts, ſituated upon the banks of the river, for the more commodious tranſportation of ſugar in barges to *Pernambuko*. This countrey produces likewiſe braſil-wood, ginger, cotton, and *Indian* nuts; the people called *Petiguaves* inhabit here; tho' this whole tract of land, as far as *Cabo Blanco*, is not very populous, having only a few villages, inhabited by the *Braſilians*.

The iſle of *Tamarika* has ſeveral landing places on the river-ſide, the chiefeſt are: *Os Markos* and *Pedreiros*, where the river is narroweſt; *Tapaſima* and *Kamboa* of *Domingos Rebeyro*; the great *Makqueira*

and

1643. and *Kamboa* of *Conrad Pauli*; in which places the enemy landed in that iſland. The paſs near the north-entrance of *Topowa*, and the iſland *Tapoſoka*, where with one ſingle ſhip you may defend the paſſage from the rivers *Tujukapape* and *Maſſerandaku*, as likewiſe from the ſea. For the reſt, the ſhore all along the river being very marſhy and full of *Manga* trees, is of a very difficult acceſs. The ſhore towards the ſea-ſide is very flat, but woody, which together with the ſands, that are at ſome diſtance in the ſea, makes the approach of ſhips very dangerous on that ſide. Formerly the court of judicature of the *captainſhip* was kept in this iſland, but was afterwards transferred from thence, as we told you before, to the Town of *Goyana* and *Kapivaribi* on the continent, becauſe theſe places were both more populous, and more ſugar-mills were built thereabouts, the ground being much better here than in the Iſland. In my time there were five judges belonging to this court, three of which lived at *Goyana*, and the other two in the iſle of *Itamarika*. However, this court was afterwards likewiſe removed from *Goyana*. In the year 1641, Mr. *Peter Pas* was director of the *captainſhip* of *Itamarika* for the *Weſt-India* company, and captain *Sluiter* commander in chief over the ſoldiers.

This *captainſhip* has derived its name from the capital city, which has borrow'd Parayba. hers of the river *Parayba*, upon which it is ſituate. It is one of the moſt northerly *captainſhips*, about five leagues diſtant from the ſea. It was formerly in the poſſeſſion of the *French*, who were 1585, chaſed from thence and ſeveral other harbours, by the *Portugueſe* general *Martin Leytan*.

Five leagues upwards the river *Parayba*, is a city founded by the *Portugueſe*, and after *Philip* king of *Spain*, called *Filippen* and *Noſſa Senhora de nives*, otherwiſe *Parayba*, from the river *Parayba*; which name was by the *Dutch*, after they had in *November* 1633, conquered the whole *captainſhip*, changed into that of *Frederick's Town*, after *Frederick Henry* prince of *Orange*. This city had been but lately built by the *Portugueſe*, and had ſeveral ſtately houſes with marble pillars, the reſt being only of ſtone. Here is kept the court of judicature of this *captainſhip*. Before the time of the rebellion of the *Portugueſe*, this place was inhabited as well by the *Portugueſe* as *Dutch*, being much frequented by the inhabitants of the circumjacent countrey, was uſed to exchange their ſugar for what other commodities they ſtood in need of, which was afterwards from thence tranſported to other places.

The city Parayba.

Within the mouth of the river *Parayba*, were three very conſiderable forts. One on the ſouth-point, by the *Portugueſe* called *Catharine*, but by count *Maurice*, afterwards named *Margaret*, after his Siſter. It was defended with five goodly baſtions, and a hornwork without. *Fort* Margaret.

The fort called *St. Antonio*, by the *Portugueſe*, was built upon a ſmall iſland, which by a narrow breach was ſeparated from the north-point. This is only the remainder of a large four ſquare fort, formerly erected by the *Portugueſe*, which was afterwards raſed by the *Dutch*, part of it having been waſh'd away by the river. It is ſurrounded with palliſadoes and a good ditch, ſupplied with water from the beforenamed branch of the river: The Walls are very ſtrong, and upon a battery are mounted ſix iron pieces of cannon. It may be defended by the cannon both from the city of *Parayba*, and from the fort *Margaret*, lying juſt oppoſite to it on the ſouth-ſide, which is the reaſon it was always but careleſly guarded by the *Portugueſe*. *Fort* St. Anthony.

The third fort lies upon a triangular iſland, called *Reſtinga*, not far from thence, more upwards the river. It was ſtrengthened with palliſadoes, and upon the batteries were mounted five braſs, and as many iron pieces of cannon. *The third fort.*

The *captainſhip* of *Parayba* is watered and divided by two conſiderable rivers, *viz.* the *Parayba* and *Mongoapa*, otherwiſe call'd *St. Domingo*. The great river of *Parayba* lies under the 6th deg. 24 min. four leagues to the north of *Cabo Blanco*, and diſcharges it ſelf in two branches into the Sea, being ſeparated by a large ſand-bank: One is called the northern, and the other the ſouthern entrance. From the laſt extends a rocky-ridge as far *Cabo Blanco*, and within the river lies a ſand-bank quite croſs to the fort *Margaret*. This river is very ſhallow during the ſummer time, but in the winter ſeaſon, the waters riſe to that height that they overflow all the adjacent countrey, ſometimes to the great loſs of men and cattle. *The river* Parayba.

Two leagues beyond this river to the north, is a bay which affords a very ſafe ſtation to the largeſt ſhips. It is by the *Portugueſe* called *Porto Lucena*, and by the *Dutch* the *Red-Land*, the grounds being red hereabouts. There is very good anchorage here at five and ſix fathom water, and the country near it affords very good freſh water; which is the reaſon why the *Dutch* ſhips bound for *Holland* from the *Receif*, uſed to ſtay for one anothers coming in this bay, and to provide themſelves with freſh water. Porto Lucena.

1643. Half a league further to the north, under 6 deg. 34 min. the river *Mongoapa*, or *Mongoanawapy*, exonerates it self into the sea: This river is much larger towards its source than at the mouth; the banks on both sides being full of briers, bushes and *Manga* trees. Before its entrance lies a *Receif*, and at the very mouth two dangerous sand-banks; it has three fathom water at low tide.

River Mongoapa.

About two small leagues to the north of the river *Mongoapa*, is a bay called by the *Portuguese Bahia de Treycano*, or *Treason*, where, at about a league distant from the shore, is eleven or twelve fathom water. Five leagues to the north of this bay, you meet with the river *Barra Conguon* or *Konayo*, which is scarce passable for Yatches. About a league and a half from thence is large bay of about two leagues in length, called *Pernambuko*; and five leagues beyond it to the north, the river *Jan de Sta*, or *Estau*.

The natives of *Parayba* inhabit about seven villages, the chiefest of which is call'd *Pinda Una*, which in 1634, contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants, where each of the others had scarce three hundred; each of these comprehending not above five or six very long buildings, with a great many doors, but very small ones.

The chief commodities of this *captainship* are sugar, brasil-wood, tobacco, hides, cotton, and such like. The sugar-reeds did bear extremely well, because they were transplanted into fresh grounds. Whilst the district of *Parayba* was under our jurisdiction, there were above one and twenty sugar-mills on both sides of the banks of the river, eighteen of which sent away every year four thousand chests of sugar. Near the river-side, the country is low and plain, but not far from thence rises by degrees, and affords a very agreeable variety of hills and vallies. The flat countrey, which is also the most fertile, is distinguish'd into several divisions, some of which have borrow'd their names from small rivers which run thro' them; as for instance, *Gramamma*, *Tapoa*, *Tibery*, *Ingeby*, *Monguappe*, *Increry*, *Kamaratuba*, and several more. All those countries are extremely fertile, occasion'd by the overflowing of the river *Parayba*. Their products are, sugar, barley, turky-wheat, potatoes, ananas, coco-nuts, melons, oranges, citrons, bananas, pakovas, markomas, cucumbers, and all other necessaries for the sustenance of men and beasts. They have here a kind of wild pears, called kajous, which are very juicy and well-tasted; within is a certain bean or small nut, the rind of which is bitter, but the kernel sweet, if roasted in the ashes. The pear is very cooling, but the nut has a contrary quality.

Its fertility.

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Towards the end of *November* 1634, the *Dutch* undertook the expedition against *Parayba*, their forces being embarked in thirty two ships under the command of colonel *Schoppe*, *Artisjoski*, *Hinderson*, *Stachouwer* and *Carpentier*. The whole fleet was divided into two squadrons, the first consisted of one and twenty ships, in which were nineteen hundred and forty five men, the other of eleven yachts, with four hundred and nine men. *Schoppe* was the first that landed six hundred men, and advanced towards the enemy, who betook themselves to their heels, leaving their arms and cloaths behind them; *Anthony Albuquerque* their general, himself scarce escaping their hands. In the mean while, the rest being likewise got a shore, three companies, under the conduct of *Gasper Ley*, marched directly to the fort of *Margaret*, and intrencht himself near the fort, whilst *Schoppe* kept all along the shore, and *Artisjoski*, posted himself on the right-side, in sight of the garrison: At the same time Mr. *Lichthart* attack'd the fort in the small island *Restinga*, which he took by force, and put the garrison to the sword. By this time *Schoppe* had raised a battery against the fort, from whence he so sorely gall'd the besieged, that their commander *Simon d'Albukirque* surrendred the place. Hereupon the fort of *St. Antonio* was summoned to surrender, *Maglianes* the governor desired three days delay, which being denied, he march'd away secretly by night, leaving the place to *Lichthart*, who found there five great brass pieces, and nineteen iron pieces of cannon.

The Dutch conquer Parayba.

The same night our forces marched towards the city of *Parayba*, being sixteen hundred strong, and having pass'd a small branch of the river called *Tambra Grande*, made themselves masters of it without any opposition: The *Spanish* general *Banjola*, who commanded there with two hundred and fifty men only, having left the place before, and being retired to *Goyana*, after he had either sunk or nail'd up the cannon, set fire to three ships and two warehouses, in which were consumed three thousand chest with sugar. The fort of *St. Catharine* being much decay'd, was order'd by count *Maurice* to be repaired, and the ditch to be enlarged and deepen'd; giving it the name of *Margaret*, after his Sister. The fort of *St. Antonio* was razed, for the greatest part, there being only one bulwark left for the defence of the north-point of the river. The fort *Restingas* was order'd to be surrounded with new pallisa-

1643. does, and the convent of *Parayba* fortified with a wall and outwork; and the command thereof given to *Elias Harkman*, together with the government of the whole *captainſhip*.

Potigi, *or* Rio Grande. The *captainſhip* of *Potigi*, or *Potingi* or *Poteingi*, is otherwiſe, by the *Portugueſe*, called *Rio Grande*, from a river of the ſame Name: The *Dutch* call it *North-Braſil*, in reſpect of the more ſouthern *captainſhips* of *Braſil*. It borders to the ſouth upon *Parayba*, and to the north upon the *captainſhip* of *Siara*; tho' the *Portugueſe* geographers extended its bounds as far as the iſland *Maranhaon*.

The *French* were once maſters of this *captainſhip*, 'till 1597, they were chaſed from thence by the *Spaniſh* commander, *Feliciano Creça de Karvalaſho*. It has four diviſions, named after ſo many rivers, that run through them; *viz. Kunhao*, *Goyana*, *Mumpobu* and *Potegy*. And tho' this diſtrict has been much neglected by the *Portugueſe*, yet does it produce plenty of wild-fowl and fiſh, which are ſo luſcious, that they commonly eat them only with lemon-juice or vinegar, without oil. There is an incredible number of fiſh in the lake *Goraires*; beſides which, abundance of *Farinha* is planted here. This part of the countrey ſtood us in good ſtead during the late rebellion of the *Portugueſe*, our garriſons in *Parayba*, and other places, being ſupplied from thence with good ſtore of fleſh and fiſh.

River Rio Grande. Above the river *Rio Grande*, is a town of no great moment, call'd *Amſterdam*; the Inhabitants live by planting *Farinha* and *Tobacco*, and fiſhing. Higher up in the countrey live ſome *Moradores* or husbandmen, who cultivate the grounds; but on the north-ſide of *Rio Grande* are but few inhabitants.

The river *Rio Grande*, *i. e.* the *Great-river*, is ſo called by the *Portugueſe* from its bigneſs, but by the *Braſilians*, *Potigi* or *Poteingi*. The mouth of this river lies under 50 deg. 42 min. ſouthern latitude, three leagues from *Punto Negro*, coming from the weſt-ſide of the continent. It diſembogues four leagues above the fort *Keulen*, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Tres Reyos*: It bears ſhips of great burthen; but the river *Kunhao* in the ſame *captainſhip* is only navigable with barges and yachts. The bays of this *captainſhip* are, *Bahia Formoſa*, *Punto Negro*, *Ponto de Pipas*, and the *Bay of Martin Tüſſen*. The *Bay of Ginapabo* lies beyond *Rio Grande* to the north; and beyond that a river call'd *Guaſiavi*, upon which, near the mouth lies the village *Atape Wappa*. Near to the north you meet with the river *Siria Mixui*; and near the village of *Natal*, and the fort of *Tres Reyos*, paſſes a river called the *Croſs-River*, which ariſes out of a ſmall lake in *Rio Grande*. Over againſt the ſame fort, a freſh river falls into the great river, betwixt two land-banks, and not far from thence another ſalt-water river. 1643.

The fort *Keulen* was four-ſquare, built upon a rock or point of a *Receif*, at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, at the mouth of the river *Receif*; being ſurrounded with water, as oft as it's flowing water, ſo that at high tide there is no coming at it but with boats. In the midſt of this fort is a ſmall chappel, where in 1645, and 1646, our people found a wall about a foot and a half wide on the top, but at the bottom three feet, cut within a rock, which brings freſh ſupplies of good and ſweet water every tide; with an ordinary tide two hundred and twenty five, and at ſpring-tide about three hundred and fifty quarts; which is more than ſufficient for the uſe of the garriſon, in caſe of ſiege. The fort is built of a ſquare ſtone; being towards the ſhore defended with two half baſtions, in form of hornworks. In the year 1646, there was an artillery of twenty nine, as well braſs as iron pieces of cannon in the place, and provided with a good under-vault, and convenient lodgments for the ſoldiers. *The fort* Keulen.

This fort was in 1633, taken by the *Dutch*, under the command of *Matthias van Keulen*, one of the governors of the company, who being aſſiſted by ſeveral noted captains, *viz. Byma*, *Kloppenburg*, *Lichthart*, *Garſtman* and *Mansfelt van Keulen*, ſet ſail thither with eight hundred and eight men, embarked in four ſhips and ſeven yachts, and made himſelf maſter of it, and the whole captainſhip at the ſame time; ſince which it changed its name *Tres Reyos*, into that of *Keulen*, from the commander in chief of this expedition. *Its conqueſt by the* Dutch.

The *Tapoyers* (or mountaineers) uſe commonly twice a year, eſpecially when the dry ſeaſon puts them in want of freſh water, to make an inroad into this *captainſhip*; there being a conſtant enmity betwixt them and the *Portugueſe*. It happen'd in *July* 1645, that theſe *Tapoyers* being advertiſed that the *Portugueſe* intended to revolt from us, and had actually begun the ſame in *Pernambuko*, did, under the conduct of one of their leaders, called *Jacob Rabbi*, after ſeveral provocations given them by the *Portugueſe*, make an incurſion into *Kunhao*, where they killed thirty ſix Perſons in a ſugar-mill belonging to one *Gonſalvo d'Olivera*. From thence they marched to a certain place, where the *Portugueſe* had caſt up a line for their defence, which they made themſelves maſters of, and put

1643. the *Portugueſe* to the ſword. The *Braſilians* told us, that this had been done in requital of what had been done to ſome of thoſe mountaineers by one *Andrew Vidal* in *Serinhaim*, after quarter given them before, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. Since which time, the *Portugueſe* have laid this tract deſolate, which the *Dutch* once had a mind to re-people, and to put it in the ſame condition as the *Portugueſe* had poſſeſs'd it, but for want of people that deſign was fain to be laid aſide.

Siara. The *captainſhip* of *Siara* is one of the moſt northerly diſtricts of *Braſil*, bordering upon *Maranhaon* to the north upon the river *Siara*. It is of no great extent, its whole compaſs being not above ten or twelve leagues.

The river Siara. The river *Siara*, which riſes deep in the continent, diſembogues about ſeven leagues and a half to the north of the bay *Mangorypa*, under 3 deg. 40 min. ſouthern latitude.

The native inhabitants of this *captainſhip*, according to the report of thoſe that have frequently viſited it, are very large of ſtature, with ugly features, long hair and black ſkin; except the ſpace betwixt the eyes and mouth. They have holes in their ears, which hang downwards upon the ſhoulders; ſome make holes in their lips, ſome in their noſes, in which they wear ſtones as an ornament. Their food is *Fariuha*, wild-fowls, fiſh and fruit. They drink moſt water, but make likewiſe a certain liquor out of *Farinha*; and of late began to be uſed to drink good ſtore of brandy, tho' it was expreſly forbidden to bring it into the villages, to keep them from the exceſſive uſe of ſtrong liquors. The countrey produces ſugar-reeds, chryſtal, cotton, pearls, ſalt, and ſeveral other commodities. Ambergreaſe is alſo found on the ſea-ſhore.

The inland part of the countrey was in 1630, governed by one of their own kings, call'd *Algodoi*; in ſome reſpect tributary to the *Portugueſe*, who had built a fort upon the river *Siara*, and made themſelves maſters of the whole ſea-coaſt thereabouts; notwithſtanding which they were in continual broils with one another, 'till 1638, this fort and the whole countrey was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueſe*, in the following manner.

Siara conquered by the Dutch. Count *Maurice* and the council, being ſollicited by the natives of that country, to make themſelves maſters of the *Portugueſe* fort on that ſide, and to deliver them from the oppreſſion they lay under at that time, they offering their aſſiſtance, and and giving two young lads of their beſt families, as pledges of their Fidelity, this expedition was reſolved upon. The chief command over the Troops deſign'd for this exploit, was conferr'd upon colonel *John Garſtman*, a man of more than ordinary conduct in martial affairs, tho' as the caſe then ſtood, this enterpriſe was not likely to meet with any conſiderable difficulties; being aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the *Braſilians*, who bore an old hatred to the *Portugueſe*, and were acquainted with the ſtrength and condition both of their forces and places. *Garſtman* being provided with ſhips, men, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries requiſite for ſuch an expedition, ſet ſail towards the river *Siara*; where being met by the *Algodoi*, or king, with white enſigns in token of peace; and having landed his men, two hundred of the natives joined with them. With thoſe he marched directly to the fort, which after a brave reſiſtance from the *Portugueſe*, who killed ſome of his men, he took by ſtorm; and made moſt of the garriſon priſoners, among whom were ſome commanders of note: They found good ſtore of cannon and artillery in the place. 1643.

The fort Siara. Since that time, the *Dutch* built a ſmall fort upon the *Siara*, unto which they gave likewiſe the name of *Siara*, which was provided with a garriſon of betwixt thirty and forty ſoldiers only; not ſo much for the defence of the countrey, as to maintain a good correſpondency with the *Braſilians*, who being very numerous in thoſe parts, might do us conſiderable ſervice in time of war. It was upon this conſideration, that the great council always commanded their officers, ſent thither, to cultivate a good underſtanding with them; and at ſeveral times ſent them ſome ſmall preſents, which, however proved ineffectual in the end, for in 1644, they attack'd and kill'd ſeveral of our men at *Komeſay*, (a place about thirty leagues from *Siara*) as we ſhall hear anon.

For the *Braſilians* being, in 1641, increaſed to ſuch a number in *Siara*, that the villages thereabouts were not able to contain them without great inconveniency, whereas the diſtrict of *Rio Grande* was almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, and conſequently not in a condition to oppoſe an enemy; one *Andrew Uliifs* propoſed to the great council, to build a village in *Rio Grande*, for the uſe of ſuch as intended to ſettle there out of *Siara*, deſiring to be conſtituted chief of the ſaid village. Count *Maurice* and the great council, being informed of the inclinations of thoſe *Siara*, who were willing to ſettle in *Rio Grande*, their ancient place of abode, and conſidering the benefit that was likely to accrue to the company, from the ſettlement of thoſe *Braſilians*, ſo near at hand, granted *Uliif*'s requeſt, wiſhing him to bring thither

1643. thither as many of the *Braſilians* of *Siara* as he thought convenient, for the compaſs of a village of which he was made chief or captain. Things being thus ſettled, they choſe, with the approbation of our directors, certain chiefs or heads out of the moſt ancient families of each diviſion, called *Reſidoor* by the *Portugueze*, and certain judges; as for inſtance in *Goyana*, *Domingoi*, *Fernandes*, and *Karapeva*; in *Parayba*, *Peter Potty*; and in *Rio Grande*, *Antonio Perapeva*. Notwithſtanding all this, the *Braſilians* of *Siara* revolted againſt the *Dutch* in 1644. ſurprized the garriſon in the fort, which they razed, and killed the commander in chief, *Gideon Morritz*, with the whole garriſon, beſides all the workmen belonging to the ſalt-pits near the river *Upanemma*, who were all cut in pieces by theſe *Barbarians*.

A certain maſter of a ſhip, with a captain, lieutenant, and ſome ſoldiers, who happened to come aſhore in a boat to fetch ſome freſh proviſions, being ignorant of their treachery, were alſo put to the ſlaughter, three ſeamen having the good fortune to eſcape with their lives into the wood.

Some laid the cauſe of this rebellion at the door of the *Portugueſe* and *Braſilians* of *Maranhaon*, bordering upon them; but if we ſearch into the true ſource of this evil, it muſt be attributed to the miſcarriage of our own officers, who by their hard uſage, had forced the inhabitants to revenge themſelves for the injuries received at their hands.

Thus much concerning the *Captainſhips* of the *Dutch Braſil*; we will in the next place give you an account of all the memorable tranſactions that happened betwixt the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* in *Braſil* during our ſtay there; after I have repreſented to you the excellency and convenient ſituation of this country, together with the eccleſiaſtical eſtate of the *Dutch Braſil*.

The excellency of Braſil.

Braſil is a country excellently well qualified by nature for the producing of all things, which are generally found in the *Weſt-Indies*, under or near the ſame climate; except, that hitherto no gold or ſilver mines have been diſcovered here worth taking notice of. But next to gold and ſilver, the ſugar claims the precedency here before all other commodities. Among all the harbours and places of the *Weſt-Indies*, there is not one that can compare with *Braſil*, either for the product, or conveniency of tranſportation of ſugar; the whole coaſt of *Braſil* being full of ſmall rivers, which flowing through the adjacent valleys, diſembogues in the ſea; from whence the ſugar-mills built in the valleys reap the benefit of ſaving vaſt charges, which elſe muſt be beſtowed upon labourers and carriages; whereas theſe rivers drive the mills, ſerve for the tranſportation of ſugar to other places, and furniſh them at an eaſy rate with what commodities they ſtand in need of; all which conveniencies, as they are not to be met with in any other place of the *Weſt-Indies*; ſo, no ſugar-mills could be erected there with any proſpect of profit. The exportation of ſugar from *Braſil* into *Europe* and *Africa*, is likewiſe performed with much more eaſe than from any other places in the *Weſt-Indies*; for the ſituation of *Braſil*, (being the moſt eaſtern part of all *America*) is ſuch, as could not be more conveniently contrived by human art or nature for the tranſportation of ſo general and agreeable a commodity as ſugar, into all the other parts of the world; conſidering thoſe two excellencies of *Braſil*, together with its vaſt extent, it is moſt certain, that, provided it were well peopled, it might command both the *North* and *Æthiopian* ſeas, and ſpread its commerce over all parts of the world; nay, it might extend its conqueſts both to the eaſt and weſt, or at leaſt eſtabliſh factories there for the conveniency of traffick. To prove which, it is to be obſerved:

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That all *Eaſt-India* ſhips, both going and coming, muſt paſs by the coaſt of *Braſil*; and as thoſe ſhips in their voyages thither, are often forced to touch upon this coaſt, ſo in their return, nothing could be more commodious for them, than to be ſupplied with freſh proviſions here. From *Braſil* you may ſail in fourteen days to the *Caribbee* iſlands, and in the ſame time, or a little longer, to *Sierra Leona* on the coaſt of *Guinea*. It is impoſſible to enter deep into the great ſouth ſea, (whereabouts a great part of the terreſtrial globe remains as yet undiſcovered) unleſs you take in freſh proviſions and firing in *Braſil*, or expoſe yourſelf to the greateſt hazards imaginable in ſo long a voyage, as is ſufficiently evident from the journals of *Oliver Van North*, *Spilbergen*, *le Maire*, and *John l'Heremite*. And experience has taught us, ſince Mr. *Brewer's* voyage to *Chili*, how eaſy the paſſage is betwixt *Braſil* and the ſouth ſea; for he loſt not ſo much as one ſhip out of four, and very few died in the whole voyage.

The wholeſomeneſs of its climate.

Braſil enjoys likewiſe the advantage of a very wholſome climate; for tho' it lies betwixt the equinoctial line and the *Tropick of Capricorn*, and conſequently is ſubject to burning heats, yet are the ſame much allayed by the winds, that blow out of the eaſt from the ſea, their free paſſage being

1643. being not interrupted by any mountains or iſlands; which is the reaſon, that in *Braſil* the ſame diſtempers are rarely to be met with which reign ſo frequently in *Angola*, *Guinea*, *St. Thomas*, and ſeveral other places, where the eaſt winds cannot afford them the ſame advantage. A plague is a thing unknown in *Braſil*, in which it excels all other countries; tho' they are not free from continual putrid fevers, cauſed by the hot and moiſt air, and the exceſſive uſe of raw fruits.

Thoſe that are bound for the coaſt of *Braſil* ought to have a ſpecial regard to the ſeaſon of the year, which regulates the winds and ſtream thereabouts; and to be very careful to ſail above the harbour whither they are bound; for if they miſs and come below it, they loſe their aim, and muſt ſtay till the next turn of the wind and ſtream. For it is obſervable, that on the coaſt of *Braſil*, the ſtream runs from *February* till paſt *July* conſtantly northernly, during which time there is no paſſing from the north to the ſouth; but after thoſe months are paſt the ſtream turns, and from the beginning of *September* to the latter end of *November*, runs as violently to the ſouth as it did to the north before, and conſequently there is no ſailing from the north to the ſouth, no more than before from the ſouth to the north. The winds here turn with the ſtream; and at the beginning of *March* blow ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt. And like as the ſtream changes its current till *September*, ſo the winds continue in the eaſt, and blow till that time out of the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. For there are but two winds that reign along this coaſt, *viz.* the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt winds; according to which ſhips muſt regulate their courſe here.

The eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Dutch Braſil.

The eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the *Dutch Braſil* was in my time thus ordered:

Before the inſurrection of the *Portugueſe*, there were to the ſouth of the *Receif* five proteſtant churches; *viz.* in *Rio* St. *Franciſco*, *Porto Calvo*, *Serinhaim*, the Cape St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Anthony*; though theſe were ſeldom altogether provided with miniſters, becauſe that ſome or other of them returned into *Holland*, after their limited time was expired. In the iſle *Tamarika* and fort *Orange*, was at that time a miniſter, one *John Offringo*, who lived formerly in the town of *Schop*, and at the ſame time preached in the church of *Igaraſſu*, which was afterwards left by the *Dutch* and poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſe*. In *Rio Grande* preached one *John Theodore Polheim*. In *Parayba* were formerly two miniſters, whilſt the town of *Frederica* was as yet under the *Dutch* juriſdiction, but after the revolt of the *Portugueſe* the place was left by the inhabitants, and *Henry Harman* was the only miniſter in thoſe parts. In the *Receif*, *Maurice*'s town, and the circumjacent forts, which contained about 400 proteſtants, *Dutch*, *French* and *Engliſh*, were three miniſters, who preach'd in the *Dutch* tongue; *Nicholas Vogel*, *Peter Ongena*, and *Peter Grib*. Beſides theſe there was a fourth called *Jodocus Aſtett*, who formerly had been miniſter of the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, but now was employed either aboard our fleet, or upon any land expedition. The *French* church here remained without a miniſter, after the departure of *Joachim Solaer*, ſo that they were forced to be contented with reading of certain chapters of the bible, and prayers every *Sunday* morning. The *Engliſh* miniſter was one *Samuel Batchelour*, who 1646 return'd likewiſe to *England*; about which time there were ſeven *Dutch* miniſters in the *Dutch Braſil*. Our religious worſhip was both in its doctrine and practice regulated exactly according to the preſcription of the ſynod of *Dort*, and peculiar care was taken for the education of the youth, for which purpoſe the catechiſm was every *Sunday* in the afternoon explained, both in the *Receif* and *Maurice*'s town. Four times in the year the holy ſacrament was adminiſtred, thoſe who deſired to be partakers of it, being obliged to make their confeſſion before the church-council, or the miniſters, who entred their names in a book; and if they came from abroad, publiſhed their names to the congregation; and in all other reſpects the church diſcipline was carefully obſerved. The church-council was compoſed of ſix church-wardens, beſides the miniſter, theſe met duly once a week, and if any buſineſs of moment happen'd, ſuch as chuſing a miniſter, *&c.* they called the deacons, who were likewiſe ſix in number, to their aſſiſtance. Out of the deacons were every month choſen two, who (beſides their ordinary buſineſs) were to viſit the ſick and wounded, and to provide for them if neceſſity required. They alſo took care of the orphans, to have them inſtructed in reading and writing. In the ſame manner the other churches were regulated, with this difference only, that the number of church-wardens and deacons was leſs, in proportion to the number of their reſpective congregations. Thus much of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

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Their church-council.

Beſides thoſe living creatures we have given you a deſcription of before, there are divers ſorts of bees in *Braſil*, call'd *Eiruku*'s, which ſettle upon the trees in a moſt ſurprizing manner. They are not unlike

1643. unlike our bees, but ſomewhat ſmaller, and ſwarm chiefly among the woods. The *Braſilians* diſtinguiſh them into twelve different kinds; *viz. Amanakay-Miri, Amanakay-Veu, Aibu, Mumbuka, Pixuna, Urutuetra, Tubuna, Tujuba, Eiruku, Eixu, Kubiara* and *Kurupireira*; the laſt of which are in no eſteem among them.

The bees *Eiruku* are the largeſt of all, and produce a very good honey, though it is not commonly uſed. They make their combs within the hollowneſs of trees, which the *Braſilians* draw from thence by the means of a hollow pipe. The bees called *Eiku* and *Kopy*, are ſmaller and of a blackiſh colour; they make holes from without, in the bark of the trees, in the nature of bee-hives; and the comb within is all of white wax; this is now counted the beſt thing, but is not gathered in the ſame quantity as the former; beſides that theſe bees ſting very furiouſly. The bees *Thanbuka* are likewiſe ſmall, of a yellowiſh colour; they fix their combs on the top of the higheſt trees; and afford the beſt honey, which is in great quantities tranſported from hence to *Europe*, where it is ſold very cheap. It is little inferior in goodneſs to the *European* honey, and of a good ſubſtance, tranſparent and of an agreeable ſcent. It is accounted very balſamick, corrects the ſharp humours in the inteſtines, and eſpecially in the kidneys, and provokes urine. They make of this honey metheglin, which is very ſtrong, and will keep a great while: You may alſo make meath with this honey without boiling, only mix'd with ſome ſpring water and expoſed to the weather.

Balſam: *Braſil* produces likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of balſams; the beſt of which is called by the *Braſilians Kopaiba*; from the trees from whence it comes. *Kopaiba* is a very high wild tree, with an aſh-coloured bark, which ſpreads at the top into many branches. The leaves are about half a foot long, ſometimes larger, ſometimes leſſer, which in the midſt of the branches ſtand oppoſite to one another, but on the end like other leaves. At the end of the great branches are abundance of leſſer ſprouts full of leaves, out of which comes forth the bloſſom, and afterwards berries, not unlike our laurel-berries. They are green at firſt, but as they ripen turn black and ſweet. Within is a round hard ſtone, the kernel of which is white, but mealy, and not fit to be eaten. The berries ripen in *June*, when the *Braſilians* ſuck the juice out of them, and throw away the ſtone and ſkin. The apes take great delight in this fruit.

The oily and odoriferous balſam, in which this tree abounds, drops every full moon, provided you cut a ſlit through the bark as deep as to the pith, in ſuch quantity, that in three hours time you may gather above twelve *Mengeln*. But if that does not drop immediately, the ſlit is made up with wax; and within fourteen days after, they are ſure the balſam will come in great quantity. This tree does not grow ſo plentifully in the captainſhip of *Pernambuko*, as in the iſle *Maranhaon*, from whence this balſam is tranſported into *Europe*. The balſam is hot in the ſecond degree, of a thick oleaginous and reſinous ſubſtance. It is very ſtomachic, and a good remedy againſt the cholick, occaſioned by cold, externally applied to the affected parts; ſome few drops taken inwardly ſtrengthen the bowels, and ſtop the overflowing in women, the looſeneſs and involuntary emiſſion of ſeed in men; againſt which diſtempers it likewiſe is uſed in clyſters or by ſyringing. Thus far concerning the ſole *Dutch Braſil*; we will now proceed to give you an account of what paſſed during our abode there. 1643.

A Mengeln is near three quarts.

New directors ſent to Braſil. In the year 1640, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, one of the directors of the *Weſt-India* company for the chamber of *Amſterdam*, and Mr. *Dirck Kodde Vander Burgh* (both perſons excellently well qualified for the management of the *Dutch Braſil*, and of great experience in affairs of commerce) were at the requeſt of the council of nineteen, ſent to *Braſil*, and arrived there on the 8th of *Auguſt*, the two preceeding directors or councellors, *Matthias Van Keulen* and *John Giiſeling*, reſigned their places to them, and with them the chief management of the *Dutch Braſil*, under the government of *John Maurice* count *Naſſau*.

Dutch Braſil. At the time of their arrival in *Braſil*, there were under the juriſdiction of the ſtates the following *Captainſhips: Pernambuko, Itamarika* (unto which belongs *Goiana*) *Parayba, Rio Grande* and *Siara*, being the northern part of *Braſil*: The ſouthern part, which contained the *Captainſhips Bahia, Ileos, Porto ſecuro, Spirito Santo, Rio Janeiro* and *St. Vincent*, remained under the *Portugueſe*, who inhabited the country as far as *Rio de Plate*. Not many months after the iſland of *Maranhaon* was joined with the *Dutch Braſil*, but the charges we were fain to be at to defend it againſt the *Portugueſe*, thoſe of *Para* and the natives, which over-balancing the profit the company was likely to reap from thence, it was thought moſt expedient to quit the ſame; which was done accordingly in the year 1644, or rather to confeſs the truth, by the combination of the *Portugueſe*, thoſe of *Grand Para* and the natives, we were forced to abandon it.

Portugueſe Braſil.

1643. Before the arrival of those new directors a fleet had been sent to the *Bahia*, to land some men there, and to destroy all with fire and sword; which after they had put in execution, and returned to the *Receif*, the same fleet under the command of admiral *Jol* and *Cornelius Lichthart*, was by special command from the council of nineteen in *Holland* ordered to the *West-Indies*, to lay in wait for the *Spanish* plate fleet of *Terra fiuma* and new *Spain*; but they returned without doing any thing, 1640 in *December*, having lost four or five ships in this voyage. Colonel *Koin* was much about the same time sent with a body of soldiers into the captainship of *Rio Real*, to bridle the *Portuguese*, by making a diversion in their own territories; but those troops being but indifferently supplied with necessaries in an enemies countrey, and forced to undergo great fatigues; they were so much weakned that it was thought adviseable to recall them out of *Rio Real*, and to assign them quarters of refreshment in the garrisons. Major *Van Brande* had worse success than all the rest, for being sent abroad with a party to fetch in some cattle, was put to the rout, and he himself taken prisoner.

The Dutch *miscarry in their design upon the* Spanish *plate fleet.*

In the mean while that our whole fleet was waiting for the *Spanish* plate fleet on the coast of *America*, and we consequently were not in a condition to undertake any thing at sea; our directors had all the reason in the world to fear, that the *Portuguese* would take this opportunity to revenge their loss, by destroying our sugar-mills, which made them leave no stone unturned to secure the *Dutch Brasil* and its inhabitants, against the attempts of the enemy: And considering that a great part of our security depended on the good inclinations of the *Portuguese* living among us, it was thought convenient to call an assembly of the chiefest *Portuguese* inhabitants of the three captainships of *Pernambuko*, *Itimarika*, and *Parayba*, towards the latter end of *August*, to concert measures how to defend their sugar-mills and fields against the incursions of the enemy.

The most effectual means that could be pitched upon in this assembly were, to provide their forts with good garri sons on the borders, and to secure the sugar-mills, by putting a certain number of soldiers in or near them, for the security of the adjacent fields. This was put in execution accordingly, and the officers had strict charge to keep a watchful eye upon the least motion of the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding which it had not the desired effect; because those *Portuguese* who lived at a considerable distance from us, and near the enemies frontiers, durst not give timely notice of their approach; besides that many among them having a constant hatred to our nation, did favour the enterprizes of those parties that burnt the sugar-fields and plundered the mills, served them sometimes for guides, and had their share in the booty; which obliged our people to be at a constant charge of a strong guard to conduct their goods, and defend them against any sudden attempts. Such an incursion was not long after made by the *Portuguese* into our territories. For in *November* the viceroy, the marquis of *Montelvano* sent two barges full of soldiers to burn our sugar-reeds in the plains, which they effected, but durst not go too far, or attempt any thing against our mills, for fear of the soldiers quartered thereabouts; who could not prevent their burning in the fields, as being done in the night time. The *Dutch* were the greatest losers by it, because they had generally the greatest share in those fields and mills; besides that the *Portuguese* spared those of their own countrey-men; all which brought a great damp upon trade, every one being afraid to venture in any business, where he might lose all his substance in one night, and that perhaps by the hands of a single person, whereby the revenues of the company were greatly impaired, and their charges increased, being forced to maintain twenty or thirty soldiers for the defence of any considerable plantation or sugar-mills; which prevented them from bringing a sufficient body of men into the field, to make head against the enemy. This was the state of the *Dutch Basil* towards the latter end of 1640.

1643.

The twenty-second of *December* in the same year, Mr. *Adrian van Bullestraete* arrived at the *Receif* from *Middleburgh*, in the quality of director of *Brasil*, so that now the great council being compleat, the best expedient to obviate all these difficulties, was judged to consist in our fleet; pursuant to this resolution, all our ships were ordered to the *Bahia*, to make the enemy sensible that we were in a condition to be even with them, and thereby to facilitate the negotiation that was in hand, for the surceasing of burning on both sides. The council of nineteen having also sent expres orders to cruise with some ships before *Rio Janeiro*, from whence the *Spanish* ships used generally to return into *Spain*, about the month of *May* or *June*, some of the biggest ships were ordered that way to intercept if possible the *Flota*, the rest being left near the *Bahia*.

The Dutch *ships ordered to the* Bahia.

But whilst our commissioners were treating with the viceroy about the surceasing of burning and plundering, a certain *Portuguese*, *Paulo de Kunha* by name, committed unheard

1643. unheard of cruelties, with murthering, plundering and burning, in the open countrey, which made count *Maurice* write the following letter to the viceroy.

Count Maurice's *letter to the vice-roy.*

Count Maurice's letter to the viceroy.

THE barbarities lately committed by Paulo de Kunha, *with burning, murdering, and plundering in the open countrey, give me great reason to fear, that your last obliging letter was designed for a complement, without any reality. The confidence I had in your excellency's sincerity, made me recal our ships and forces from your territories, to take away all means of offence: But the long stay of our deputies affords great occasion of suspicion, that your intention is only to amuse us; which has obliged me to dispatch a vessel to let them know that in case the treaty is not brought to a conclusion, to return without delay, it being our intention that the said negotiation should not be continued longer. Your excellency will there dismiss them, together with our two hostages, as we are resolved to send back to you* Martin Feirera, *left with us as hostage from your excellency, his companion being dead of late.*

Hereupon, by the mediation of the clergy living under our jurisdiction, but especially by the indefatigable care of *Dirck Kodde Vander Burgh*, who was sent thither for that purpose, the treaty was brought to a happy conclusion in *February* 1641, by virtue of which, all destruction by burning and plundering were to surcease on both sides; which being published by proclamation, the *Portugueſe* were ordered to quit our dominions, whereby we reapt this advantage, that now we might turn all our forces where we found it most expedient.

The treaty against burning concluded.

In *June* 1641, count *Maurice* and the great council received advice of the ten years truce concluded betwixt the states of *Holland* and the king of *Portugal*, with all the articles thereunto belonging, which were published by proclamation in all our captainships, and all acts of hostilities ceased on both sides; the *Dutch* living in good understanding with the inhabitants of the *Bahia*, giving them all the demonstrations of friendship, sufficient to convince the *Portugueſe* that they had not the least reason to fear any infraction on their side.

The great council being willing to improve this interval of peace for the advancement of traffick, and the benefit of the company, gave all imaginable encouragement, in proportion to the circumstances of time and place, to all the inhabitants of what nation soever, for the cultivating the lands, which had this good effect, that the masters of the sugar-mills rebuilt their mills, and the husbandmen betook themselves with so much eagerness to the cultivating of their sugar-fields, that they borrowed considerable sums, upon a prospect of sure gain, which would over pay their debts; as without question it would have done in a short time, if by the treachery of the *Portugueſe* they had not been disappointed in their hopes. The next thing to be taken in hand, was to make such wholesome laws as were thought most expedient for the establishment and increase of commerce, both in the *Receif* and other places, and to improve the domains and other revenues belonging to the company, during this time of truce. 1643.

Trade then began to flourish apace, so that some time after the truce, the merchants and factors sold more commodities than had ever been known either before or since. Many millions were dealt for in a little time, the merchants and factors being contented to sell to those who would pay some money in part, though there were buyers enough who would and could buy for ready cash.

The finances of the company in *Brasil* were in so good a state by the extraordinary care of the great council, that 1640 and 1641, they bought considerable quantities of sugar upon the publick account, which they sent to *Holland*. In the *Receif* and *Maurice Town*, we saw several goodly structures erected by the inhabitants, who lived in great plenty and magnificence, every one looking upon his debts as secure, and having a fair prospect to increase his riches, by the flourishing state of commerce and improvement of the lands.

The flourishing state of Brasil.

But this was of no long continuance, for in the beginning of 1643, things began to appear with a quite different face; for the magazines of the company being exhausted by several expeditions against *Angola*, &c. and having received no supplies in their stead out of *Holland*, as they used to do before, the great council was obliged to make use of what was due to the company, for the payment of the garrisons and other officers, and consequently to force their debtors to prompt payments.

Its decay.

For at the beginning of the government of the new directors, the company had a considerable naval force upon the coast of *Brasil*, their magazines were well provided with provision and ammunition, and they maintained a good number of soldiers. The great council of the *Dutch Brasil* relying upon their strength, did with consent of count *Maurice*, send in 1641, several fleets with soldiers to *Spirito Santo*, *Rio de Janeiro*, the isle of *Maranhaon*, *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, and other places thereabouts, to attack

1643. tack the ſame, which ſucceeded according to expectation; but their magazines were greatly exhauſted by thoſe expeditions. Beſides this, the merchants in *Holland* began to call upon their ſervants and factors for conſiderable ſums of money, in return of what they had received from them; who being obliged to ſend all the money they could bring together from their creditors, to their maſters in *Holland*; this occaſioned great ſcarcity of ready money, and conſequently no ſmall detriment in traffick, which continuing thus from time to time, there aroſe ſuch a general ſcarcity of money, as is ſcarce to be imagined; many of the maſters of the ſugar-mills, that had no ready money to ſatisfy their debts at the appointed time, being forced to take up money upon credit, and to pay three or four *per cent per* month, which reduced many of them to ſuch an extremity in a little time, that they were neither able to pay the principal nor intereſt.

The reaſon. Upon the arrival of the three new directors, or members of the great council in 1640, *viz. Henry Hamel*, *Kodde*, and *Bulleſtraete*, they found that the inhabitants, but eſpecially the *Portugueſe* of the *Dutch Braſil*, by buying of ſugar-mills and plantations, as well as negroes and other commodities, had run themſelves much in debt; having bought their negroes not only at three hundred pieces of eight *per* head, but alſo given moſt extravagant prices for all other ſorts of commodities, and purchaſing whole warehouſes without making a juſt account how to be able to pay for them. This was done by the *Portugueſe* in hopes of the good ſucceſs of thoſe great fleets they underſtood were equipping in *Spain*, to reduce *Braſil* under the king's obedience, which they ſuppoſed would free them from all their debts; which the factors not being aware of, and blinded with the proſpect of vaſt profit, ſold their goods to the *Portugueſe* without reluctancy. But the deſign of the *Portugueſe* vaniſhing into ſmoak for that time, they were forced to pay; but new ſupplies of all ſorts of commodities being ſent out of *Holland*, they bought on a-freſh, heaping debts upon debts, till failing in their payments, their credit began alſo to fail with the merchants, who now began to urge for ſatisfaction of their debts. For the countrey traders being urged by the factors and merchants, who received thoſe commodities from their correſpondents in *Holland*, was obliged to call to an account the *Portugueſe* unto whom he had ſold the goods. And becauſe the *Portugueſe* had not bought thoſe commodities from the *Dutch*, but with an intention never to pay for them, the countrey trader who was obliged to pay the merchants in the *Receif*, ſaw himſelf reduced to ruin, the *Portugueſe* having not wherewithal to ſatisfy their debts. 1643.

Thus through the unwarineſs and miſmanagement of thoſe factors, whom the merchants in *Holland* had intruſted with their goods, ſuch a confuſion was introduced, as tended to the great detriment of their correſpondents in *Holland*. All the buſineſs at that time lay among the lawyers, and in the courts of judicature, which conſidering the chargeableneſs of law-ſuits in *Braſil*, tended to their farther ruin; for when they had obtained ſentence and execution againſt the debtors, the greateſt difficulty was, how and which way to lay the execution; moſt of the *Portugueſe* ſueing for protection from the regency, which if they could not obtain, they lived incognito; eſpecially thoſe who had no lands or effects, or if they had, it was no eaſy matter to find out where they were. Beſides that, if the creditors executed their executions upon the lands, they were forced to be the buyers themſelves, and to live in the countrey to manage the lands, a thing altogether inconvenient to the merchants, who had other buſineſs upon their hands in the *Receif*. Such as were caſt into priſon muſt be maintained there at the charge of the creditor, which in proceſs of time amounted to ſuch a ſum, that they themſelves were fain to ſolicite the releaſement of their debtors, and to make the beſt compoſition with them they could. *Great confuſion in traffick.*

Beſides theſe inconveniences, there have happened of late ſeveral others, *viz.* a great mortality of the negroes and *Braſilians*, by a certain infectious diſtemper, incident to the natives, called *Bexigos*, reſembling our ſmall-pox in *Europe*. Moſt of theſe negroes were bought at the rate of three hundred pieces of eight, and conſequently their loſs drew after it the ruin of the planters, who alſo complained much of vermin, and ſeveral inundations that had done conſiderable damage to the ſugar-fields. This confuſion in traffick introduced no ſmall broils among the inhabitants themſelves, who *in caſe* of non-payment, threw one another *in* priſon without mercy, and endeavoured to prevent one another by clandeſtine means, to get in their debts before the reſt; offering conſiderable abatements and rewards to ſuch as would underhand ſurrender or tranſport their effects; and thoſe diviſions were not a little fomented by ſome ill minded perſons, to the prejudice of the government; many of thoſe, who either by unwarineſs or other miſmanagement loſt their debts, laying the fault thereof at the door of the regency and of the courts of juſtice, vainly imagining that what they had loſt by their own neg- *Mortality among the negroes.*

1643. lect or want of care, ſhould be made good by the publick purſe; eſpecially if it happened ſo, that the ſame perſons were indebted to the company as well as private perſons, there ariſe great conteſts about the preference.

The debts of the company did alſo increaſe every day, which at laſt amounted to ſome millions: For the directors, which before the year 1640 had the management of affairs in *Braſil*, did ſell moſt of the confiſcated eſtates, ſugar-mills, and merchandizes, as well as the negroes bought on account of the company in *Africk*, upon credit, ſo that their books were filled with debts, but their caſh empty of money. The ſucceeding members of the great council, Mr. *Hamel*, *Bulleſtraet*, and *Kodde*, did leave no ſtone unturned to correct this cuſtom, and to ſell their commodities for ready money, or otherwiſe to exchange them for ſugars, thereby to eaſe the company in the great charge they were forced to be at in their ſeveral expeditions; and it is certain, that in 1640, 1641, and 1642, they ſent ſuch vaſt cargoes of ſugar to *Holland*, that the like had never been known before in *Braſil*. Notwithſtanding which, by the vaſt numbers of negroes that were imported, after our conqueſt of *Angola*, the company fell more and more in debt, by reaſon their debtors were very dilatory in their payments. The council of nineteen ſent expreſs orders to remedy this evil, by ſelling the negroes for ready money, or exchanging them for ſugar; but this could not be put in practice, becauſe there was no body who would buy upon thoſe conditions, ſo that the price of the negroes falling daily lower and lower, and theſe being a great burden to the company, and ſubject to diſtempers and mortality, this order was fain to be revoked, unleſs they would ſee the negroe trade dwindle away into nothing; for the inhabitants being for the moſt part ſuch as had beſtowed moſt part of their ſubſtance in their ſugar-mills, plantations, and negroes, they could not pay ready money, but were forced to deal upon credit, till they could reap the benefit of their labour.

The members of the great council did therefore take all imaginable care to call upon their debtors exactly at the time of their ſugar-harveſt, and ordered their officers in the countrey to ſeize upon ſome of them on account of the company.

From hence aroſe nothing but law-ſuits, ſentences, executions, and impriſonments: The members of the great council thinking it not below their ſtation, to go ſometimes in perſon into the countrey to promote the payment of the debts owing to the company. But this had a contrary effect, for the merchants and factors began to be extreamly diſſatisfied, that the company ſhould ſeize upon the ſugar in the mills, without letting them who were creditors as well as they, have their ſhare in them. This occaſioned not only murmurings, but alſo threats, and complaints to the council of nineteen, where they miſrepreſented theſe tranſactions under the worſt colours they could, hoping thereby to deter the officers of the company from doing their duty. The great council having taken the matter into mature deliberation, and fearing, not without reaſon, that in time it might occaſion a general diſcontent, they left no ſtone unturned to ſatisfy the minds of the people; by finding out means to have their debts ſatisfied. It was propoſed by ſeveral underſtanding perſons, that the company ſhould undertake to ſatisfy the debts of private perſons, either by way of payment or exchange; in lieu of which the maſters of the ſugar-mills ſhould ſurrender to the company every year, the whole product of theſe mills, till they had ſatisfied all their debts: And to make the ſame the more effectual, for the general benefit as well of the company and ſugar-mills, as the merchants and factors, it was agreed, that certain articles ſhould be agreed upon for that purpoſe; the greateſt advantage the company pretended to reap by it being, that they ſhould have a fair opportunity of recovering ſome of their debts, which were given over for loſt. Theſe agreements were wonderfully pleaſing to the council of nineteen, who in the year 1645, on the 16th of *June*, ſent their approbation of a ſecond agreement made with one *George Homo Pinto* (which indeed was of as great conſequence as all the other contracts together) to the great council as follows: 1643.

Approbation of the Agreement.

The approbation of the agreement.

CONcerning the agreement by you (meaning the council) on the 14th *of* December *laſt, made with* George Homo Pinto, *we have had ſeveral debates, which we find to have been brought to a concluſion, with the previous advice and approbation of the councellors of juſtice and of the finances; ſo that both in reſpect of the ſame, and of the great benefit that is likely to accrue thereby to the company, we have thought fit to approve of the ſaid Agreement; recommending to you the execution of it, with the ſame zeal as you have ſhewn your conduct and circumſpection in the whole management of theſe contracts.*

That theſe agreements were by all people, that had any knowledge of thoſe affairs, looked upon as greatly for the inte-

1643. reſt of the company, is moſt evident from hence, that ſeveral other merchants that were ſenſible of this advantage, made agreements with their debtors much upon the ſame terms as the company had done; which that it may be put beyond all doubt, we will give you a copy of one of thoſe agreements, from whence it will plainly appear with how much circumſpection the council proceeded in this matter, betwixt the company, the maſters of the ſugar-mills and their debtors.

The copy of an Agreement.

The copy of an agreement.

MR. Peter John Bas, *and* John van Ratſfield, *councellors of juſtice of* Braſil, *by ſpecial commiſſion from the* Weſt-India *company, and* John van Walbeeck, *aſſeſſor of the great council, did appear before us on one ſide; and* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *Sieur* de Ingenho Tapicura, *in behalf of himſelf and his heirs; as alſo* Benjamin de Pina *for ten thouſand ſix hundred gilders;* Iſaac de Coſta *for thirteen thouſand one hundred and eight;* Joſeph Abenacar *for four hundred ninety;* Simon de Vale *for three hundred twenty-five;* Gaſper Franciſco *and* David Brandoa *for eleven hundred thirty-three;* Abraham de Tovaer *for one thouſand;* John Parente *for three hundred and fifty;* John Mendonça de Moeribeca *for four thouſand three hundred fifty;* James Gabay *for one thouſand and fifty;* More de Leon *for ſix hundred;* Balthazar de Fonſeca *for ſix hundred;* Simon Gomes de Liſboa *for five thouſand nine hundred ten;* Bartholomew Rodrigues *for nine hundred; and* Daniel Cardoſa *for nine hundred and ten gilders; the whole amounting to forty thouſand five hundred twenty-ſix gilders, being all creditors of the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *and for the moſt part debtors to the company on the other ſide, who profeſs and declare to have agreed among themſelves, that the beforementioned* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *ſhall pay to the company the full ſum of ſixty thouſand ſeven hundred ninety five gilders,* viz. *nineteen thouſand two hundred ſixty nine gilders upon his own account, being by him owing to the ſaid company, and the remaining ſum on the account of his creditors, which proportionably to their reſpective debts, ought to be diſcounted for with him by the ſaid company, upon the following conditions.*

I. *That the whole debt is to be ſatisfied in the three next following years, the firſt payment to begin in* January 1645, *and if it happen, that in one year a leſs ſhare be paid than in the other, the whole is to be made good in the laſt year.*

II. *That no diſcounts ſhall be entred in the books of the company, 'till after the payment of the due proportion appointed for each reſpective term or time.* 1643.

III. *That the creditors of thoſe with whom they have entred into articles of agreement, as well as the debtors of the company, ſhall not be diſcharged of their debts in the books of the company, but in caſe of failure or delay of payment, either of the whole ſum or part thereof, all the reſpective appointed times, ſhall ſtand engaged and anſwerable, each for his reſpective debt, unleſs they give other ſecurity to the company; but thoſe creditors who have no debts in the books of the company, ſhall have liberty to transfer other debts, or elſe to receive their ſhare in two years time, either by aſſignments or in Negroes; but not in any commodities imported from abroad, or ſugar to be exported; provided nevertheleſs that the articles of agreement be fulfilled, or otherwiſe the ſum be put to their own account immediately, in which caſe they are to allow eighteen pound* per cent. *and nevertheleſs be liable to ſee the agreement put in execution.*

IV. *Thoſe who are entred into articles of agreement ſhall be obliged to engage both their body and goods for the performance thereof, but eſpecially to deliver an inventory of their perſonal eſtates, confirm'd by oath; beſides which, they are to give ſuch ſecurities as ſhall be approved of by the great council; with renouncing the* beneficium ordinis, diviſionis & excuſationis, *as well for each reſpective payment at the appointed times, as the whole ſum in general.*

V. *Theſe before-mention'd ſecurities are to be perſons well-qualified, of good ſubſtance, not involv'd in debts, but eſpecially in the company's; and ſhall be warranted by the magiſtrates of their reſpective places of abode.*

VI. *Publick notice is to be given to all perſons, who have any bonds, bills, or accounts, or other engagements relating to the perſonal eſtates (which ſhall be named or ſpecified) of ſuch as are entred into thoſe articles, that within the ſpace of three weeks they are to produce the ſame, or elſe to be excluded from the benefit thereof, 'till after the expiration of the time mentioned and appointed in the ſaid agreement.*

VII. *That he, who has engaged himſelf in ſuch an agreement or contract, ſhall not be permitted to contract new debts, unleſs with the conſent of the great council; otherwiſe the ſame to be void and null, of which publick notice ſhall be given. Neither ſhall he abalienate any ſugars by land as remains, under the penalty of reſtitution to be made with full intereſt and charges.*

1643. *The creditors ſhall be obliged to ſurrender and renounce all their pretenſions, engagements and actions to the company; neither ſhall they lay any claim upon that ſcore of precedence or otherwiſe.*

Whenever it ſhall be judged requiſite, by the great council, *to ſend a certain perſon to the* ingenho *of any perſon entred into ſuch an agreement, for the better ſecurity of their debt, and the receiving and ſending away the ſugar, allotted to the company, he ſhall be obliged to find him with victuals and lodgings in his* ingenho; *but the company ſhall pay him for his pains.*

Purſuant to which, the before named Manuel Fernando Cruz, *with the advice and conſent of his before-mentioned creditors, has obliged himſelf in general, and by theſe preſents, obliges and engages his perſon and eſtate, both real and perſonal, without any reſervation or exception; but eſpecially the before-named* Ingenho Tapicura, *with all its appurtenances, according to the inventory thereunto affixed and confirmed by oath; which* Ingenho Tapicura, *he declares to be free from any pre-engagements, with all the grounds, ſugar-fields, paſturages, woods, and other things thereunto belonging,* viz. *eight braſs* calderns, *ten* tachoos *and ten* parvos, *beſides ſeveral other copper veſſels belonging to the ſaid* ingenho; *twenty ſlaves belonging to the ſaid* ingenho, *and* Manuel Ferdinando Cruz, *his houſe and ſixty oxen. And for the better performance of this agreement,* Senhor John de Mendoſe *dwelling at* Moeribeca, *and* Manuel Gomes des Lisboa, *living in* Moquiaxe, *have, after certificates obtained from the magiſtrates of their reſpective dwelling-places, engaged themſelves, and do by theſe preſents engage themſelves as ſecurities for the whole debt, and as debtors for each and every part thereof, promiſing to indemnify the company of all actions, ſuits, or other pretenſions which may be made againſt them on the account of any other creditors of the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *not mention'd or engaged in this agreement; as likewiſe, that no ſugar ſhall be ſurreptitiouſly convey'd away or abalienated: That in caſe of non-payment, the company ſhall be hereby fully empowered to recover their damages with intereſt and charges, upon their perſons and eſtates; they renouncing by theſe preſents all exceptions,* ordinis, diviſionis & excuſationis, *as likewiſe all other pretenſions of privileges tending to the invalidity of this contract. The before-named creditors alſo, in general, and every one of them in particular, declare that they have given in a true account of all their reſpective pretenſions upon the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *neither that they do demand any other ſum or ſums of him, but what have been ſpecified there under their reſpective names; promiſing to be well ſatisfied with what has been ſtipulated, and, if put in* 1643. *execution accordingly, to renounce all actions or private engagements, diſcontents or preference in favour of the company; and that in caſe of non-payment they will be obliged to make good and reſtore to the ſaid company, not only each particular ſum paid at certain limited times, but alſo the whole, in the ſame manner, as if the ſaid agreement had never been made betwixt them; leaving it to the diſcretion of the company, whether they will lay their actions againſt* Manuel Fernando Cruz *and his ſecurities, or againſt themſelves and their eſtates; under the condition they were in before the concluſion of this agreement; the benefit of* actionem ceſſam *being allowed them againſt the ſaid* Cruz *and his ſecurities, for the recovery of their juſt debts. In witneſs and confirmation of which we have granted theſe our letters, as uſual in ſuch caſes, ſealed with the ordinary ſeal of the court of juſtice, and ſigned by the ſecretary of the council. Tranſlated in the* Receif, 23d September 1644.

In the ſame manner all the other contracts were made and penn'd; the contents of which amounted in the whole to two million a hundred and twenty five thouſand eight hundred and ſeven gilders, which were due from the farmers to the maſters of the ſugar-mills, and from thoſe again to the company.

For what reaſon theſe agreements were made.

The chief, if not the only reaſon, why theſe agreements were reſolved upon, was, (as we ſaid before) the intolerable vexations and exactions put upon the maſters of the ſugar-mills by their creditors, who, unleſs theſe maſters paid them at the rate of two or three *per cent.* intereſt *per* month, made immediate ſeizure of their negroes, oxen, coppers, and other neceſſaries belonging to the ſugar-mills; ſo that the maſters of theſe ſugar-mills being reduced to a neceſſity of paying ſuch exorbitant exactions, or elſe to ſee themſelves entirely ruined, began to defend their plantations and mills by force, ſo that things ſeemed to tend at that time to a general inſurrection, if the ſame had not been prevented, by entring into thoſe contracts; by which means the maſters of the ſugar-mills being freed from the oppreſſions of their creditors, and in lieu thereof now become debtors to the company, and time given them to employ their mills for the payment of their debts, at certain limited times, and that at the rate of one *per cent.* intereſt *per* month only, all pretenſions and occaſions of a revolt were thereby removed, at leaſt for that time; the firſt term of payment being ſet out for a conſiderable time.

To

1643. To make this the more evident, theſe following heads deſerve our particular obſervation: That the company and the merchants, being creditors of the maſters of the ſugar-mills, endeavouring at the ſame time to force them to the payment of their debts, by executions. This occaſioned from the year 1647 to the time of the making of thoſe contracts, ſuch a confuſion, as muſt needs have tended to the total deſtruction of the ſugar-mills, and conſequently of the merchants and company; which induced them to apply themſelves to the great council, to find out ſome means, by way of diſcount, or otherwiſe, to put theſe debts into the company's hands.

The councellors of juſtice did not at firſt agree in all points to theſe propoſals, but at their meeting on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1644, being better convinced of the matter, and that the company was ſufficiently ſecured and benefited thereby, the next following day did not only approve of the ſame, but alſo were of opinion, that ſome things might be rather mitigated for the Advantage of the maſters of mills and their creditors, than not to relieve them at this juncture; ſo that the conditions were the 10th of *November* 1644, agreed unto with the conſent of the councellors of the court of juſtice and the finances.

Purſuant to theſe, the great council took care that publick notice ſhould be given of theſe agreements made betwixt the company and certain private perſons, by which every one was forewarned not to ſell any thing upon credit to them, without the conſent of the great council; and their creditors ſummoned to make good their debts within three weeks time, or elſe to be excluded from the benefit of the contract, 'till after the time therein limited was expired. From all which it is ſufficiently demonſtrable, with how little appearance of truth ſome have attempted to inſinuate, that theſe contracts were prejudicial to the company, and had given no ſmall occaſion to the enſuing revolt of the *Portugueſe*; when it is beyond all queſtion, from what has been ſaid before, that theſe were the only means to prevent thoſe calamities, wherewith the maſters of the ſugar-mills, and the farmers or countrey planters, were over-whelmed all that time, who were forced to let their mills ſtand ſtill, and leave the ground uncultivated; all which, as it tended to the utter deſtruction of the ſugar-mills, ſo the company ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, *viz.* thirty eight pounds *per cent.* yearly in *Braſil*, and thirty ſeven pounds *per cent.* in *Holland*, which being ſeventy five pound *per cent.* did altogether ariſe from the uſe of the ſugar-mills.

Beſides this, there were not a few of 1643. thoſe merchants that were creditors of the ſugar-mills, that were conſiderably indebted to the company, who pleading inſolvency, by reaſon of the non-payment of their debtors; the company would have been conſiderable loſers by them, unleſs by this way of diſcounting they had found means to recover thoſe deſperate debts. All which moved the great council to make a virtue of neceſſity, and with the advice of the maſters of the ſugar-mills and their creditors, and the approbation of the council of nineteen, to enter upon thoſe articles; which could not be in any wiſe detrimental to the company; tho' ſome malicious perſons have objected againſt them, that (ſuppoſing there had been no revolt) theſe maſters would not in twenty years, nay, perhaps never have been in a condition to wrong the company, what they had laid out upon their account; when it is ſufficiently known that the great council never paid one farthing of ready money for them on the account of the company; beſides that for the ſatisfaction of the company, twenty five ſugar-mills were engaged, which one with another, affording from two hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty cheſts of ſugar yearly; if the company had drawn but a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty cheſts from each, the ſame would have amounted to four hundred and twenty thouſand gilders; from whence it is evident, that not to include the ſugar-mills, their coppers, oxen, and other Inſtruments thereunto belonging, the ſum of two millions one hundred and twenty five thouſand eight and ſixteen gilders, being the total ſum of the debt owing to the company by vertue of theſe contracts, might have been ſatisfied without much hazard; the *Portugueſe* maſters of the ſugar-mills, being by this expedient left in the quiet poſſeſſion of their mills, and eaſed from the oppreſſions of their creditors, and our hopes were not a little increaſed by the induſtry of the inhabitants of the country, who finding themſelves now at eaſe, applied themſelves with ſo much aſſiduity to the improvement of their plantations, for the better ſatisfying of their debts, that in 1645 there was ſuch a fair proſpect of a plentiful harveſt of ſugar, as had not been known in many years before.

Reaſons of the revolt of the Portugueſe.

But it ſeems as if the *Portugueſe* out of an in-born hatred to our nation, who had conquered them, were reſolved not to reſt ſatisfied, 'till by underhand practices and plots they had undermined our government. Add to this, that many of them having involved themſelves over head

and

1643. and ears in debt, and seeing no way to satisfy their creditors, were become desperate, and more forward to run the hazard of an open revolt (in hopes of assistance from *Portugal*) than to undergo the unavoidable necessities of poverty; which made some of them frankly tell our people afterwards, that in case they were disappointed in their hopes of succours from the *Bahia*, they would seek for aid in *Spain* or *Turkey*.

Towards the latter end of the year 1642, there were rumours spread abroad of a Plot contrived by the *Portuguese* against the state when they were disarmed, and their arms brought into the magazines, which however they got again under some pretence or other afterwards, they living very quietly among us, for fear, as I suppose, of our garrisons, and that they were not then sufficiently assured of succours from the *Bahia*. But it will not be amiss to trace the true origin of this revolt.

The 13th *December* 1642, one *John Fernandes Vieira*, alderman of *Maurice's-Town*, appeared in the great council, count *Maurice* being present, where he told them, that he had been informed by certain *Jews*, how he and his father-in-law *Beringel* were suspected in *Holland*, of having sent letters by a son of the said *Beringel* to the king of *Portugal*, tending to the detriment of the state. He did not deny to have sent a letter by the said person to the king of *Portugal*, but containing no more than a recommendation of the said *Beringel*'s person, to help him him to some employment under the king: This he offer'd to prove by his copy, which being produced, there was found nothing material in it, but a congratulation to the king upon his accession to the crown, and a recommendation of the said *Beringel*; *Vieira* further proposed, that he thought it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his estate, to have the *Portuguese* disarmed, as likewise the captains *de Campo*, with those under their jurisdiction, the *Negroes*, *Brasilians*, *Mulatts* and *Mamalukes*.

Suspicion of treachery.

There was also a letter sent by the council of nineteen, dated 1 *June* 1642, to count *Maurice*, containing in substance, that one *John van North*, who had served for fourteen months in the quality of a cadee in *Brasil*, had declared to them at *Amsterdam*, that he had been a servant in a sugar-mill belonging to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where after a stay of two months, he was entreated by *Francisco Beringel Labrador*, to go with his son *Antonio Dandrado Beringel*, as an interpreter to *Holland*, and from thence to *Portugal*; which upon great promises he accepted of, and they set sail on board the Ship called the *Love* from *Brasil* for *Zeeland*, and afterwards from *Ulissimen* went to *Lisbon*. He said, that this *Antonio Dandrado Beringel*, after a familiar conversation of three weeks, had told him that he was sent with a letter sign'd by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Francisco Beringel*, *Bernardin Karvailho*, *John Biserro* and *Lewis Bras Biserro*, in which they gave to understand to the king of *Portugal*, that they were well provided with men, money and arms, for the reducing *Brasil* under his obedience. The council added, that the king of *Portugal* had made the said *Beringel* a captain, for this piece of service, and that therefore they desired count *Maurice* and the great council to keep a watchful eye over them, being sensible what an aversion the *Portuguese* did bear to the *Dutch*. 1643.

Is encreased by letters from abroad.

At the meeting of the great council of *Brasil*, 16th *February* 1643, count *Maurice* assured them, that he had received intelligence, that some of the chiefest of the *Portuguese* had resolved to surprize our garrisons in the country, at *Moribeca*, *St. Anthony*, and some other places, and to put them to the sword, which was to be put in execution upon one of their saints days, when they used to meet in considerable Numbers. Those who had the chief management of this affair, had their dwelling-places in the *Vargea*, who had proposed to surprize likewise the *Receif*, not questioning that if they could make themselves masters of it, the other garrisons in the country would be easily reduced, and consequently the company not able to subsist long in *Brasil*, without soldiers and traffick.

What resolution taken thereupon.

Hereupon it was taken into deliberation, whether 'twere best to secure the heads of this rebellion immediately, or to delay it 'till a more convenient time, for fear of allarming the whole country by their Imprisonment: The last was resolved upon, because they did not think themselves as yet sufficiently assured of their designs, and did not question, but that by the secret intelligence count *Maurice* was to receive of their transactions, they might prevent them. It was however judged advisable to draw the garrisons out of the country into the *Receif*, which was strengthened with new pallisadoes, and the old wooden battery repaired; a ship was also ordered with several great chaloops, the first on the sea-side, the others in the river, to defend the avenues of the *Receif* with their cannon. There were likewise divers letters sent by private persons, some without names, to count *Maurice* and the great

1643. council, confirming the traiterous designs of the *Portugueſe*; among others, one Mr. *Van Els* ſent a letter to count *Maurice*, dated at *Serinhaim* the 20th of *March* 1643, importing, that he had it from ſure hands, that a certain *Mulat*, of the company of *Auſtin Hardoſo*, being asked by certain inhabitants of that *Fregeſie*, what buſineſs they had thereabouts, had told them, that they had been to carry letters to ſome perſons living near the *Receif*, adding, that in a ſhort time they would ſee that place taken without any effuſion of blood, either of the *Dutch* or *Portugueſe*.

In *December* 1643, *Don Michael de Kraſto*, *Don Baſtian Manduba de Sonho*, and *Don Antonio Ferdinandes*, three ambaſſadors from the count *Sonho* in *Angola*, arrived in the *Receif*, in the ſhip call'd the *Arms of Dort*; they had but one ſervant each, but brought along with them ſeveral negroes with golden collars, as a preſent to count *Maurice*, beſides a great number of other Negroes for the company.

Ambaſſadors from the count of Sonho *admitted to audience.*

Being admitted to audience by count *Maurice* and the great council, they deſired in the name of their Maſter, not to ſend any aſſiſtance to the king of *Congo*, whom they feared would attack them before long, notwithſtanding they were at that time both engaged in a war againſt the *Portugueſe*. They received for anſwer, that the council would write to Mr. *Niewland*, their director there, to interpoſe his authority and mediation, in order to maintain a good correſpondency, and remove all occaſion of conteſt betwixt the king of *Congo* and their maſter, they being both confederates of the States: The ſaid Earl ſent likewiſe a letter to count *Maurice*, in which he deſired leave to buy a chair, a cloak, ſome enſigns of war, ſome apparel, and ſuch like things. The great council writ alſo a letter, as well to the king of *Congo*, as to the count of *Sonho*, exhorting them to peace, and ſent them the following preſents in the name of the company.

To the King,

A long black velvet cloak, with ſilver galloons.
A ſcarf edged with ſilver lace.
A velvet coat.
And a caſtor-hat with a ſilver hatband.

To the Count,

A red velvet elbow-chair, with gold fringes.
A large velvet cloak, with gold and ſilver galloons.
A ſcarf with a gold and ſilver lace. 1643.
A velvet coat.
And a caſtor-hat with a gold and ſilver hatband.

They were entertained with all imaginable civility, during their ſtay here: They were very skillful in playing with the backſword; in the management of which, they made moſt terrible poſtures and faces. They underſtood *latin* very well, and made ſeveral learned harangues in the ſame.

Freſh ſuſpicion of a revolt.

The 13th of *October* 1644, a certain *Jew*, called *Gaſpar Franciſco de Kunha*, with two others of the chief of the ſame fraternity, gave notice to the great council, that they had been credibly informed by ſome *Jews*, who converſed and kept frequent correſpondence in the country, that the *Portugueſes* were plotting againſt the *Dutch-Braſil*, telling the council the reaſons upon which they founded this ſuſpicion. The council, after having returned thanks to theſe elders for their care, reſolved to leave no ſtone unturn'd to diſcover the deſigns of the *Portugueſe*; and having received certain intelligence, that they expected ſome arms and ammunition to be brought them by ſea, they ordered the 12th of *October* 1644, the yacht called *Niewhouſe*, with a galliot and a challoop, to cruiſe along the coaſt of *Dutch-Braſil*, to obſerve what veſſels did approach the ſhore.

The 11th of *May* 1644, count *Maurice* left the *Receif*, in order to his return to *Holland*, after he had been eight years governor of the *Dutch-Braſil*. All the citizens and chief inhabitants, both of the *Receif* and *Maurice*'s town, appeared in arms, making a lane from the old town to the water-gate, of whom, as he paſs'd by, he took his leave with all imaginable demonſtration of kindneſs. At the gate he mounted on horſe-back, and being accompanied by the great council, the councellors of juſtice and all the military officers, as far as *Olinda*, he there once more took his leave of them in particular, the Sieur *Bulleſtraet* remaining only with him, being deputed by the regency to conduct him on board the ſhips deſign'd for his tranſportation. They did not ſet ſail from the *Red-Land* 'till the 22d of *May*, with a fleet of thirteen ſhips, on board of which were a good number of ſoldiers, leaving only eighteen companies for the defence of the *Dutch-Braſil*. Mr. *Bulleſtraet* return'd the 26th to the *Receif*.

On the 22d of *April*, not long before the departure of count *Maurice*, the commiſſion from the governors of the *Weſt-India* company, according to a reſolution taken at their meeting the firſt of *July* 1642,

1643. 1642, concerning the government of *Dutch-Braſil*, and dated the 22d of *May* 1643, was read in the great council, by which the members thereof were to have the adminiſtration of the government 'till further orders. Accordingly count *Maurice* having appointed a day to inveſt them with the adminiſtration of the government, he ordered (with the conſent of the ſaid council) an aſſembly to be called on the 6th of *May*, of the counſellors of juſtice, of the magiſtrates, the eccleſiaſtical council and miniſters of *Maurice*'s *Town*; of the commanders in chief both by ſea and land, the chief officers of the company, the officers of the militia, and the chief men among the *Jews*.

Count Maurice *abdicates the government.*

All theſe being at the appointed time met in the great hall of the *Stadthuis*, he told them, that ſince their high and mightineſſes the ſtates, his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and the council of nineteen, had been pleaſed to grant him leave, after a ſtay of eight years among them, in the quality of governor of the *Dutch-Braſil*, to return into *Holland*, he had called them together, to return them thanks for the many ſervices, each in his ſtation, had done to the company; as likewiſe for the obedience, fidelity and reſpect they had always ſhewn to his perſon; telling them, that from this minute he reſign'd the government into the hands of the great council, requiring and deſiring them, in the name of the ſtates, the prince of *Orange*, and the council of nineteen, to ſhew them the ſame obedience, fidelity and reſpect they had done before; whereupon count *Maurice* having congratulated the council, and the reſt there preſent done the ſame, he took his leave of them in the hall, and immediately after in the council-chamber, of the members of the great council, giving them moſt hearty thanks for their faithful council and aſſiſtance upon all occaſions, and for the reſpect and deference they had always ſhewn to his perſon; telling them, that ſince this would be the laſt time of his appearing in their aſſembly, he had drawn up a memorial, which might ſerve them as a guide, for the better adminiſtration of the government; and that, if they thought it convenient, he ſhould be ready to diſcourſe with them, and enlarge further upon that ſubject. The members of the great council returned him their unfeigned thanks, wiſhing him a happy voyage, and good ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and recommended themſelves and the whole *Dutch-Braſil* to his care hereafter. Before the breaking up of the aſſembly, it was debated in the preſence of count *Maurice*, which of the members ſhould have the precedency there as preſident, or whether the ſame ſhould be taken by turns, the ſame being not determined in their commiſſion: After ſeveral arguments *pro* and *con*, it was agreed, that things ſhould remain, in reſpect of this point, in the ſame condition as had been uſual before, in the abſence of count *Maurice*, *viz.* for every one to keep his rank without any priority 'till further orders from the council of nineteen; to wit, firſt Mr. *Dirk Hamel*, then Mr. *Bulleſtraete*, Mr. *Kodde Vander Burgh*, *&c.* 1643.

Takes his leave.

The next thing the great council took in hand, was to inquire more narrowly into the deſigns of the *Portugueſe* againſt the government; to effect which, it was reſolved in *January* 1644, to ſend *Gilbert de Wit*, councellor of the court of juſtice, and captain *Dirk Hoogſtrate*, then commander in chief in the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, to *Antonio Telles de Sylva*, then governor of the *Bahia*, with the following inſtructions, dated the 15th of the ſame month; to compliment the governor (after the delivery of their credentials) in the name of the great council, with a ſincere promiſe and aſſurance of friendſhip, and good neighbourly correſpondence. After this, they were to repreſent to him, that many of the ſubjects of the *Dutch-Braſil*, after having contracted conſiderable debts there, both with the company, and other inhabitants, did retire into the *Bahia*; wherefore they deſired, that for the promoting of juſtice, they would either detain thoſe bankrupts in priſon, or at leaſt give timely notice of their coming thither, to the *Dutch* government, whereby their ſubjects might be enabled to proſecute them at law: But their real errant was to be inſtructed underhand in the following points.

Envoys ſent into the Portugueſe-Braſil, *and their inſtructions.*

I. *What forces the* Portugueſe *had at that time in the* Bahia, *and the other ſouthern provinces.*

II. *What number of ſhips.*

III. *What number of ſhips were expected there out of* Portugal.

IV. *How the negro's trade ſtood affected, and from what places they were brought thither.*

V. *Whether there was any commerce betwixt them and the inhabitants of* Bonas Aires.

VI. *In what condition their places were thereabouts; of all which they were to give the beſt account they were able to get, after their*

1643. *their return to the great council; they were also charged by word of mouth, to make diligent enquiry who were the persons that underhand encouraged the so much feared revolt of the* Portugueſe *in the* Dutch Braſil, *and what aid or assistance they were to have from them; and to desire the governor not to permit for the future that such of the* Dutch *soldiers as deserted out of the* Receif, *and went by land to the* Bahia, *might from thence be transported into* Portugal, *but be stopt and sent back to the* Receif.

Theſe envoys arrived ſafely the 8th of *February* 1644 in the *Bahia*, and dropt their anchor towards the evening near the city of *St. Salvador*, and the caſtle of *St. Antonio*, where two officers came on board them, to enquire from whence they came, and by whom, and to whom they were ſent, in order to give an account thereof to the governor *Antonio Telles de Sylva*. The next following day they were complimented in the name of the governor by major *Domingo Delgados*, and captain *David Ventura*, who told them that he intended to ſend his chaloop with the firſt opportunity to fetch them aſhore. About three a clock in the afternoon, the ſame officers with three or four more, came with the chaloop to fetch them; and they were no ſooner landed but found ſeveral horſes ready for them to mount upon, which they did, and were conducted up a high hill, all over covered with ſpectators, to the governor's palace. In the outward hall was a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, in the ſecond ſeveral enſigns and other inferior officers, in the third apartment they met with nothing but captains and lieutenants, and in the fourth with colonels, general officers, ſome clergymen, and the governor himſelf; who after having received them at the door, deſired them to ſit down next to him, upon chairs ſet for that purpoſe. The envoys then begun their harangue, in which they told him, that they were extreamly glad to find him in good health at this time, when they were ſent by the great council of the *Dutch Braſil*, to aſſure him of their good inclinations, to maintain a good correſpondency and friendſhip with him, and of their hearty wiſhes for his majeſty's, his own, and the government's proſperity; to preſerve which, they were ready to contribute all that lay in their power. Then they told him that they had ſeveral things to propoſe to him, when he ſhould think convenient to receive them; the reſt of the diſcourſe run upon mutual complements and news. After which, the envoys were again accompanied by the governor to the door of the apartment, where he ordered the beforementioned *Domingo Delgados* and *David Ventura*, to conduct them to a certain large houſe finely furniſhed, in *Biſhops-ſtreet*, and to entertain them at his charge; which though the envoys refuſed, alledging it to be contrary to the intentions of their maſters, yet were forced to accept of the ſame, and were very magnificently entertained at ſupper. 1643.

Their arrival at St. Salvador.

Are admitted to audience.

The next morning about eleven a clock they went again to the palace, and after having deſired a ſecond audience, were received in the ſame manner as before. Every one being ordered to withdraw, beſides the ſecretary of the governor; the envoys made their propoſitions to the laſt, which they delivered to him in writing in *Portugueſe*, recommending the ſame to his conſideration, as tending towards the maintaining a good and firm correſpondency betwixt them. To which the governor gave this general anſwer; *That he ſhould always endeavour to cultivate a good underſtanding and correſpondency with us, purſuant to the ſtrict and reiterated orders he had received for that purpoſe from the king his maſter. And that concerning the propoſitions made by them to him, he would aſſemble his council of war and juſtice, and afterwards impart to them his anſwer.* Then they were by *Domingo Delgados* reconducted to his own houſe, where they were very well entertained the ſame day at dinner, and the next by the governor himſelf.

Their ſecond audience.

The 17th they had another audience from the governor, who told them in very obliging terms, *that he had conſulted the matter with his council, and could give them no other anſwer but what was contained in this letter*, which he delivered to them, and told them the contents thereof; whereupon our envoys told him, that ſince thereby a door was left open for rogues and vagabonds, they hoped he would at leaſt order that the names of ſuch as fled to the *Bahia* might be taken notice of, that the great council of the *Dutch Braſil* might not remain quite unſatisfied, whither they were fled; which he promiſed to do. After ſome further complements and mutual aſſurance of friendſhip, they parted for this time.

Their third audience.

The 22d they took their leave of the biſhop, and ſeveral other perſons of note, unto whom they owed any obligations, and laſt of all of the governor himſelf, being conducted thither by many perſons of quality and officers; they returned him thanks for the civilities and reſpect he had been pleaſed to ſhew them, wiſhing both him and his *Portugueſe* majeſty a long and happy reign, and victory againſt the *Caſtilians*. The governor returned their complements, and conducted them out of the room, ordering ſeveral negroes to attend them down the precipice of the hill, upon which the city is built, with chairs; but the envoys

chooſing

1643. choosing rather to go on foot, they were in the same chaloop they came in ashore, carried back under the sound of musick on board their yacht. The *Portuguese* officers after having taken their leave, returned to the city, and ours made the best of their way to the *Receif*, where they arrived safely not long after.

Their return to the Receif.

The letter delivered to them by the governor, was as follows.

The Governour's Letter.

The governors letter. GIlbert de Wit *councellor of your court of Justice, and* Dirk Hoogstraten *commander in chief on the* Cape of St. Austin, *your lordships deputies, whom I received according to their quality and merits, have delivered your letter to me, and proposed such other matters as they were impowered to treat with me about. Though I endeavour nothing so much as to cultivate and maintain in the strictest manner, our neighbourly good correspondency, yet am I constrained at this time frankly to acknowledge, that it is not in my power to give your lordships any more satisfactory answer than this, in hopes that the many proofs you have had of my sincere inclinations, will serve as a plea with your lordships, to assure you, that I shall always be ready in all points depending on my government, to give the same proofs both of obedience and fidelity to the king my master, whose pleasure is, that the truce should be observed inviolably; and of my sincere intentions, and the esteem I have for your lordships friendship, desiring nothing more than that you furnish me with an opportunity of giving real demonstrations of my readiness to serve you; whom I recommend to the protection of God almighty.*

Bahia, Feb. 14. 1645. Signed,

Antonio Telles da Silva.

Concerning the six points mentioned in their secret instructions, they made the following report to the great council.

Report of the envoys to the council.

I. *THAT the* Portuguese *forces in those parts were generally esteemed to be less or more betwixt three and four thousand men, without the* Brasilians *and negroes. But that upon the most exact enquiry they could make, they had found them to be not above three thousand, including the* Brasilians *and negroes, and their garrisons both to the north and south, as far as* Rio Janeiro. *These consisted of five regiments,* viz. *three of* Portuguese, *under the colonels* John Darauge, Martin Soares, *and* N. N. *the fourth of* Brasilians, *under a* Brasilian *colonel,* Antonio Philippo Camarao; *and the fifth of negroes, under the command of negro* Henricio Dyas. *These two last regiments, amounting both not to above three hundred men, were divided in the garrisons to the north, about* Rio Real *on our frontiers; they being the scum and off-casts of all their territories, and consequently not to be quartered near the capital city, there having of late been some broils among them in the garrisons, whither officers were dispatched to compose them. The three* Portuguese *regiments consisting of about two thousand seven hundred men, kept garrison in* St. Salvador, *and the circumjacent forts, except two companies, one of which quartered about* Rio Real, *the other in the island* Morro St. Paulo; *and about one hundred fifty more, which were disposed in the captainships of* Os Ilheos, Porto Seguro *and* Spirito Sancto; *so that the garrisons of* St. Salvador *and the circumjacent forts, consisted in at least two thousand three hundred, each company consisting of one hundred men less or more, all chosen men and well cloathed; four companies mounted the guard every night, one at the palace, at each of the two gates one, and the fourth in the water-forts without the city.* 1643.

II. *Of their naval strength they gave a very slender account, being more considerable in number than force, as consisting only in fifty small vessels and yachts, not in the least fitted for war; neither could they observe the least shew of preparations tending that way; their aim being only to protect their ships bound to the* Portuguese *coasts, against the insults of the* Castilian *and* Denmark *privateers, and the* Turkish *rovers. It was, as they said, upon this account, that, during our stay there, two stout* Portuguese *ships fit for war, manned with six hundred men, and provided with good store of ammunition, arrived in the* Bahia, *under the command of* Salvador Correada-sa, *with orders to go directly from thence to* Rio de Janeiro, *and to fetch all ships ready loaden from thence to the* Bahia, *from whence they were to convoy these as well as such other vessels as they found ready there, to the coast of* Portugal; *for which reason also all the vessels which otherwise used to go according to their own conveniency, were ordered to stay for the said convoy. That news was brought by the said two ships, that the king of* Portugal *had forbid the building of* Caravels *and other such like small vessels, instead of which they were to build ships of better defence against the insults of an enemy at sea. From whence the envoys said they supposed would arise this inconveniency to the* Portuguese, *that the freights and convoy money paid for the commodities transported from* Portugal *to the* Portuguese Brasil, *and for the sugar transported from thence to* Portugal *must encrease, and consequently would not be able to sell the last at the same price the* Dutch *did, considering especially that they must be consi-*

1643. *conſiderable loſers both in their intereſt and time, where they were forced to tarry for their convoys, whereas they uſed formerly to make the beſt of their way home.*

III. *They had obſerved, that though the inhabitants of the* Bahia *expected the coming of thoſe ſhips at their firſt arrival, yet ſeveral veſſels arrived there, both from the* Portugueſe *coaſt and the iſlands before the reſt.*

IV. *They concluded the negro trade to be very inconſiderable there, they having ſcarce ever heard it as much as mentioned; but becauſe the price of a good negro did not at that time amount to above three hundred gilders, they ſuppoſed them pretty well ſtockt with them; thoſe which were of late bought there being brought thither from* Cape Verde *and* Arder. *They further reported, that when on wedneſday being the* 8th *of* February, *they entred the* Bahia, *they met two ſhips of good bulk, carrying about twenty guns each, and well mann'd going out, which upon enquiry were told them to be bound for* Portugal, *but could not learn to what harbour there, which together with ſome other reaſons, made them ſuſpect that they were intended another way, in which we found ourſelves not deceived, when on the* 22d *of* February, *juſt as they were ready for their departure, they underſtood from* Mulat Juliana, *and of two monks, that theſe two ſhips were ſent with men to* Angola, *for the ſecurity of the inhabitants of* Maſagao, *who being but ſmall in number, were ſorely afraid to be ſet upon by the negroes of the countrey, and having deſired the governor's aſſiſtance, who ordered thoſe ſhips and the men to go in the night time, and to endeavour to reach* Maſagao *unperceived by any, and without committing any hoſtilities againſt the* Dutch. *Whether and how far this might be true, time would ſhew, but they had all the reaſon in the world to believe, that it was upon their ſcore of concealing this expedition, as well as ſome other matters from them, that immediately after arrival (though they were not informed of it till near the time of their departure) that no* Dutch *or* Germans *ſhould appear, as much as in the ſight of the envoys, much leſs diſcourſe with them; which was obſerved with that ſtrictneſs that they really imagined there had been no* Dutch *there; but found afterwards that they had been all (how many they knew not) carried on board the* Portugueſe *veſſels, to prevent their keeping any correſpondency with us and our ſhips crew; to which end alſo, ſix centinels were placed in two boats lying near our yacht, during the time of our ſtay here, under pretence of protecting our veſſel, but in effect to prevent any body from coming on board us, purſuant to the orders of the governor.*

V. *That the inhabitants of the* Bahia *and the other* Portugueſe *captainſhips, had not the leaſt commerce at this time with thoſe of* Bonas Aires. *That immediately after the revolution in* Portugal, *thoſe of the* Bahia *had attempted to go thither, but were treated as enemies by them; ſo that it was their opinion, the place would either ſoon, or was already totally ruined for want of commerce; all their livelihood conſiſting in the traffick from the coaſt of* Braſil *thither; which falling away, no ſilver could be tranſported thither from* Peru; *it being not probable that the* Spaniards *would run the hazard of paſſing along an enemy's coaſt, when they had a ſafer way to tranſport their treaſures from the* Weſt-Indies. 1643.

VI. *That they could not get the leaſt certain information concerning the deſigns carried on betwixt ſome of the inhabitants of the* Bahia, *and thoſe of the* Dutch Braſil *againſt the laſt; beſides which they gave them a general relation of what they had been able to learn, concerning the condition of the city of* St. Salvador, *its inhabitants, governour, and ſome other matters relating to the countrey thereabouts.*

Another revolt of the Portugueſe.

The rumours which in 1640 were noiſed about concerning the treacherous deſigns of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants againſt us, being for that time vaniſhed into ſmoak, the ſame was revived, and their deſigns began to be diſcovered in *February* 1645, *viz.* That confiding in the promiſed ſuccours from *Bahia*, they intended to riſe in arms againſt us, looking upon this juncture as the moſt favourable for their purpoſe, ſince count *Maurice* with the greateſt part of our fleet, and a good number of ſoldiers were returned to *Holland*, from whence no freſh ſupplies were come of late into *Braſil*. The great council not being ignorant of this, were indefatigable in their care, to leave no ſtone unturned to find out the ring-leaders of this rebellion, ſo as to charge them effectually with this crime, and find out ſufficient cauſe for their commitment. They ſent out ſeveral of their officers into the countrey, as ſpies, to ſound the inclinations of the people, and whether they could meet with any one who incited the reſt to an inſurrection. The like he did on the other ſide of the river of *St. Francis*, and in *Kamaron*'s camp, whither they had ſent certain perſons to inveſtigate their deſigns, and to learn what preparations they made for war, and whether they were intended againſt *Pernambuko*, but were not able to find out any thing, upon which they could make any ſure account. Being nevertheleſs ſenſible that thoſe forewarnings were not altogether groundleſs, and knowing the *Portugueſe*

1643. *tugueſe* to be of ſo haughty a temper (beſides the difference in religion) that they would ſcarce let any opportunity ſlip of withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of their conquerors; they writ the 13th of *February* 1645 the following letter, concerning the deſigns of the *Portugueſe* to the council of nineteen.

A letter from the great council to the Weſt-India *company.*

Moſt noble and right honourable,

A letter from the great council to the Weſt-India *company.*

DUring *the government of his excellency count* Maurice, *there were already ſeveral of the inhabitants of this ſtate entred into ſecret cabals to riſe in mutiny againſt us, in hopes of aſſiſtance from the* Bahia; *their buſineſs was to inſinuate into thoſe that were well affected to them; after their good ſucceſs in* Maranhaon, *that our forces being conſiderably weakned by the ſtrong detachments ſent to the garriſons of* Angola, St. Thomas, *and others, a fair opportunity was offered them, to withdraw themſelves from our obedience, and to enjoy their former liberty under their own king. They were not a little encouraged in their deſign, imagining the ſame might be carried on without any great difficulty, when they found that of late we had received no ſupplies either of meat or other proviſions, or of ſoldiers from* Holland, *whereby the ſtorehouſes of the company here being exhauſted, the garriſons of the forts were forced to be ſupplied from time to time with farinha and freſh meats out of the countrey, they judged, if they could once be maſters in the field, they muſt of neceſſity fall into their hands; as it happened in* 1640 *to the* Spaniſh *garriſons in* Portugal, *who for the ſame reaſon were not in a condition to hold out againſt the* Portugueſe; *being beſides that ſenſible that unleſs we would too much weaken our garriſons, we had no ſufficient number of troops left to appear formidable in the field. Theſe and other ſuch like inſinuations have been frequently ſpread among the* Portugueſe, *by thoſe, who finding themſelves moſt uneaſy under our government, hoped for a change of their affairs, by changing their maſters; which however wrought no conſiderable effect, as long as his excellency continued in the government, partly becauſe we being forewarned of their deſigns, kept a watchful eye over all their actions, partly becauſe our ſea and land forces being much more conſiderable at that time than they are now, they had but little proſpect of ſucceeding in their enterprize, which therefore they judged moſt convenient to defer till after his excellency's departure, which as it was ſufficiently known before hand, ſo they were ſenſible that thereby our forces both by ſea and land muſt be conſiderably weakned, and conſequently would furniſh them with a fairer opportunity of putting their ſo long rejected deſign in execution; the more, becauſe that many of the* Portugueſe *who relying hitherto upon the authority of count* Maurice, *as the only means to keep the ſoldiers in awe, being now put in fear of the executions and exorbitancies likely to be committed by the covetous officers and rapacious ſoldiers, would be forced to join with them againſt us. After the departure of his excellency for* Holland, *thoſe cabals have inſtead of divine things encreaſed every day; they have been very diligent in getting information concerning the ſtrength of all our garriſons, with an intent to carry on their deſigns before we could be reinforced with ſupplies of men and proviſions from* Holland; *to effect which, they have by meſſengers ſent to the* Bahia, *ſollicited for ſuccours of men and arms, of which as it ſeems they have no ſmall hopes. There is great reaſon to believe that the journey of* Andrew Vidal *from the* Bahia *hither, in* Auguſt *laſt, undertaken under pretence of taking his leave before his return to* Portugal, *in order to ſerve the king there, was founded upon no other motive than to inform himſelf moſt narrowly concerning the true ſtate of affairs here, in order to give a verbal account thereof in the* Bahia *and afterwards in* Portugal; *as likewiſe to ſound the inclinations of the inhabitants, and to animate ſuch as he found well diſpoſed for his intereſt, with hopes of ſpeedy ſuccours from the* Bahia; *we have ſince received ſecret intelligence that he has been preſent at ſeveral of theſe cabals. But though they were greatly encouraged with theſe hopes of good ſucceſs, by reaſon of the diminution of our forces and ſcarcity of proviſions, they were not very forward in venturing upon this enterpriſe, being ſenſible that their deſign having taken vent, we made all neceſſary preparations againſt them; beſides that many of the* Portugueſe *inhabitants, being beyond their expectation, well ſatisfied with the government of the great council, did rather chuſe to live quietly and ſecurely, than to engage in ſo dangerous an enterpriſe. So that things remained without any conſiderable alteration at preſent; and as matters ſtand now we are not able to find out ſufficient cauſe to ſatisfy ourſelves whether they proceed in the ſame deſign. Their chief deſign as we are credibly informed was laid againſt the* Receif, *which they intended to ſurpriſe, upon a certain day appointed for the ſale of negroes, when the inhabitants of the countrey flocking thither in great numbers, they did not doubt but with the aſſiſtance of our own negroes, who are for the moſt part papiſts, to make themſelves, maſters of the place, not queſtioning but if this ſucceeded, the reſt would ſoon be forced to yield. But in this they were prevented, by the ſtrong guards we took care to poſt in the* Receif *on thoſe fair days.*

The

1643. *The chief ringleaders, as they are ſpecified to us, are* John Fernandes Vieira, *and his father-in-law* Franciſco Beringel, *with ſeveral others, whom we would have committed to priſon, if we could have had more certain information againſt them; but though we left no ſtone unturned to find out the truth, yet could we not meet with ſufficient motives to induce us either to impriſon them, or to proceed again to the general diſarming of the inhabitants, we having received certain intelligence, that ſo ſoon as we ſhould attempt it, we muſt expect no leſs than a general inſurrection, which conſidering our own magazines and ſtore-houſes were ſo ill provided, and no ſufficient force could be drawn out of the garriſon to ſecure the open countrey, would have drawn after it very ill conſequences for our nation, eſpecially thoſe living at ſome diſtance from our forts, who thereby, as we had reaſon to fear, might have been expoſed to the danger of being maſſacred by the* Portugueſe. *It is evident from the information given to your lordſhips in* Holland, *and tranſmitted to us, that the ſubjects of the king of* Portugal *themſelves are encouraged and animated againſt us; wherefore it will be abſolutely neceſſary to be very cautious, and to haſten the ſupplies we have ſo often requeſted at your hands. Upon the firſt information we received, that toward the ſouth of the* Receif *the* Portugueſe *intended to land ſome men or arms, we ſent the* 13th *of* October *a yacht, the* Enckhuyſen *with another galliot and chaloop to cruiſe thereabouts, but they returned after ſome time without being able to diſcover any ſuch thing. The next intelligence we had was, that a fleet was equipping in the* Bahia, *to tranſport ſome forces, for the aſſiſtance of our rebellious ſubjects; to find out the bottom of this deſign, we thought we could pitch upon no better expedient than to ſend thither Mr.* Gilbert de Witt *and* Dirk Hoogſtraten *with certain inſtructions; of which we have enloſed the copy, who ſet ſail the* 22th *of the laſt month. Being further informed that a certain* Portugueſe *captain with an enſign and three ſoldiers have been lately diſpatched from the* Bahia *to our captainſhips, to endeavour to ſtir up our ſubjects to rebellion, with aſſurance of ſuccours from thence; we have employed all neceſſary means to find them out and get them into our hands. We ſhall not be wanting in any thing, which according as occaſion preſents, may contribute to the preſervation of this ſtate.*

Receif 13th February, 1645.

The 4th the great council were informed by letter from *Iſnac Raſiere* and captain *Blewbeck*, written at *Parayba*, that a rumour was ſpread thereabouts that *Kamaron* chief commander of the *Braſilians* in the *Bahia*, was on his march from *Sertao* to *Siara*, to join with the *Braſilians* inhabiting thereabouts, to attack with their united forces the inhabitants of the captainſhip of *Rio Grande*. Whereupon the council ſent orders to *Hans Vogel*, governor of *Seregippo del Rey*, to get intelligence and ſend them ſpeedy word whether *Kamaron* with his camp were ſtill in *Rio Real*; and if not, whither he had taken his march, or whither he intended to take it. They alſo ſent word to the inhabitants of *Parayba*, that they ſhould be very diligent in enquiring after the cauſe of this rumour, and ſend them intelligence accordingly. The 15th of *May* they received an anſwer from *Hans Vogel*, dated the 25th of *April* at *Seregippo del Rey*, wherein he told them that purſuant to their orders he had ſent a ſerjeant with ſome ſoldiers to *Kamaron's* head quarters, about ten leagues from *Seregippo del Rey*, under pretence of looking for ſome deſerters; who after their return reported, that his forces conſiſting of two hundred *Portugueſe* and one thouſand two hundred *Braſilians*, were ſtill in the ſame place, buſied for the moſt part in cultivating ſome plantations, *Kamaron* himſelf being then in the *Bahia*, to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity of their eaſter; from whence they conjectured, that the rumour concerning his march was only a fiction. But two days after the ſame rumour was renewed by two paſſengers coming from *Rio St. Franciſco*, and being landed by one *John Hoen*, a maſter of a veſſel near *Kandelaria*; but upon a more ſtrict enquiry made by the council, the ſaid maſter of the veſſel declared, that on the eighth of the ſame month, when he left *Rio de Franciſco*, there was no news of *Kamaron's* march.

1643.

The 30th of *May* 1645, a letter without a name was delivered to the great council by one *Abraham Markado* a jew, ſubſcribed only *plus ultra*. This letter being tranſlated out of the *Portugueſe* the ſame night, the contents thereof were, that three unknown perſons gave them notice that a good body of troops were come from *Rio Real* into *Parayba*, with an intention to join with a diſcontented party there, and to ſurprize the *Dutch* forts; with advice to ſeize upon the perſon of *John Fernandes Vieira* their chief ringleader.

The letter is as follows,

A letter of intelligence to the council.

WE ſtand amazed you are ſo ſecure, when it is reported that the Matta *of* Parayba *is full of ſoldiers, come thither lately from* Rio Real, *who conſiſting in a good number of negroes, mulats, and* Portugueſe, *with*

Kamaron

1643. Kamaron *at the head of them, began their march in the month of* March, *expecting now to be joined by other troops, which hitherto were ſtopt by the overflowing of the rivers. Their aim is to encourage the inhabitants to take up arms, which done, they expect conſiderable ſuccours from the* Bahia, *both by ſea and land, wherewith they pretend to block you up in the* Receif, *intending to fix their camp either at* Olinda, *or in the* Vergea, *and quarter the ſoldiers in the* Fregeſies *thereabouts. They boaſt that their forces are already conſiderably encreaſed by thoſe who are indebted to the company, and other vagabonds, and threatned to maſſacre all ſuch of your ſubjects as refuſe to join with them. A certain perſon of note and reputation belonging to the ſame camp, has given us this information, in order to communicate it to your lordſhips to be upon your guard, which we do accordingly by theſe preſents. The ſame perſon told us, that* John Fernandes Vieira *was the chief ringleader of this inſurrection, who maintains the rebellious crew in the* Matta, *as they meet together, till a certain day appointed for their rendezvous, when they are with their joint forces to attack all the* Dutch *forts and out-guards at once. We were alſo told, that the ſaid* Vieira *does not ſleep in his houſe, and is always upon his guard; to try which, you have no more to do than to ſend ſome to take him, with his ſervants and factors; which if you could do they would be all amazed, and make an open confeſſion, which may be done without the leaſt hazard; for if you miſcarry in the attempt, it will nevertheleſs not redound to your diſadvantage. We conjure your lordſhips to take care of this poor nation, for fear they ſhould be forced to join with the rebels againſt you. We judge it therefore abſolutely neceſſary to undertake the buſineſs without delay, with all imaginable ſecreſy; for if they find themſelves diſcovered, they will begin the game immediately; ſo that ſtrong guards ought to be put in the outworks, and in the harbours of* Kandelaria *and the* Receif. *We adviſe your lordſhips to oblige the inhabitants forthwith to ſurrender their arms, to order all the maſters of the ſugar-mills, with their planters, to appear in the* Receif, *eſpecially thoſe of the* Fregeſies *of* Vergea, Garaſſu, St. Lorenzo, St. Amaro, Moribeca, de Cabo, Pojuka, *and* Serinhaim, *with aſſurance that they ſhall not be moleſted for any debts there; and when they are come, to detain them till they ſee what is further to be done, under pretence of ſecuring them againſt the attempts of the rebels in the country, by which means you will both ſecure the government, and oblige many private perſons. The ſame method ought to be uſed with thoſe of* Parayba, *where they may be detained in the fort, as well as thoſe of* Porto Calvo *in that place. Thus if you can get the chiefeſt into your hands, the deſign will dwindle away to nothing. We beſeech you not to ſend away any more ſoldiers before you have made a full diſcovery of the rebellion, and provide your forts with good garriſons; whither we would alſo have all the* Dutch *inhabitants to retire for fear of being maſſacred. We three being faithful ſubjects of your lordſhips, have now ſatisfied our conſciences in propoſing your remedy, which conſiſts in the taking of* Vieira, *which muſt be undertaken with great ſecrecy and foreſight, he being, as it is ſaid, continually upon his guard. Your lordſhips will be ſenſible without our advice how much it concerns them, not to divulge to any, from whom they have received this information; and we aſſure you, that we will not fail to give further intelligence of what we are able to learn by way of letters; and one time or other, we ſhall make no difficulty to let you know, who theſe three faithful ſubjects are. If we had been preſent, we could have declared no more than we have done in this letter. Your lordſhips muſt take effectual care againſt their attempts without delay, the approaching feaſt being the time appointed for the putting it in execution. We have ſent you immediate notice after it came to our knowledge: We adviſe you likewiſe to ſeize upon* Franciſco Beringel, Vieira's *father-in-law, and* Antonio Kavalkanti; *and in ſhort, all the chiefeſt of the* Vergeas, *and other places.* Signed, 1643.

A. Verdade.

Plus Ultra.

Hereupon the great council called *Paul de Linge*, preſident of the council of juſtice, vice-admiral *Cornelius Lichthart*, and lieutenant colonel *Garſtman*, into their aſſembly, to conſult unanimouſly what were beſt to be done at this juncture for the preſervation of the *Dutch Braſil*; when by this, as well as ſeveral other letters and intelligences, they were forewarned of the approaching danger; and notwithſtanding they were much in doubt, whether they ought to make any certain account upon a letter written without a name; yet conſidering all the circumſtances of this, as well as ſeveral other informations, it was judged abſolutely neceſſary to provide for the ſafety of the *Dutch Braſil*, againſt any attempt of an enemy.

I. By providing all the forts with meal for two months.

II. By giving immediate notice to all commanders of forts to be conſtantly upon their guard.

III. To write to *John Liſtry*, chief com-

mander of the *Braſilians*, to keep his people in readineſs with their arms in the villages, to be ready to march upon the firſt orders from the council, we being not in a condition to take the field without them.

IV. To ſend abroad their ſpies in all corners, even into the woods, to get intelligence whereabouts the enemies troops are, and to give timely notice of what they are able to learn to the council.

V. It was agreed, to ſummon *John Fernandes Vieira*, the chief ringleader of the intended rebellion, and his ſecurities, *Franciſco Beringel*, *Vieira*'s father-in-law, and *Bernardin Karvalho*, unto the *Receif*, under pretence of making a ſecond agreement with him, which he earneſtly deſired; by which means they ſhould ſecure his perſon, know the whole bottom of the *Portugueſe* deſign, and conſequently be the better able to prevent it. A certain broker called *Koin*, who ſollicited this agreement for *Vieira*, was prevailed upon to undertake this taſk, which he might do without the leaſt ſuſpicion; but the *Whitſontide* holidays put ſome ſtop to it for the preſent. With the ſame care the great council employed all poſſible means to get the other perſons of the *Vergea*, ſuſpected to have a hand in this rebellious deſign, into their hands, under ſome pretence or other, they being not likely to be taken by force, becauſe they did not lodge in their mills and houſes in the night time, and by day were ſo ſtrictly upon their guard, that they could not poſſibly be ſurprized.

The 31st of *May*, vice-admiral *Lichthart*, and *Henry Haus*, a lieutenant, offered to undertake the delivering of *John Fernandes Vieira* to the council, which they intended to effect, under pretence of giving him a viſit, and going a fiſhing with him in the lake *Lewis Bras Biſerra*.

Further advice concerning the inſurrection.

The 9th of *July*, the great council received advice by a letter from Mr. *Koin*, governour of *Rio St. Franciſco*, dated the 1st of *June*, that *Kamaron*, with a ſmall body was paſſed the river *St. Francis*; therefore he deſired ſome aſſiſtance of men, with ſuitable ammunition.

The ſame was confirmed by another letter, dated the 27th of *June*, with advice, that as yet no enemy had appeared within ſight of the fort.

Frequent intelligence being likewiſe ſent to the council, that in the *Matta* of *St. Lawrence*, and ſome other diſtant places, conſiderable numbers of ſoldiers from the *Bahia*, of Mulats and Negroes, were gathering in a body, they ſent ſeveral ſmall bodies thither, under command of ſuch as were well acquainted with that country, who all unanimouſly reported, that they could meet with no ſoldiers, mulats, or any other vagabonds thereabouts. 1643.

The 12th of *June*, the director *Moucheron* ſent further advice, that he had been credibly informed, by letters dated the 8th of the ſame month, from *Rio St. Franciſco*, that *Kamaron* and *Henrico Dias*, with ſix companies of *Braſilians*, Mulats, and Negroes, were paſs'd the ſaid river; and that juſt as he was concluding his letter, two inhabitants of the *Algoas* had given him to underſtand, that ſome of them had been at their houſes for ſome meal; the copies of which letters he ſent to the council, who did now not in the leaſt queſtion, but that their aim was upon the *Dutch Braſil*, eſpecially ſince they were forewarned by ſeveral letters from *St. Antonio*, that the inhabitants thereabouts ſeem'd to prepare for a revolt.

The Reſolution of the council thereupon.

The council finding their project of taking *Vieira* by craft, not to ſucceed, becauſe he and the ſecurities of his father-in-law, *Franciſco Beringel*, and *Bernardino Karvalho*, could not be cajoled into the *Receif*, under pretence of renewing their former contract, and looking upon him as the chief ringleader of this revolt, they ordered *Joachim Denniger*, a lieutenant, with a good number of ſoldiers, to the mill and houſe of the ſaid *John Fernandes Vieira*, to bring his perſon from thence to the *Receif*. Accordingly *Denniger* advanced with his ſoldiers towards the evening near the mills, which he ſurrounded, and about midnight unexpectedly entred both the houſe and mills, making a moſt ſtrict ſearch throughout all the rooms and corners, but to no purpoſe. In the morning he withdrew at ſome diſtance, but return'd the next night, when after having made another ſearch, but in vain, he was informed by one of his *Turkiſh* ſlaves, and ſome Negroes, that neither *Vieira*, nor his father-in-law *Beringel*, had ſlept in their houſes theſe laſt three weeks; that ſometimes they came thither on horſeback, but after a very ſhort ſtay went their ways again. *Denniger* likewiſe ſearch'd the houſes of *Antonio Kavalkanti* and *Antonio Biſerra*, but to as little purpoſe as thoſe of the former, being informed by their Negroes, that they had abſconded for ſome weeks before.

In the mean while, the council ſent divers parties abroad, under the command of *Hans Katner*, *Slodiniſki*, and *Cunraed Hilt*, all which, after their return, agreed in this, that there were no enemies there as yet, eſpecially not in the *Matta*, where they met with no body but thoſe

1643. that were employed in manuring the grounds.

The great council finding themſelves altogether diſappointed in their hopes of taking *Vieira*, reſolved to ſecure immediately the perſons of *Franciſco Beringel*, *Vieira*'s father-in-law; *Bernardino Karvalho*, and his brother *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, *Lewis Bas*, *Amaro Lopez*, and *John Peſſoa*, being perſons ſuſpected to have a hand in the conſpiracy, inhabiting the *Vergea*. In the more diſtant provinces were ordered to be ſeized

In *St. Amaro*, *Antonio de Bulhous*.

In *St. Antonio*; *Amador d'Arouja*; *Pedro Marinho Falcao*; *Antonio del Raſto*.

In *Pojuka*; *Kornero de Morais*; father *Frey Lewis*; and *Franciſco Dias del Gado*.

In *Serinhaim*; *John Albuquerq*, ſon-in-law of *Pero Lopez de Vera*.

In *Porto Calvo*; *Rodrigues de Barros Pimentel*.

In *Iguaraka*; *John Pimenta*.

In *Itamarika*; father *Lawrence d'Alkunha*.

And in *Rio Grande*; *John Leſtan Navarro*.

But it being moſt of all to be feared that the inhabitants of *Parayba*, who were much indebted, would revolt before all the reſt, Mr. *Paul de Linge* was ſent thither immediately in the quality of director, with full power to act both in that and the *Captainſhip* of *Rio Grande*, as he ſhould find it moſt expedient for the company, with expreſs orders to preſs 100 men out of the ſhips, with proportionable proviſions, immediately after his arrival there, which were to be diſpoſed in the fort of *St. Margaret*, both for its defence, and to keep the inhabitants in due obedience.

Parayba ſecured.

And conſidering that the ſcarcity of proviſions was one of the main obſtacles to be ſurmounted on our ſide, which as the caſe then ſtood, would more and more increaſe, unleſs we could remain maſters of the field, from whence we drew moſt of our proviſions, and to over-awe the diſcontented inhabitants, it was judged requiſite, to form a ſmall camp near *S. Lawrence*; and accordingly the two lieutenants *Huykqueſloot* and *Hamel* were order'd thither with 35 men each, the firſt from *Iguaraka*, the laſt from *Moribeka*, as likewiſe captain *Wiltſchut*, with 50 men more from the *Receif*; *John Liſtry*, commander in chief of the *Braſilians*, was likewiſe ordered to join them with all poſſible ſpeed, 300 *Braſilians* under their own commanders..

A ſmall camp near St. Lawrence.

The ſame day (being the 12th) after a view was taken of the fortifications of *Moribeka* town, the ſame were ordered to be repaired, and news being brought, that *John Fernandes Vieira* had been ſeen in his mill the ſame night, the council endeavoured with all poſſible care to have ſecured his perſon, but in vain; it being certain, that (according to the depoſitions made by his ſteward of the mill, called *St. John*, before the publick notary *Indiik*, in the *Receif*, 21 *Jan.* 1647.) near ſix months before the breaking out of this inſurrection, he had never ſlept one night in his houſe: And whenever he happened to be there in the day-time, he remained for the moſt part in a turret on the top of the houſe, from whence he could have a proſpect at a great diſtance; if his buſineſs called him below, he put ſome body elſe there to keep the watch; who, if they ſaw but two or three perſons come that way, gave immediate notice thereof to him; and if any *Dutch* in a body were diſcovered, he retired inſtantly into the adjacent woods. He had likewiſe placed ſome Negroes at a certain diſtance from the houſe, who were to give notice of the approach of any unknown perſons that way. 1643.

The 13th *Sebaſtian Karvalho* and *Antonio de Bulhous*, were brought in priſoners to the *Receif*, the reſt who were ſenſible of their guilt, having eſcaped their hands; the firſt being examined the ſame night by the aſſeſſor of the court of juſtice, Mr. *Walbeek*, concerning the intended conſpiracy, gave him the following account by word of mouth.

Sebaſtian Karvalho *brought in priſoner.*

His CONFESSION.

THAT he was one of thoſe three, who a few days ago, had by way of letter given an account of an intended conſpiracy in the Vergea, *to the great council, the ring-leader thereof being* John Fernandes Vieira, *who, with the reſt of his* Portugueſe *accomplices, relied upon the ſuccours promiſed them from the* Bahia; *with what he had judged moſt proper for obviating the ſame. That the whole deſign of this conſpiracy was laid open to him by means of a certain writing, in form of an aſſociation, which was delivered to him by a* Portugueſe ſervant *of the ſaid* Vieira, *together with a letter, in which he deſired him to ſubſcribe the ſame, there being no more than two who had ſubſcribed it at that time,* viz. John Fernandes Vieira, *and* Lewis da Coſta Sepulpéda. *The contents of this aſſociation were, that they promiſed to riſe in arms againſt this ſtate, and to ſacrifice their lives and eſtates for the recovery of the* Dutch Braſil, *under the obedience of the king of* Portugal. *That indeed he had ſigned the ſaid aſſociation, but given immediate notice thereof to* Ferdinando Vale *and a third perſon beſides; and that he, together with Mr.* Vale, *had* *His confeſſion.*

1643. *had cauſed the beforemention'd letter, directed to the great council, to be delivered to* Merkado *the phyſician. That the inſurrection was intended to extend all over* Dutch Braſil, *but that the inhabitants of the* Captainſhip *of* Parayba *were moſt to be feared, as being moſt indebted, and conſequently bearing an ill-will to our government. That their main deſign was to ſurprize one of our forts, on or near the ſea-ſide, whereby they might ſecure themſelves a place to receive ſuccours from the* Bahia; *from whence they expected to be aſſiſted with two men of war, and three or four fregates. That he had ſigned this aſſociation barely out of fear of* Vieira, *who had threatned thoſe that ſhould refuſe with no leſs than death, and had cauſed ſeveral to be murthered upon that account.*

His confeſſion agreeing in all points with what *Ferdinando Vale* had depoſed before, and being all that time ſorely afflicted with the gravel, he was diſpenſed with from any further examination.

The council being by this depoſition of *Karvalho* fully convinced of the treachery of *Vieira* and his adherents, it was reſolved to attempt once more the taking of the ſaid *Vieira*, if perhaps he might as yet lurk ſomewhere or other near the *Receif*, and of his factor *Mor Manuel de Souſa*, engaged in the ſame deſign; as likewiſe of *Antonio Bezerra* and *Amaro Lopez*, both inhabitants of the *Vergea*, but in vain. Thoſe who were ſent upon that errand, bringing back no other ſatisfaction, than that they were not to be met with thereabouts, and that beſides that, *Antonio* and *Manuel Kavalkanti*, *Antonio Bezerra*, *John Peſſoa*, and *Coſmo de Kraſto*, were the ſame day retired out of the *Vergea* to the *Matta*. The ſame day captain *Wiltſchut* was ordered to ſeize the publick notary, *Caſpar Pereira*, dwelling in *St. Lawrence*, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn the beforementioned aſſociation; and it was reſolved to ſend a pardon to *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *John Pais Kaeral*, who having a great family at home, might thereby be prevailed upon to quit the party of the rebels, whereby we ſhould both weaken that of the enemy, and get a further inſight into their deſigns. *Antonio de Bulhous* being examined at the ſame time, ingenuouſly confeſſed that he had not the leaſt knowledge of the conſpiracy; *Sebaſtian Karvalho* being, notwithſtanding his former confeſſion, detained priſoner upon ſuſpicion till the 4th of *Auguſt*, was, at his requeſt, diſmiſſed by the great council, after having given ſufficient proof that he was one of the three who writ the letter concerning the intended conſpiracy to the council.

Karvalho diſcharged.

The 14th of *June*, orders were given to all the inhabitants of the *Receif*, and thoſe living upon the back of the river, to ſurround their dwelling places with palliſadoes, under forfeiture of 200 gilders. And to render the companies the more compleat, and expoſe our men to as little danger as might be of being ſurpriſed by the enemy, all the ſafeguards were commanded to be withdrawn by Mr. *Haus*, near the *Receif*, and in *Serinhaim* by captain *Fallo*, who was likewiſe ordered to remove the garriſon of *Huna* to another place of more ſtrength. The better to ſupply the ſcarcity of proviſions in the forts, which for want thereof might be in danger of falling into the enemies hands, orders were diſpatch'd to the chief commanders, to ſeize upon what quantity of *Farinha* (or meal) they ſtood in need of for the uſe of their reſpective garriſons among the inhabitants of the country, which they were to be paid for by the commiſſaries of the company. It was alſo thought neceſſary, that for the greater ſecurity of *Maurice*'s town, the ditches of the fort *Erneſtus* ſhould be made larger, as likewiſe the *Quinqueregular* fort, which was put in execution by *Haus*, as vice-admiral *Lichthart* took care to have two ſpy ſhips poſted, one betwixt the *Quinqueangular* fort and the fort *Bruin*, the other beyond *Baretta*, to prevent any ſurprize on that ſide at low tide; it was alſo reſolved not to let any ſhips or boats go out of the *Receif*, without a paſs from the great council. The major of the city militia was ordered to keep the reſt of his officers with the ſoldiery in readineſs againſt the 17th, to paſs the review, the ſame day being alſo appointed to the garriſon for that purpoſe; ſeveral new commanders were alſo choſen for the militia, inſtead of thoſe that were ready to return into *Holland*. The ſame day *Paul Linge* ſet out on his journey into *Parayba*, being furniſhed with fifteen hundred ſoldiers for neceſſary occaſions; and *Bernardino Karvalho*, who had abſconded for ſome time, had, at his requeſt, leave granted him to come to the *Receif* to anſwer for himſelf.

The Receif ſtrengthened with palliſadoes.

The fortifications of Maurice *town enlarged.*

The 15th *John Peſſoa*, maſter of the ſugar-mill *Pantello*, one of thoſe that were ordered to be ſecured, deſired leave alſo in a letter to the council, to appear before them, his flight being occaſioned not by his guilt, but only fear, which was granted him, as well as the requeſt of father *Lawrence Alkunha*, upon the ſame account.

On the 16th early in the morning, we received ſecret intelligence, that *Andrew Vidal*, at the head of 1000 *Portugueſe*, and *Kamaron* with *d'Indeos Rondelas*, and *Henry*

1643. *ry Dias* with a body of arm'd Negroes, had poſted themſelves above *St. Anthony*, near the ſugar-mill *Topekura*. The ſame day *John Karnero de Maris*, and *Franciſco Dias del Gado*, both maſters of ſugar-mills in the diſtrict of *Pojuka*, ordered to be apprehended, were brought priſoners to the *Receif*, and *Amador da Rouje*, and *Pero Marinha Falkao*, inhabitants of *St. Anthony*, who had hitherto abſconded, did aſk permiſſion to come to the *Receif* to anſwer for themſelves, which was eaſily granted.

Our camp removed to Moribeka.

It was then taken into deliberation by the great council, whether, according to the laſt intelligences received of the enemies deſigns, it were not moſt expedient to remove our ſmall camp from *St. Lawrence* to *Moribeka*, which after ſome debates, was agreed upon accordingly, thereby to ſecure the paſſage of the river *Sangea*, and conſequently to remain maſters of the country as far as the cape of *St. Auſtin*, from whence both the camp and the *Receif* might conveniently be ſupplied, both with *Farinha* and cattle; whereas on the contrary, if the enemy ſhould be poſſeſſed of it, he might (as had been done in the former wars) cut off all ſupplies coming from the ſouth to the *Receif*.

Purſuant to this reſolution, orders were ſent to captain *Wiltſchut* to march immediately to *Moribeka*, to expect there the coming of the *Braſilians*, and ſome further ſuccours: In the mean while, to poſt himſelf in the church, and to fortify the ſame againſt any ſudden attack: And the aldermen of *Maurice*'s town were ordered to buy up the neceſſary proviſions, both of *Farinha* and cattle about *Moribeka*, for their uſe. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, commanding all the inhabitants of *Serinhaim*, *Pojuka*, *St. Antonio*, and *Moribeka*, without any exception, to repair well armed, both horſe and foot, with all poſſible ſpeed to *St. Antonio*, there to liſt themſelves for the defence of the open country, under the command of colonel *Gaſpar Vander Ley*, and lieutenant colonel *John Heck*: Thoſe that were not able to maintain themſelves at their own charge, being to receive their proviſion from the company, like other ſoldiers: The ſaid colonel and lieutenant colonel offering at the ſame time, to furniſh fifteen hundred *Alquera*'s or meaſures of *Farinha*, for the uſe of our garriſons, for ready money.

The ſame day the great council received a letter from *Antonio Kavalkanti*, (unto whom they had lately ſent his pardon) in which he proteſted, that neither he nor the reſt of the inhabitants of the *Vergea* were concerned in any cabals againſt the ſtate, their flight being occaſioned only by fear of being impriſoned upon ſuſpicion, raiſed againſt them by their enemies. The anſwer of the council was to this effect, That if he knew himſelf innocent, he ſhould return to his mill, this being the only means to recover his former reputation. 1643.

The great council having great reaſon to ſuſpect, that *Kamaron* would endeavour to bring the *Braſilians* under their juriſdiction over to his party, reſolved, in order to ſecure them in their intereſt, to treat with *Liſtry*, their commander in chief, to perſuade them, to ſend their wives and children into the iſle of *Tamarika*, under pretence of ſecuring them againſt any attempts of the enemy, to which they might in all probability be expoſed in the open villages; but in effect, to keep them as pledges of their fidelity.

Number of thoſe ſent from Bahia *to the rebels.*

The ſame day the council received ſecret intelligence from *Antonio d'Olivera*, that the ſuccours ſent to the rebels from the *Bahia*, conſiſted in a conſiderable number of *Portugueſe*, under the the command of the brother of *Kavalkanti*; of four hundred *Braſilians*, under the command of *Kamaron*; three hundred *Indeos Rondelas* from *Sertoa*; and fifty Negroes, under command of *Henry Dias*.

Enſign Sloteniſki *ſent abroad, and his account.*

On the ſame 16th of *June*, Mr. *Sloteniſki*, enſign of the guards, was ſent abroad to be at the campaigne, with eleven firelocks, and twelve *Braſilians*, who returning the 24th of *June*, gave the following account to the great council. That he took his way from the *Receif* directly to *St. Lawrence*, and from thence directly to the village of *St. Michael*; where being joined by his *Braſilians*, he marched thro' *St. Franciſco* to *Kaſura*, from thence to *Geyta*, and ſo further through the *Matta* to *St. Sebaſtian*, where all the inhabitants had left their houſes. At *St. Sebaſtian* he paſſed the river *Topikura*, and coming to *John Fernandes Vieira*'s park, met there with good able horſes. The Negroes told him, they had orders from their maſter to fly from before the *Dutch*, but to furniſh the *Portugueſe* with what they deſired. From thence he marched to *Antonio*, and in his way thither did light upon a houſe belonging likewiſe to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where he found about fifty or ſixty ſheep, with good ſtore of poultry, intended for the uſe of the ſick belonging to thoſe rebels, or thoſe come to their aſſiſtance from the *Bahia*. They forewarned him not to advance too far, he being likely to meet ſome troops in the park belonging to the fathers of *St. Bento*; but coming thither found both the *Portugueſe* and Negroes fled. From thence he marched to a houſe belonging to *Michael Fernandes*, who a-

1643. bove three months before had been ordered by *John Fernandes Vieira*, to provide a ſufficient quantity of *Farinha* for the uſe of the ſuccours expected from the *Bahia*; which he lately had tranſported from thence to *Pedro de Alkunha*, where was the rendezvous of two companies of the rebellious inhabitants, where the ſaid *Michael* expected a good ſtore of cattle, bought up by *Vieira* for their uſe, according to the information of a Negro, brought by *Slotenifki* to the *Receif*. Near the park of *Don Pedro d'Alkunha*, he met with the ſame Mulat who had ſhot captain *Waldeck*, and with two *Hollanders* who had committed murther, and were never pardoned. *John Fernandes Vieira* had promiſed to be with them againſt *Midſummer* day. From thence *Slotenifki* marched directly to *Una*, and ſo further to *St. Luce*, but met with no body there except one monk, and ſo returned to the *Receif*.

On the 17th of *June* it was reſolved by the great council, with the conſent of the council of juſtice, to iſſue a proclamation for a general pardon, except ſome few ringleaders of the rebellion.

The proclamation was as follows.

A PROCLAMATION *for a general pardon.*

THE great council of Braſil *makes known to every body, whom it may concern, that they being ſenſible, to their grief, how many of their ſubjects, having been miſled by ſome of the ringleaders of the rebellion, have left their mills, wives and children for fear, as has been inſinuated to them, of being diſturbed, plundered, and killed by our ſtragling parties: We being willing to provide againſt it, and to contribute as much as in us lies, to the proſperity of our ſubjects, and their eſtates, have thought fit to publiſh their intention, to be, to defend and protect the inhabitants of the open country, againſt all evil intention'd perſons to the utmoſt of their power. And to reduce thoſe who have left their habitations, to obedience, and prevent their utter deſtruction, we promiſe our pardon to all ſuch as ſhall within five days after ſight of this our proclamation, make their perſonal appearance in the* Receif, *not excepting thoſe who have been actually engaged in the ſaid rebellion (unleſs they are among the number of the chief ringleaders) provided they leave the rebellious party, and return to their former obedience; and that they ſhall enjoy the quiet poſſeſſion of their mills and lands as before, under our protection; under condition however, that they ſhall be obliged to take a new oath of allegiance to the ſtate. Thoſe on the contrary, who ſhall perſiſt in their rebellion, or ſhall aſſiſt the rebels under what pretence ſoever, are hereby declared enemies of the ſtate, who have forfeited their lives and eſtates, whoſe perſons and eſtates ſhall be liable to be proſecuted with fire and ſword,* &c. 1643.

This proclamation being immediately tranſlated into the *Portugueſe* tongue, was ſent in the morning to *St. Antonio* and the *Vergea* to be publiſhed there; ſeveral copies were alſo diſtributed among the friars, in order to publiſh them from the pulpits, and cauſe them to be affixed to the church doors.

The 18th, good ſtore of proviſion and ammunition was ſent to the fort *Keulen*, and *Rio Grande*, and the garriſons of both theſe places forewarned to keep upon their guard. At the ſame time the proclamation of pardon was ſent thither to be publiſhed; and *Antonio Parayba*, chief of the *Braſilians* in thoſe parts, was ſummon'd to keep his *Braſilians* in readineſs with their arms, whenever they ſhould be commanded to give proofs of their fidelity to the company.

The 19th of *June*, two inhabitants of *Porto Calvo*, that were landed but the ſame morning in a ſmall boat on the *Receif*, brought news to the great council, that *Kamaron*, at the head of the *Braſilians*, and *Henry Dias*, with his armed Negroes, conſiſting in ſeven companies, had poſted themſelves in the *Alegoas*, near the ſugar-mill *Velho*; that their number was increaſed ſince to four or five thouſand men, by the conjunction of thoſe who were paſſed the river *St. Franciſco* through the *Matta*, and that they had begun to commit open hoſtilities; ſo that now the council had not the leaſt reaſon to doubt any further of the deſign of the *Portugueſe*. The commander of *Porto Calvo* ſent word much to the ſame purpoſe, and that he prepared for a vigorous defence. The firſt effects of this inſurrection broke out in the diſtrict of *Pojuka*, and conſidering that our whole force there conſiſted only in 30 men, under *Jacob Flemming*, a lieutenant, orders were ſent him to retreat to *St. Antonio*, there to defend themſelves with their joint-forces. The firſt beginning of hoſtilities was made by thoſe of the *Pojuka*, by ſeizing upon two boats, all the paſſengers of which they took priſoners, and ſlew them afterwards, except one ſeaman, who had the good fortune to eſcape. This done, the inhabitants both of the village and the open country, choſe for their head *Tabatinga Amador d'Arravio*, whereby they cut off all communication with the cape *Auſtin* by land, and all about to the ſouth, beſides that, the fort on the ſaid cape could

Open rebellion begun in Pojuka.

1643. could not, but with great difficulty, be ſupplied with water from the river.

The 20th of *June*, a *Braſilian* arrived very early in the morning in the *Receif*; his errant to the council was, that he being ſent by *John Blaar*, from *Porto Calvo*, with letters to the great council, was ſet upon by thoſe of *Pojuka*, near *Kamboa*, who took from him the ſaid letters, and kill'd his companion. For the reſt he told them, that *Kamaron* was poſted in the diſtrict of *Porto Calvo*, and that captain *John Blaar* was in the fort. A council being called to conſider of the beſt means to ſecure the *Dutch-Braſil* againſt any attempts of the enemy, the firſt thing that fell in debate was, whether, according to the general advice of thoſe of the inhabitants, who wiſh'd well to our government, it were not moſt expedient for our defence, to form a camp to make head againſt the enemy in the field; who, if once maſter of the open country, would force the inhabitants to join with him, and cut off our proviſions, without which we could not ſubſiſt long. The next thing to be taken into conſideration was, where to find forces for this camp, the garriſons being ſo weakly manned, as not to be able to ſpare any, and the body under captain *Wiltſchut* conſiſting only of one hundred and twenty men, beſides the three hundred *Braſilians*, to be joined with him. Conſidering therefore that the whole force in the *Allegoas*, conſiſted only of two companies under the command of *Mucheron*, a number not any ways proportionable to the extent of ſo large a tract of ground; it was judg'd moſt convenient to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to draw them from thence to the *Receif*, as indeed they had been ordered before. But their way by land being cut off by the rebels of *Pojuka*, a veſſel, which lay ready to go out a cruſing, was ordered to *Porto Franciſco*, with orders to *Mucheron*, to embark forthwith thoſe forces aboard her, without having any regard to the baggage; but the reſt, which could not be put aboard the veſſel, ſhould be ſent by land to *Rio Franciſco*, to reinforce captain *Koin*, for the better defence of that place. Captain *Fallo* was likewiſe ordered to march with the garriſon of *Serinhaim* to *St. Antonio*, it being not likely that the troops in *Serinhaim* ſhould be able to make head there, after the coming of *Kamaron* into *Porto Calvo*, it being an inland country.

A reinforcement ſent to Tamarika. The ſame day forty new-liſted ſoldiers were ſent to *Tamarika*, under command of captain *Peter Seuliin*, maſter of the ſugar-mill *Harlem*; becauſe this iſland was of the greateſt conſequence to us; and the garriſons of the fort *Orange*, and the town of *Schop*, conſiſting each of one company, were very weak, and the armed inhabitants did not amount to above one company more. 1643.

The ſame day Mr. *Bas* and Mr. *Van de Voerde*, counſellors of the court of juſtice, were ordered to examine *Gaſpar Pereira* the publick notary, concerning his drawing of the inſtrument of aſſociation; as likewiſe *John Kariero de Maris*, *Franciſco Dias Delgado* maſters of ſugar-mills, in the diſtrict of *Pojuka*, and *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, concerning what they knew of the intended conſpiracy.

Second confeſſion of Karvalho. *Karvalho* declared a ſecond time, at the houſe of lieutenant colonel *Haus*, that ſome days ago (he could not remember exactly which) a certain *Portugueſe* ſervant, whom he knew not, did come to him in the name of *John Fernandes Vieira*, with a letter, in which the ſaid *Vieira* deſired him to ſign the encloſed writing drawn in form of an aſſociation, to take up arms againſt the government, as ſoon as they ſhould receive any ſuccours from the *Babia*; which at that time was ſubſcribed only by *John Fernandes Vieira* and *Lewis da Coſta Sepulpeda*; but, as he ſuppoſed, was to be carried to moſt of the inhabitants. He further declared, that he refuſed to ſign the ſaid writing upon the bare letter of *John Fernandes Vieira*, and the hand-writing being unknown to him, he ſent both the letter and inſtrument of aſſociation back by the ſame lad that brought it, with his anſwer by way of mouth, that he could not ſubſcribe it. Having more maturely weighed the matter, he ſent the ſame evening to his friend *Fernando Vale*, to deſire him to give him a meeting the next morning upon the hills of *Garapes*; which being done accordingly, it was agreed among them to give notice of this conſpiracy to the great council, in a letter without a name. This letter, with the ſubſcription of *plus ultra*, was writ by *Vale*, and about ten days after given him to read in a bakers houſe in the *Pont-ſtreet*, and afterwards given to *Abraham Merkado* the phyſician, who delivered it to the great council.

The ſame day, the 20th of *June*, the great council received a letter from Mr. *Ley* and *Hoek*, dated at *St. Antonio*, importing, that the whole *Fregeſie* had taken up arms, and made ſixteen or eighteen *Dutch* inhabitants priſoners; that they had fortified the church againſt thoſe of *Pojuka*, whom they did not queſtion to force from thence, provided they received any ſuccours from the *Receif*. The council having taken the whole matter into ſerious deliberation, and conſidering with themſelves,

1643. selves, that, as the caſe then ſtood, they had no great reaſon to fear any rebellion in the north, in *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, as long as our fleet remained near the *Red-Land*, and judging it highly neceſſary to bring the rebels in *Pojuka* to reaſon, and by their puniſhment to deter the reſt from attempting the like; they ordered lieutenant colonel *Haus*, with a detachment of a hundred men, to march the next morning to *Moribeka*, there to join with captain *Wiltſchut* and the *Braſilians*, and ſo continue their march to *St. Antonio*; from whence they were with their joint forces to go directly againſt the Rebels of *Pojuka*, to reduce them to obedience; it being otherwiſe to be feared that they would cut off all communication betwixt the *Receif* and the garriſons to the ſouth. This expedition proved ſo ſucceſsful, that the rebels were put to flight, and lieutenant colonel *Haus* made himſelf maſter both of the town and convent, forcing them to quit all the paſſes thereabouts; and forty priſoners were releaſed, whom they had loaded with irons in the ſaid monaſtery. But having received intelligence of the approach of *Kamaron* with his whole Body againſt him, he deſired further ſuccours from the great council to keep the field; but the garriſon of the *Receif* being too much weakened already, they could ſend him no other reinforcement 'till the expected ſuccours ſhould arrive from *Holland*.

Succours ſent to Pojuka.

A faſt.

The 21ſt, it was reſolved by the great council, to proclaim a general faſt all over *Dutch-Braſil*, to be kept the 28th of *June*, to return thanks to God Almighty for the great mercy ſhewn to them on ſeveral occaſions, but eſpecially of late, in the timely diſcovery of the treacherous deſigns of their enemies, who intended to have ſurpriſed them when they were leaſt aware of them.

Scheme of the Portugueſe Plot.

The deſign of this conſpiracy was laid thus by the *Portugueſe*: They intended in the *Whitſuntide* holidays to make ſolemn rejoycings, with feaſting, tournaments, and ſuch like, on occaſion of ſeveral weddings appointed for that purpoſe, unto which were to be invited all the chief men of *Dutch-Braſil*, both civil and military; whom, after they were fluſhed with wine, they intended to murther, in imitation of the *Sicilian veſpers*, or the noted *Pariſian wedding*; not queſtioning but that, when the heads of the *Dutch-Braſil* were cut off, the reſt, when attack'd at once in divers places, would fall an eaſy prey into their hands. But being prevented in this bloody deſign for that time, *Midſummer-day* was pitcht upon, as moſt proper for the execution of it, when the ſhips were departed out of the harbour of the *Receif*. For the *Portugueſe* were not ignorant, that we having received no freſh ſupplies, eſpecially of gun-powder, for a conſiderable time out of *Holland*, our magazines were but very indifferently ſupplied both with ammunition and proviſions; and that conſequently we muſt ſoon be reduced to great extremity, if they were maſters of the field: They knew alſo, that all our ſhips, except two, were ready to ſail with the firſt fair wind, being already fallen down to the *Red-Land*; thus being ſenſible of our weakneſs, the *Portugueſe* propoſed to themſelves no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole *Dutch-Braſil* at one ſtroke. But the whole deſign being diſcovered before *Midſummer-day*, it vaniſh'd into ſmoke, both ſides betaking themſelves to decide the matter by arms. 1643.

Pretences of the Portugueſe.

The *Portugueſe* pretended not ſo much the Allegiance due to their king, as liberty of conſcience; notwithſtanding which, we have all the reaſon in the world to imagine, that this inſurrection was undertaken not only with the knowledge, but alſo at the inſtigation of the court of *Portugal*, and of thoſe of the *Bahia*; it being very improbable, that *Kamaron*, *Henry Dias*, and the reſt of the ring-leaders, ſhould without the approbation of the king of *Portugal*, have attempted to attack us by open force. Beſides this, *Mucheron* declares to have read in a *Portugueſe* commiſſion theſe words: *This revolt and war undertaken for the honour of God, the propagating of the roman catholick faith, for the ſervice of the king and common liberty:* He further adds, that he has heard ſeveral *Portugueſe* ſay, that if they miſcarried in their deſign of chaſing us out of *Braſil*, to deſtroy all with fire and ſword, thereby to bereave us of all future proſpect of receiving any benefit from thoſe lands; which done, they would retire with their wives and children to the *Bahia*, or ſettle in ſome more remote place, where they might be ſecure againſt any attempts of the *Dutch*. There have indeed been ſome, who, conſidering the unſettled eſtate of the king of *Portugal*, and the odd fancy of his reign, have thought it very improbable, he ſhould involve himſelf in a war with us, or have given his conſent to this inſinuation, but the event has ſufficiently contradicted that opinion.

A letter from the heads of the rebels to the council.

The 22d of *June* a letter was delivered to the *great council*, ſigned by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, *John Peſcoa*, *Manuel Kavalkanti*, *Antonio Bezerra* and *Coſmo de Craſto Paſos* in which they complained, that they being a conſiderable time ago accuſed by the *Jews* of a treacherous

1643. rous design against the government, had been great sufferers upon that score; that now they being informed by the same *Jews* that they were in danger of losing all their mills and lands, to be given to certain *Hollanders*, who were sent for, for that purpose, they desired that the time of five days appointed in the last pardon might be prolonged, as being too short for a business of such moment, and that the said pardon might be granted without exception; which they refusing to grant, they did hereby protest before God and all the *Roman* catholic princes, that they thought themselves innocent, and not in the least guilty of all those miseries which might ensue from this refusal hereafter.

The council debates the matter.

The 23d in the morning the council was assembled, to consider of the said letter; where after several harangues upon the present state of our affairs and the enemy's design against us, they were divided in their opinions, some being for granting a general pardon, without the least exception, as the case stood with us at present, when we were destitute of sufficient provision, ammunition and men; others maintained, that a letter which contained so many notorious untruths deserved not the least answer; others were of another opinion. Whilst they were thus debating the matter, letters were brought to the council, written by lieutenant colonel *Haus* from *St. Antonio*, that he was ready to attack the rebels of *Pojuka* the next day, not without hopes of good success, so that the council considering of what moment the event of this action was to their affairs, resolv'd to adjourn the said debate 'till the next day, when they hoped to know the issue of the whole enterprise.

The 28th of *June*, *Mucheron* arrived with his two companies in the *Receif*, from the *Allegoas*, where it was resolved to dispose his own company in the *Quinqueregular* fort, of which, as a place of great consequence, he was made commander in chief; the other of captain *William Lambert* was put in the fort *Ernestus*.

Good news out of Parayba.

By letters from *Paul Linge*, governor of *Parayba*, dated the 25th of *June*, we received advice, that the inhabitants thereabouts offered to give him fresh assurance of their fidelity, by taking a new oath of allegiance, and that he did not observe the least motion towards an insurrection.

Jacob Dassine master of the sugar-mill *Supapema*, who had been abroad with a good party, made his report to the council, that he had been at several sugar-mills, where he had met with about two hundred of the enemies troops divided into divers small bodies, composed of *Portuguese*, mulatts and negroes, under the command of *Amador de Araouje*, *Antonio de Crasto*, one *Taborda* and *Henry Dias*. 1643.

The 29th of *June*, by special commission from the council, *Balthasar Vander Voerden* examined *Antonio d'Oliveira*, concerning the design of the *Portuguese* form'd against our government. He declared, that about the beginning of this present *June*, being then at the house of *Sebastian de Karvalho*, together with *Francisco d'Oliveira*, *Bernardin Karvalho*, and the before-named *Sebastian de Karvalho*, a certain *Portuguese* very well known to them all, delivered to him a letter, directed to all the persons there present, with another piece of writing unsealed, which he began to read; but finding the contents to be, that the underwritten persons promised to be, and declare themselves faithful subjects of the king of *Portugal*, and that *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Francisco Beringel*, *Antonio de Sylva*, and several more, whose names he would not look upon, had signed the same, he returned the said writing, and refused to subscribe the same, telling his son at the same time, *You ought rather to suffer your hand to be cut off, than sign this paper*; and so went his way immediately, not any one of all there present having subscribed their names at that time: He protested he knew not the hand-writing. After a more serious consideration, he thought it requisite to make a discovery of it, which he did accordingly within two days after, to *Matthew Reex*, desiring him to give an account of it to the great council; he declared further that the said writing was signed by above one hundred of the inhabitants.

Before-named examination and confession of Antonio Oliveira.

The 30th of *June* one *Digos Lopes Leyte*, who was not long ago taken prisoner by the *Brasilians*, was examined by Mr. *Bullestrate*, *Dortmont* and some other military officers. His confession was, that at the first beginning of the design of the *Portuguese* against this state, they had sent a letter to the governor of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Silva*, to crave assistance from him, which if he refused, they would seek for aid in *Spain*; and if they did not succeed there, they would rather surrender themselves to the *Turks*, than endure any longer the ill treatment they met with from the *Hollanders*. That nevertheless he had heard many dire imprecations made against *John Fernandes Vieira*; that he deserv'd no less than the gallows, he having raised this rebellion for no other end, than thereby to free himself from the vast debts he owed to the company.

Digos Lopes Leyte examined.

The same day it was agreed to send abroad a party of twelve soldiers and eight *Brasilians*, to fetch a good quantity of *Farinha*

1643. *rinha* from *St. Lawrence*, who were put to the rout near that place, ſo that very few eſcaped. At the ſame time the council received the unwelcome news, that ſome of the inhabitants of *Iguaraſu* had taken up arms againſt them.

In the beginning of *July* it was reſolved to draw the fortifications of *Maurice's Town* into a narrower compaſs, and to add a new line with a breaſt-work. This task was performed by the negroes belonging to the inhabitants of *Maurice's Town* and the *Receif*, under the conduct of vice-admiral *Lichthart*, who took care to have the ſame perfected, according to the model drawn by the engineer.

The ſame day advice was brought, that *John Lawrence Frances*, and *John Dias Leyte*, inhabitants of *Iguaraſu*, made it their buſineſs to incite the inhabitants to an inſurrection. Captain *Sluyter* ſent alſo word from *Tamarika*, that about eighty men, and one hundred ten women and children, all *Braſilians* of the villages of *St. Michael* and *Naſſau*, were come into that iſland for ſhelter, and that the *Braſilians* of *Otta* intended to do the like. The magiſtrates and chief *Portugueſe* of *Goyana*, gave the council freſh aſſurances of their fidelity, provided they might in caſe of neceſſity be allowed to retire into the ſaid iſland, which was granted, and thanks given them for their loyalty. The magiſtrates of *Iguaraſu* adviſed, that *Vieira* had cauſed a declaration to be affixed in the ſugar-mills of *Gonſalvo Novo de Lira*, which they had order'd to be torn down, and ſent a copy of it to the council, aſſuring them, that they would take all poſſible care to keep the Inhabitants thereabouts under obedience, tho' they found ſome of them much inclined to a revolt.

Fernandes Vale examined.

At the ſame time *Fernandes Vale* was examined by Mr. *Vander Voerde* and Mr. *Bas*; he declared, that having received a letter from *Sebaſtian de Karvalho*, to meet him the next morning upon the hills *Garapes*, becauſe he had ſomething to communicate to him, concerning no leſs than their eſtates, lives and honour; he without mentioning any thing of it to his wife or brother, went thither on horſe-back, accompanied only by a boy; notwithſtanding he happened at that time to be afflicted with the gravel; there he met *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, with one boy only, who told him, that he having received a letter, with another writing, containing a project of an inſurrection to be undertaken againſt the government, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary, to give notice thereof to the great council; and that he deſired him to write a letter accordingly to the council; he being pretty well verſed in the *Dutch* Tongue. 1643. That *Vale* ask'd him, whether any body beſides himſelf knew of the matter, unto which he anſwered, that his Brother *Bernardin* did, whoſe opinion was likewiſe to diſcloſe it to the council; hereupon they returning each to their reſpective homes, *Vale* writ a letter in *Portugueſe*, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received from *Karvalho*, for whom the ſaid letter was left to peruſe in a baker's houſe, on a publick fair-day for the ſale of negroes; after which he had ſent the ſaid letter incloſed in another, to Dr. *Markado*, deſiring him to ſee the ſame carefully diſpatch'd to the great council, without mentioning the contents thereof.

The great council receiving frequent intelligence, that the *Portugueſe* from the *Bahia* intended to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the rebels, it was reſolved to ſend orders to the four ſhips, the *Amſterdam*, the *Blackmore*, the *North-Holland*, and *Groningen*, then at anchor near the *Red-Land*, in order to their return to *Holland*, to return forthwith to the *Receif*; the government ſtanding in great need of their aſſiſtance, to prevent the conjuction of the forces from the *Bahia* with the rebels. They received alſo letters from lieutenant colonel *Haus*, dated at *Pojuka* the 26th of *June*, aſſuring them, that he had granted paſſes to above two hundred perſons that were returned to their duty; that two or three of the ring-leaders, excepted in the laſt pardon, ſued for the ſame favour, and that he had cauſed one *Franko Godinho*, one of the chief of the rebels, taken by his people, to be hanged on the gallows he had erected himſelf; that *Amador d'Araouje* being gone from thence with a hundred and fifty men to the *Vergea*, to join with *Vieira*, he expected their orders whether he ſhould follow him, he looking upon it as a faint to draw him from thence. He further told them, that with the *Braſilians* and their wives and children, he was above five hundred ſtrong, and that unleſs they were ſoon ſupplied with proviſions from the *Receif*, they ſhould conſume all the cattle thereabouts.

The council recal their Ships from the Red-Land.

The great council ſent an anſwer the ſame night to lieutenant colonel *Haus*, requiring him to grant free pardon to all who ſhould deſire it, not excepting the ringleaders themſelves, thereby to weaken *Amador d'Araouje* and his party. That with what forces he could ſpare in *Pojuka*, (after ſufficient proviſion made for the defence of the garriſons, according to their own diſcretion) he ſhould march to the *Receif*, in order to attack *Vieira*, where they need not fear but to be able to ſubſiſt upon what the ſaid *Vieira* had laid up for the uſe of the

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1643. expected ſuccours from the *Babia*, and the cattle belonging to the rebels.

But whilſt lieutenant colonel *Haus* was employed in ſecuring *Pojuka* againſt their attempts, thoſe of the *Vergea* ſtrengthned themſelves with all poſſible diligence; to further which, *John Fernandes Vieira* and *Antonio Kavalkanti*, who ſtiled themſelves the heads of this war, did not only affix their declarations round about *Maurice*'s *Town*, and in *Iguaraſu*, inciting the inhabitants to rebellion, by promiſing them conſiderable ſuccours from the *Bahia*, but their parties alſo, which they ſent frequently abroad, forced thoſe of the open country to take up arms, killing ſuch as refuſed. The ſame was practiſed by *Amador d'Araouje* in *Pojuka*; ſo, that what with proviſions, what with threats and force they got together a conſiderable body in the *Vergea*, we being not in a capacity to prevent it, becauſe what forces we had were in *Pojuka*.

But judging it abſolutely for our intereſt to ſtop as much as poſſible theſe proceedings, it was reſolved to arm ſome of the luſty young fellows with firelocks, which they were furniſhed withal by the citizens, (there being none in magazines) and to join with them a detachment of the garriſon, beſides a hundred *Braſilians*, that were lately arrived under *Peter Potti*.

Captain Blaar ſent abroad with ſome troops.

Purſuant to this reſolution, captain *John Blaar* received orders to put himſelf at the head of three hundred men, with whom he was to march with all imaginable ſecreſy from the *Receif*; and by lying in ambuſh near the paſſes, to endeavour to intercept ſome of the enemies Troops, not queſtioning, but that out of the Priſoners, they ſhould be able to learn where *Vieira* was poſted with his main body, and of what ſtrength both he and the ſuccours from the *Babia* was reputed to be among them. He had ſtrict orders not to moleſt any of the inhabitants, who were not in arms, but to protect them and their eſtates, and to receive thoſe who ſought for mercy, and bring them into the *Receif*. Orders were alſo ſent to lieutenant colonel *Haus* to march with what forces could poſſibly be ſpared out of the garriſons to the ſouth, to the *Vergea*, in order to join with captain *Blaar*, and endeavour to attack the heads of the rebels, which if they could once put to the rout, might be a means to quench the whole fire of rebellion, and to reſtore peace to the *Dutch-Braſil*.

The firſt of *July* it was debated in council, whether all ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected to have a hand in the conſpiracy, ought not to be granted to all that deſired it, without exception. The laſt was reſolved upon as conducing moſt to the quieting of the ſubjects minds.

The 2d in the evening, the council received advice from captain *Blaar*, that he was poſted at *Mongioppe*, with an intention to attack the enemy, wherever he met them. 1643.

The 3d he marched to *Iguaraſu*.

The 4th they received letters from lieutenant colonel *Haus*, from *St. Antonio*, importing, that after having left a garriſon in *Pojuka* under lieutenant *Flemming*, and one hundred *Braſilians* in *St. Antonio*, he was ready to march to the ſugar-mill *Velho*, and from thence to *Moribeka*; where he would expect their further orders.

The condition of Goyana.

At the ſame time the inhabitants of *Goyana* having fortified themſelves in a certain houſe, belonging to *Liſtry* their chief magiſtrate, they deſired the council to furniſh them with forty muſquets, for the uſe of ſuch among them as were unprovided with arms. Their requeſt was granted, and poſitive orders ſent at the ſame time to *Servaes Karpentier*, to take this opportunity to diſarm all the *Portugueſe*, either by fair or foul means; to effect which, he ſhould keep the *Dutch* together in a body as much as poſſibly he could; his anſwer was, *he would endeavour to diſarm the* Portugueſe *by fair means, he wanting power to do it by force.* Beſides which, he gave notice in his letter dated the 11th of *July*, that every thing remained quiet hitherto in *Goyana*, but that the *Braſilians*, (contrary to his expreſs orders) claiming a prerogative to be commanded by none but their own officers, purſuant to a decree of the council of nineteen, had in their paſſages to *Tamarika* plundered ſeveral of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants.

Moſt of the rebellious *Portugueſe* had left their wives and children in their houſes and mills, which as it tended to their no ſmall conveniency, ſo ſome of the faithful *Portugueſe* inhabitants did propoſe on the 3d of *July* to the great council, whether it would not be for our intereſt to oblige thoſe wives and children to quit their houſes and mills, and to ſend them after their husbands. Several reaſons were alledged for it.

I. Becauſe the rebels being encumbred with their families, muſt of neceſſity make greater conſumption of *Farinha*, and other proviſions, which would oblige them the ſooner to alter their meaſures, and to change their places.

II. That thereby they would be much diſheartened, for fear of a vigorous attack.

III. That they would not be able to march or to change their camp ſo conveniently as before, or to lurk in unhabitable places.

IV. That by the removal of theſe women, who ſerved them as ſpies by the help

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1643. of their negroes, we ſhould take away all opportunity from them, to be informed of our deſigns.

All which reaſons being well weighed, the following proclamation was publiſhed.

A Proclamation *for the removal of the rebels wives and children.*

THE great council of Braſil, *by the authority of the ſtates general of the* united provinces, *his highneſs the prince of* Orange, *and the* Weſt-India *company, make known unto every body, that whereas many of thoſe, who have ſided with the three head rebels,* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *againſt this ſtate, have left behind them their wives, children and families, which hitherto continue in their former dwelling places; we do by theſe preſents ſtrictly command all the wives and children, whether male or female, whoſe husbands and fathers are engaged with the rebels, to leave their reſpective houſes within ſix days after the publication of this proclamation; and to repair to their reſpective husbands and fathers, or elſe to incur the penalties due to rebels; it being our reſolution not to take the ſame into our protection; nay, to take away our ſafe-guards from all ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall be found to harbour or conceal theſe beforeſaid wives, children, and their effects, unleſs the huſbands and fathers of theſe wives and children ſhall within the limited time of ſix days, return to their dwelling-places, and ſue for pardon to the council.*

Thus decreed in the aſſembly of the great council of *Braſil.*

About this time near one thouſand *Braſilians*, among whom were three hundred and ſixty nine men, the reſt women and children, being retired to the iſle *Tamarika*, to ſhelter themſelves againſt the rebellious *Portugueſe*, Mr. *Dormont* counſellor of the finances, was ſent thither in the beginning of *July*, as ſupreme director of the territory of *Iguaraſu*, to ſecure that iſland, which was of ſo great conſequence to the ſtate, in our intereſt.

The 5th of *July*, a proclamation was iſſued againſt the three chief rebels, *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, declaring their lives and eſtates to be forfeited, offering a reward for the apprehending of them, as follows.

A proclamation for apprehending the three head rebels.

THE great council of Braſil, *by authority of the ſtates general of the* United Provinces, *his highneſs the prince of* Orange, *and the* Weſt-India *company, ſend greeting: Be it known by all, that whereas we are fully ſatisfied that* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *ſetting aſide their allegiance, have a conſiderable time ago entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, ſending their letters throughout ſeveral Fregeſies of our juriſdiction, to excite our ſubjects to a revolt; that they have gathered and ſtill are gathering forces to maintain their treacherous deſigns againſt this ſtate, forcing our faithful ſubjects to join with them, threatning with death ſuch as refuſe to enter into this rebellion; nay, having cauſed ſeveral, as well* Hollanders *as* Braſilians, *to be murdered upon that ſcore: That they have affixed and publiſhed declarations in ſeveral places, tending to the diſquieting and diſturbing the minds of the ſubjects of this ſtate, with the name and title of governours of this war (whereas they ought to have ſtiled themſelves faithleſs traitors) covering their villainous deſigns under the name of the divine majeſty, beſides many other miſdemeanours, whereby they have rendered themſelves guilty of high treaſon. It is for theſe reaſons that we thought it our duty to declare the above named* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *and by theſe preſents do declare them enemies of this ſtate, diſturbers of the publick peace and our good ſubjects, rebels and traitors againſt their lawful magiſtrates; and to have forfeited all their privileges, rights, lives, and eſtates; and as ſuch, we grant not only free leave to every one to apprehend or to kill the ſaid* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, Amador d'Araouje, *but alſo promiſe a reward of one thouſand* Charles's *gilders, to ſuch or ſuch perſons as ſhall do ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice to the company, as to apprehend either of thoſe perſons, ſo as they may be brought to juſtice; and the like reward to any perſon who ſhall kill either of the ſaid traitors, beſides his pardon for any offence he may have committed before; and if he be a ſlave, his liberty, together with the reward. We alſo ſtrictly command by theſe preſents, all the inhabitants of this ſtate, of what quality, degree or nation ſoever, that they ſhall not preſume to aſſiſt the ſaid rebels with arms, proviſions, money, men, and ammunition, or harbour, conceal, or adviſe them in any reſpect, or keep the leaſt correſpondence with them, under pain of being declared traitors, and to be puniſhed as ſuch with the utmoſt rigour,* &c.

1643.

Whilſt the great council were thus endeavouring to quench the flame of rebellion, they received frequent intelligence, that beſides the ſuccours already come to the rebels from the *Bahia* by land, by way of *Rio St. Franciſco*, they expected a conſiderable fleet from thence; it was reſolved

1643. to send once more some deputies to the governor *Antonio Telles da Silva*, to represent to him that *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* being under his jurisdiction, their entring in an hostile manner into the *Dutch Brasil*, could not be interpreted otherwise than a breach of the truce concluded betwixt the king of *Portugal* and their high and mightinesses the states general.

Deputies sent to the governor of the Bahia.

The persons pitched upon for this purpose were *Balthasar Vander Voerde*, councellor of the court of justice, and *Dirk Hoogstrate*, then commander in chief to the cape of *St. Austin*, who being looked upon at that time as a very loyal person, was sent for the 4th of *July*, leaving *Barent Van Tichlenborgh* to command in his absence. *Francis Krynen Springapple* was appointed their secretary, and *Gerrard Dirk Laet*, *Alexander Sylve*, and *Jacob Swearts*, to attend them as gentlemen.

Their instructions.

Their instructions were, to lay open to the governor the true reason and occasion of this insurrection, and the ringleaders thereof, who would never have dared to attempt it without the hopes of succours, which were sent them by land through *Rio St. Francisco:* They were to search into his intentions as near as possibly they could, and to desire him to recal *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their troops out of the *Dutch Brasil*, and to punish them according to their deserts. If they found the governor not inclined to give them due satisfaction, by recalling those troops either by publick proclamation, or sending some person of authority to bring them back, or by giving them some other real demonstrations of his sincere intention before their departure, they were to protest to, and to declare themselves innocent of all the damages, murders, and rapines as well against the *Hollanders*, as *Portugueſe* and *Brasilians*, already committed or to be committed by those forces. They were to declare to the governor, that they would look upon it as an open breach of peace and act of hostility, of which they must give an account to their masters, who, without question would know how to make themselves amends for the damages sustained; and to protest once more, that the *Dutch* declared themselves innocent of all the miseries which must ensue from their taking up arms for their own defence, after their so reasonable request had been rejected.

Arrive in the Bahia.

Accordingly they set sail the 9th of *July* 1645, from the *Receif*, in the ship called the *Roebuck*, and coming to an anchor the 17th in the *Bahia*, were in the name of the governor *Antonio Telles da Silva*, complimented aboard their ships by several *Portugueſe* gentlemen, from whom they asked leave to come ashore, having several matters of moment to propose to him in the name of the great council of *Brasil*. 1643.

Are admitted to audience.

The next day being the 18th of *July*, about noon, lieutenant colonel *Andrew Vidal*, and captain *Pedro Kavalkanti*, with some other officers, came in a brigantine to fetch them to the palace; where, after the first complements, they delivered their credentials, telling the governor, that out of those he would understand that they were sent to treat with him of certain points, which they were ready to propose either now or whenever he should be disposed to receive them. The governor, after the usual return of complements and perusal of the credentials, told them, that he was ready to hear them whenever they pleased; whereupon they proposed,

Their propositions.

That some *Portugueſe* subjects of their high and mightinesses the states general of the *United Provinces*, have entred into a cabal, in order to take up arms and attack *Pernambuko*; to effect which, they have by certain letters solicited their fellow subjects to enter into a rebeilion, and provided themselves with arms, in hopes of succours from abroad. That in the beginning of *May*, *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their *Brasilians* and negroes, and some *Portugueſe*, being on their march in an hostile manner to *Pernambuko*; *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, with other *Portnguese* their accomplices had no sooner notice of their coming, but they absconded from their houses, gathered what forces they could, some by force, some otherwise, published their declarations, styling themselves governors of this war for the public liberty; all which they undertook upon hopes of being backt by foreign troops. That through God's mercy their masters did not want power to protect their faithful subjects, and to punish the rebels according to their deserts: But as they could not comprehend what it was that could induce these foreign troops to enter their territories in time of peace, in order to aid their rebellious subjects against them, so they were at a stand how to deal with them. That the great council as well as all the rest of the inhabitants, being too well acquainted with his excellency's extraction, exquisite knowledge in state affairs, and the good neighbourly correspondency he had always cultivated with our government, than to harbour the least thought that he should give the least encouragement to any of his subjects, to aid rebellious subjects against their sovereigns: That they were sensible he would use all

1643. poſſible means to prevent it. It was for this reaſon that they were ſent by the great council to give his excellency notice of the hoſtilities committed by *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias*, deſiring that he would be pleaſed not only to command them not to aſſiſt the rebels with their troops, but alſo to retire out of *Pernambuko* and the other captainſhips under the *Dutch* juriſdiction; that ſo the rebels being diſappointed of their aſſiſtance, might be ſooner reduced to their former obedience, and our ſubjects enjoy the benefit of the truces ſtipulated betwixt his preſent majeſty of *Portugal*, Don *John* IV. and their high and mightineſſes the ſtates general. All which, the great council of *Braſil*, highly recommended to his excellency's conſideration, in a letter which was then delivered by the deputies to the governor, which is as follows.

A letter from the great council to the governor of the Bahia.

IT is ſufficiently known to your excellency with what ſtrictneſs the truce betwixt his majeſty of Portugal *and the high and mighty the ſtates general of the* United Provinces, *has been obſerved in all its circumſtances by the inhabitants of the* Dutch Braſil, *even according to the conſtitution of thoſe of the* Bahia *and other places, who have of late paſſed through our captainſhips; neither have we ever received the leaſt complaints upon that account, either from the king your maſter, or from your excellency; all which gave us ſufficient reaſon to believe that you would not in the leaſt conſent that your ſubjects ſhould attempt any thing contrary to the ſaid truce. And though ſome of the* Portugueſe *inhabitants, ſubjects of the ſtates, laying aſide their allegiance, have taken up arms and are riſen in rebellion againſt this ſtate, as ſoon as* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias *at the head of their* Braſilians *and negroes, beſides ſome* Portugueſe, *did without licence or the leaſt encouragement from us, enter our territories, contrary to the law of nations, and joining with the rebels, exerciſed open hoſtitilies againſt our ſubjects, not like ſoldiers but robbers and thieves; yet can we not be perſuaded that thoſe troops ſhould have made this attempt by order or conſent of his majeſty of* Portugal *or your excellency, againſt us your confederates.*

Thanks be to God we don't want means to bring our revolted ſubjects to reaſon, and to deſtroy thoſe foreign troops; but to ſhew to all the world how ready we are to fulfil the reiterated command of our maſters, to maintain inviolably the truce betwixt his majeſty and them; and to remove all ſiniſter interpretations which might be made in foreign courts upon this head, as alſo to give ſufficient opportunity to his majeſty of Portugal *and your excellency, to convince the world that you have neither conſented to nor abetted this conſpiracy; we in the name of their high and mightineſſes the ſtates general, his highneſs the prince of* Orange, *and the governors of the* Weſt-India *company, have ſent Mr.* Balthaſar Van Voerden, *councellor of the court of juſtice, and* Dirk Hoogſtrate, *commander in chief on the cape of* St. Auſtin, *as our deputies to you, with full power to propoſe theſe points to you, and to deſire you forthwith to recall the ſaid* Kamaron, Henry Dias, *and other leaders, with their troops, within a limited time out of our territories, either by publick proclamation, or ſuch other means as your excellency ſhall think moſt forcible or expedient, and to puniſh them according to their deſerts; and if they refuſe to obey, to declare them open enemies to his majeſty; it being impoſſible for us to conceive, how due ſatisfaction can be given without it to their high and mightineſſes, to the prince of* Orange, *and the* Weſt-India *company, which nevertheleſs we ought and do expect from your excellency.* 1643.

Subſcribed, *Your excellency's Well-meaning friends,*

On the ſide ſtood, Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bulleſtraten,
From the Receif, P. J. Bas,
July 7, 1640. J. Van Walbeck,
and
Henry de Mucheron.

The governor's anſwer to the deputies.

The governor gave immediate anſwer to the deputies propoſitions, that he was ſo far from ſending any ſuccours to the rebels that he had not had the leaſt knowledge of it. That the *Braſilians* and negroes were diſbanded by his majeſty's order, and that theſe as well as the *Portugueſe* among them, that were come to the aſſiſtance of the rebels, could be in no great numbers, conſiſting (as he ſuppoſed) in ſome vagabonds, or others, who having committed miſdemeanours in the *Bahia*, had taken this opportunity to ſhelter themſelves, and flee from puniſhment, as it frequently happened that ſuch like perſons did come to the *Bahia* from *Pernambuko*, which nevertheleſs had given him not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the councils ſincerity. He told them that he was extremely glad to underſtand the good confidence their maſters repoſed in him, of maintaining the truce concluded betwixt his majeſty of *Portugal* and their high and mightineſſes the ſtates general, aſſuring them

1643. them that he never ſhould be prevailed upon to act contrary to it, for fear of hazarding his life. And that if he had any ſuch intention, he did not want means to attempt it by the aſſiſtance of the *Braſilians*. But that he had never had any thoughts that way, notwithſtanding he had been provoked to it by the *Dutch*, who ſince the truce had taken a *Portugueſe* ſhip and carried it to the *Receif*, which by the bravery of the *Portugueſe* was delivered from the *Hollanders*, and they and the ſhip brought to the *Bahia*; the *Dutch* mariners being diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. He told them further, that he was not inſenſible what an opinion their maſters entertained of his ſincerity; and that he had reaſon to believe, that they had at this time as they had done before, ſent their deputies chiefly to feel his pulſe, to enquire into his ſtrengrh, and to dive into his deſigns. That however, he would communicate the letter to his council, and give them a ſpeedy anſwer, in order to their return home, purſuant to the requeſt of their maſters. Then the governor ariſing from his ſeat, the deputies took their leave and returned aboard.

Their ſecond audience. The 19th in the morning they were ſent for a ſhore by a lieutenant, and brought to the houſe of lieutenant colonel *Pedro Korea de Gama*, where they dined in company of *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo de Kunha*. Towards the evening they were again conducted to the palace, where the ſecretary deſired them to tarry a minute, becauſe his excellency was buſy with cloſing his letters; after ſome ſtay they were introduced to the governor, who told them, that he had underſtood the contents of the letter, which he found altogether agreeable to the propoſitions made to him the day before by way of mouth by them, which conſiſted chiefly in two points.

The governor's ſecond anſwer. Firſt, the good opinion their maſters had of his ſincere intention, in maintaining a good correſpondency with them, in order to maintain the truce betwixt his majeſty and the ſtates general, and the confidence they had of his not being concerned in the rebellion, either by encouraging or aſſiſting the ſame. Wherefore he deſired they would continue in the ſame ſentiments, becauſe he never had made the leaſt infraction of the ſaid truce, neither ever thought of any thing like it, nor ſuffered any of his ſubjects to act contrary to it; notwithſtanding, ſaid he, the *Hollanders* have broke the ſame in ſeveral reſpects, *viz.* in their expeditions againſt *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, and *Marinho*; by the plundering of *Pedro Ceſar Mines*, who had been baſely uſed during his impriſonment, not like a man of quality, being forced to ſhelter himſelf among the woods after his eſcape. They had alſo taken a *Portugueſe* ſhip in his own harbour. Neither did the inhabitants of *Pernambuko* want reaſons of complaint as well as the other captainſhips; he had underſtood out of ſeveral letters from thence, how the *Jews* were always buſy in forging accuſations againſt them, which were taken for truth; and when the *Portugueſe* had thereupon abſconded themſelves out of fear, the *Tapoyers* or mountaineers were armed againſt them, among the reſt they had cauſed a poor hermit to be hanged. The great council had always given him ſufficient proofs of their ſuſpicion, the laſt embaſſy being intended to no other purpoſe (as captain *Hoogſtrate* could teſtify) than to dive into his deſigns and ſtrength. Thus it was reported and believed, that *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo Kunha*, with ſeveral other officers, were ſent by him into *Pernambuko*, though they ſaw them here before their eyes. 1643.

Upon the ſecond point, concerning the troops ſaid to be ſent to *Pernambuko*, he gave for anſwer, that they muſt be ſome *Braſilians* and negroes lately diſbanded, who were of little account, as we were ſenſible ourſelves: That if a few *Portugueſe* were among them, they muſt be ſuppoſed to be criminals who were fled from juſtice; that he was not unwilling to call them back by proclamation, but feared that he ſhould be but ſlenderly obeyed, by a ſort of people who could not be kept in obedience within his own juriſdiction. That to ſatisfy our requeſt, and to remove all reaſons of complaint, he intended to ſend his deputies ſhortly to *Pernambuko*; all which he had more clearly expreſt in his letter to the great council, wherewith he would, according to the requeſt of our maſters, diſpatch us with all imaginable ſpeed.

A reply of the deputies. The deputies replied, that their maſters had never entertained any ſuſpicion of his excellency, neither had they given any orders to dive into his deſigns; but always had a favourable opinion of his firm adherence to the truce, as might be evidenced by Mr. *Andrew Vidal*, who during his ſtay with them, had liberty to go where he pleaſed, without any attendance but his own. That what he objected concerning the accuſations of the *Jews* was of no moment, the ſame being never hearkned to, the intended inſurrection being diſcovered by perſons of unqueſtionable credit. That *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and others their adherents, had always been protected

1643. protected againſt any falſe accuſations, and had free acceſs to all the counſellors of the court of juſtice, and thoſe of other colonies, as well as the chiefeſt among the *Dutch*, ſo that they had no reaſon to abſcond out of fear for the *Tapoyers*, who never were intended to be employed againſt them. That they did not know of any hermit that was hanged by them, but remember'd that in an engagement with *Amador d'Araouje*, ſuch a one was ſhot by the *Braſilians* as he was ringing the bell to give the alarum.

They further told him, that tho' they had no orders to treat with his excellency upon any other points than thoſe that concern the rebellion, they could eaſily make it out before all the world, that *Angola* and the other places were conquered according to the rules of war, without the leaſt infraction of the truce, it having been expreſly ſtipulated, that the war ſhould continue in thoſe parts till the ſame was publiſhed there. The *Braſilians*, Negroes and *Portugueſe* were come in conſiderable numbers into our territories, not like diſbanded ſoldiers, but well armed, and their coming was not unexpected, but well known to the rebels; but the council was not ſo much concerned for their number, as to be ſatisfied under whoſe authority they had taken up arms againſt them, that they might deal with them accordingly. But however it was, they deſired his excellency to believe, that their maſters would be extremely glad to underſtand his good inclinations, that thereby the effuſion of humane blood might be ſaved; intreating him to ſend his deputies forthwith with the neceſſary inſtructions.

The governor promiſed to ſend his deputies ſoon after their return to *Pernambuko*, telling them, that as he thought himſelf ſecure of the good neighbourly correſpondency of their maſters, ſo he was reſolved to continue in the ſame on his ſide. What he had propoſed for the reſt, had been only by way of diſcourſe, not with an intention to enter into a diſpute concerning the legality or illegality of it; tho' it appear'd very odd to him, that they ſhould aſſiſt his maſter at home, and at the ſame time wage war with him in other parts, under pretence that the peace was not publiſhed there; and what had paſſed with *Pedro Cæſar de Mines* was a thing not juſtifiable in his underſtanding.

After the uſual compliments he aroſe from his ſeat, telling them, that he would *They take their leave.* ſend the letter directed to the council to them aboard the next day, and ſo our deputies returned aboard their ſhip. The 20th in the morning the ſecretary of the governour came aboard our veſſel, with 1643. the governors letter to the council, which he delivered to the deputies, requeſting in his maſter's name, to ſend him a tranſlation of the letter from the council to the governour out of the *Dutch* into the *Portugueſe*, ſubſcribed with their own hands; which they did, and having delivered the ſame to the ſecretary, he took his leave and returned aſhore.

Our people ſet ſail the ſame day about noon from the *Bahia* to *Pernambuko*, where they arrived the 28th in the afternoon before the *Receif*, and gave an account the ſame day of their negotiation to the great council, unto whom they alſo delivered the letter written by *Antonio Telles da Silva*, and directed to them. The contents of which are as follows. *Their return to the* Receif.

The governours letter to the council.

MR. Balthaſar Vander Voerden, *councellor of juſtice, and captain* Dirk Van Hoogſtrate, *commander in chief on the Cape of* St. Auſtin, *your lordſhips deputies have delivered your letter to me, in which you are pleaſed to give me notice of the revolt of ſome of your ſubjects againſt you. I received this news as I ought to do, and ſhould not have been able to receive it without the greateſt ſurprize and diſcompoſure of mind, if I had not been aſſured in my conſcience, that your lordſhips did not in the leaſt imagine, that this inſurrection could derive its ſource from our government; and, tho' I could upon this occaſion enter upon a long recital of the proceedings of my government, tending from its beginning till now, to a ſufficient juſtification, in the eyes of all the world, and of the greateſt kings and princes of chriſtendom, that the ſaid good correſpondency has been maintained as ſtrictly on our ſide, as the ſame is promiſed in your lordſhip's letter: But rather than give the leaſt occaſion of diſguſt or difference, by enlarging myſelf upon thoſe heads, in which your ſubjects have expreſly and manifeſtly violated the truce concluded and ratified betwixt the king my Maſter, and the States General of the United Provinces, I will ſacrifice the ſame to the intereſt of our common neighbourhood, rather than to enter upon a particular account of theſe miſcarriages, in the expedition of* Angola, *at a time when the States General did aſſiſt the crown of* Portugal *with their naval force, when our ambaſſadors reſiding in the* Receif, *were told, that theſe troops were not intended to be employed againſt any of his majeſty's harbours, but in the* Weſt-Indies, *tho' at the ſame time they were embarked for the conqueſt of* Angola. *The ſame may be ſaid of the taking of the iſle of* St. Thomas, *and the city* Luy de Mapanha, *and the ſeizing of a* Portugueſe *The governors letter to the council.*

1643. gueſe *ſhip upon our coaſt, loaden with ſugar from* Spiritu Sancto. *The commiſſary* Greening *was diſpatch'd hither, under a pretext of buying of* Farinha, *but in effect to ſound my inclinations, as he himſelf confeſſes, when he ſays in a certain letter of his,* I was ſent thither with this commiſſion, but rather to feel his pulſe and try his friendſhip, than that we were in want. *The unfaithful dealings of the directors of* Angola *in the capitulation with the governor* Pedro Ceſar de Mines; *the razing of our fort* Araval *in* Bengo; *the baſe treatment put upon the ſaid governor, being a perſon of quality, and a general of his majeſty's, are matters altogether inconſiſtent with the rules of war, nay, with humanity itſelf, and contrary to the practice not only of the more civilized nations of* Europe, *but alſo the* Barbarians *themſelves. Of the ſame ſtamp was the anſwer given by your council to our ambaſſador, who urging a ceſſation of arms in the kingdom of* Angola, *was anſwered, that the ſame had no dependency on our juriſdiction, quite contrary to the ſincere intentions always obſerved by me in all our tranſactions with you; for no ſooner did your lordſhips make complaints to me againſt one captain* Auguſtino Condago, *and one* Domingo de Rocha, *who having carried away a barge with ſugar, had brought her into the harbour of our city, I ſent back the ſaid veſſel immediately, and put the captain in priſon till he was ſent over to his majeſty. And that time being informed, that two ſoldiers living under my juriſdiction, whoſe names were* John de Campos, *and* Domingo Velho Sigiſmundo, *had committed ſome inſolencies in your captainſhip of* Pernambuko, *I cauſed them to be hanged immediately, looking upon it as a duty not to be diſpenſed with by me, for the maintaining of our mutual good correſpondency: All theſe beforementioned infractions having never been able to make me forgetful of the reiterated orders of his majeſty,* viz. *To improve the effects of the peace and alliances made betwixt him and the States General, to our both ſides ſatisfaction: I muſt at the ſame time confeſs, that looking upon myſelf as a ſoldier, (abſtracted from the conſideration of the intereſt of the ſtate, and the duty of a ſubject) I thought I ought not to take tamely ſo many affronts, and to let ſlip ſo many fair opportunities of doing myſelf juſtice; much beyond what can be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the conjunction of a few unarmed* Portugueſe, *a few diſcontented Negros, and ſome rebels, whoſe protection cannot, as I ſaid before, come in any competition with the ſeveral opportunities and provocations paſs'd by on our ſide before, for the common intereſt; and that conſequently our government cannot as much as be conceived to be the hidden cauſe of this rebellion, as your lordſhips themſelves are pleaſed to confeſs; neither would I have entred upon a recital of thoſe particularities, if I had not thought my ſelf obliged both in duty and affection, to give this ſatisfaction to you. To give you the true account of the abſence of* Henry Dias, *you muſt know, that one night he left his guard in* Rio Reael, *and paſſed over to your ſide;* Don Antonio Philippo Kamaron, *captain of the* Braſilians, *being ſent after him, and not returning, I judged that they were gone towards* Mocambo, *to attack the* Palmairas *of* Rio St. Franciſco, *which made me (to avoid all ſuſpicion of being concerned in any thing that might tend to the breach of peace) ſend two jeſuits to perſuade them to return, but in vain, they refuſing to obey, either for fear of puniſhment, or that they were already engaged with the rebels, (as I now am apt to believe they were) ſo that I have heard nothing from them ſince, except what I have underſtood out of your lordſhips letter. The* Portugueſe *under your juriſdiction have ſent to me the reaſons which moved them to this inſurrection, imploring my aſſiſtance, as ſubjects of the king my maſter; they told me, that they ſtood in fear of being ſacrificed to the fury of four hundred* Tapoyers, *ſent for that purpoſe from* Rio Grande; *to avoid which, and dreading your lordſhips anger, awakened againſt them by the falſe accuſations of the* Jews, *(the moſt perfidious and irreconcileable enemies of* Chriſtendom) *had rather choſen to expoſe themſelves to a moſt miſerable flight, leaving behind them their wives and children, than to endure the hardſhips of a tedious impriſonment. I could ſcarce have imagin'd, that you could be ſo far miſled by the fictions of a people ſo much deſpiſed by all other nations, as to be perſuaded by them, that certain perſons were ſent from hence into your territories, who have been ſeen here by your deputies. And tho' I am apt to perſuade myſelf, that ſome of the* Portugueſe *would, as the caſe now ſtands, be glad to embrace our protection, it being much more natural to be oppreſſed by ones own king or prince, than by foreigners: Yet when I ſeriouſly reflect upon your lordſhips propoſals made by your deputies,* viz. *to oblige captain* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias, *to return to the* Bahia, *and to uſe all other proper means to bring the revolted* Portugueſe *to reaſon; when I ſay, I ſeriouſly reflect upon the publick calamities on one ſide, and how deſtitute I am of ſuitable means at preſent to ſatisfy your deſires, I cannot but be infinitely concerned thereat; being ſenſible that theſe captains will not be brought over by perſuaſions; and wanting means to reduce them to obedience, who have now ſettled themſelves at ſo great a diſtance among the woods and foreſts. But as I am ready to conform* 1643.

1643. *myſelf in all reſpects to your lordſhips deſires, to convince you of the ſincerity of the* Portugueſe *nation, which is ſuch, that no opportunity, tho' never ſo great of promoting their own intereſt, does ever ſtand in competition with what they think they owe to their confederates: I am willing to take upon me the office of a mediator, in order to endeavour to appeaſe theſe troubles by my authority; for which end I intend to ſend to you with all poſſible ſpeed, certain perſons of known ability, with ſufficient inſtructions and power, to the rebellious to return to their duty; which, if they decline, ſuch meaſures may be taken as will force them to it; which, as I hope, may ſerve as the moſt effectual means to reſtore tranquillity to your dominions, and to cultivate the good opinion and correſpondency betwixt us; which I wiſh God Almighty will be pleaſed to continue betwixt theſe two nations, by a perpetual tye of amity.*

Bahia, July 19, 1645. Signed,

Antonio Telles da Silva.

Mr. *Hoogſtrate* at the ſame time gave a ſecret verbal account to the great council, that ſoon after their arrival there, *Andrew Vidal*, captain *Paulo Kunha*, and *John de Souſa* came to them, the laſt of whom ſat himſelf down near him, (Mr. *Hoogſtraten*) enquiring ſecretly after his uncle *Philip Pays Baretto*, whether he was among the mutineers; to whom he gave for anſwer, that he was ſtill in his mill. After which, the table-cloth being laid, *Souſa* was invited to ſtay at dinner with them, which he refuſed; becauſe, as he ſaid, he was upon the guard: Before dinner was ended *Souſa* came back, and after the table-cloth was taken away, invited Mr. *Hoogſtrate* and *Kunha* to ſmoke a pipe with him in a back room, whither they went, but were followed by the ſecretary, Mr. *Springapple*. As they paſſed through a gallery, *Paulo de Kunha* took *Springapple* a little on one ſide; and in the mean while, *Souſa* told *Hoogſtrate* with a loud voice, that he was ſurprized to hear that his uncle *Philip Pays* had not ſided with the reſt: Unto which *Hoogſtrate* anſwered, *That he thought he did very wiſely to keep himſelf quiet, becauſe it was likely to turn to no account. That is your opinion*, reply'd *Souſa, but have a little patience; and, becauſe I know you to have always been a friend to the* Portugueſe, *I can aſſure you it will turn to a conſiderable account. And it is upon this ſcore, I adviſe you, like a friend, to provide for your own ſafety and your family. You may reſt aſſured, that if you will engage to do a piece of good ſervice to the king my maſter, and to the governor, you ſhall want neither money, ſugar-mills, places, nor preferments.* 1643.

Hoogſtrate *it tempted by the* Portugueſe Souſa.

Mr. *Hoogſtrate* appearing ſomewhat diſcompoſed at this diſcourſe, told him, *That though he was not unwilling to do the king and governor what ſervice he could, he did not know what ſort of ſervice he meant.* Unto which, *Souſa* replied, *I am ſure you are able to do good ſervice to the king; but then*, ſays *Hoogſtrate, you muſt tell me how: That I will*, anſwered *Souſa; are you not governor on the cape of* St. Auſtin? Unto which Mr. *Hoogſtrate* ſaid, *Yes, I am; then*, replied *Souſa, all that is required of you, is, to ſurrender the ſaid fort, with all its works, into the king's hands, that we may land our men thereabouts: If you will promiſe to do it, you ſhall have a very ample reward, and be made commander in chief of our forces.* Mr. *Hoogſtrate* gave for anſwer, *that theſe were things of ſuch a nature, as were not conſiſtent with his oath and honour.* Their diſcourſe being interrupted at that time by the coming of another perſon into the gallery, *John Souſa* and *Paulo Kunha* went out another way. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* told his ſecretary, Mr. *Springapple*, with a diſcompoſed look, *What is the meaning of theſe dogs, do they take me for a traitor?* He was going on to ſay more, when *Souſa* and *Kunha* returning into the gallery, took him aſide, and told him, *That he might be ſure every thing ſhould be performed that had been promiſed him; that if he wanted any money he ſhould have it immediately; and for the reſt, they would introduce him alone to the governor, to receive the confirmation of it from his own mouth.* Mr. *Hoogſtrate* reply'd, *What you deſire is not in my power to perform, if I would never ſo fain; becauſe I am promiſed to have a commiſſion of mayor immediately after my return, and then I ſhall certainly be employed in another place.* During this parley, Mr *Vander Voerde* entred the gallery in company with Mr. *Andrew Vidal*, who entertained him all the while the others were talking together, till *Hoogſtrate* taking his opportunity as they were walking together, whiſpered Mr. *Vander Voerde* in the ear, *I wiſh I was well rid of them, to talk with you in private, for I know not what their deſign is; I am afraid they will either kill or detain me here.* Mr. *Vander Voerde* would willingly have made a reply, but could not, by reaſon *Souſa* and *Kunha*, and *Piedro Korre de Gama*, (the laſt of which underſtood *Dutch*) were ſo near them; ſo that he thought it the ſafeſt way to diſſemble, and to pretend as if they had been talking about ſome indifferent matter. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* then told *Souſa*, that he had a great mind to pay a viſit to *Donna Katharine de Melo*, mother-in-

law

1643. law of *Philip Pays Souſa*; he anſwered him, that he would aſk the governor, who having given his conſent, *Hoogſtrate* went thitherward with *Souſa*, and at his going out of the gallery, whiſpered *Vander Voerde* again in the ear, *They have catch'd a mackrel, for I intend to act the hypocrite to the life.* As they were walking along the ſtreet to madam *de Melo*'s houſe, *Souſa* and *Kunha* repeated their former diſcourſe, endeavouring to encourage Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, by hopes and promiſes of great reward, both from the king and governor, with whom they ſaid he ſhould confer in private concerning the point in hand, and that in the following manner.

After their return from madam *de Melo*'s, to the houſe of *Piedro Korre de Gama*, where *Vander Voerde* expected their coming, *Kunha* was to go privately to the governor, to agree with him, that when Mr. *Vander Voerde*, *Hoogſtrate*, *Souſa*, and *Kunha*, ſhould come to ſpeak with him, he ſhould by his ſecretary, deſire them to ſtay a little while. In the mean while, *Souſa* was to aſk Mr. *Hoogſtrate* to take a glaſs of wine with him, and under that pretence bring him to the chamber of the confeſſor of the governor, where they were to have this private interview. Accordingly, *Paulo de Kunha* went to the governor, whilſt *Hoogſtrate* and *Souſa* were returning to *Piedro Corre de Gama*'s houſe; when *Souſa* entertained him with nothing elſe, but the probability of ſucceeding in their enterprize againſt the *Dutch Braſil*, telling him, that the governor ſtay'd only for the coming of *Salvador Korrea de Saa* and *Benevides*, who were expected with four galleons from *Rio Janeiro*, beſides ſome other ſhips; and that twenty five hundred men were deſigned for this expedition, beſides thoſe already in arms in *Pernambuko*, who were to be ſent from the *Bahia*, and to be landed on the Cape of *St. Auſtin*; *This is*, ſaid *Souſa*, *the governor's requeſt to you.*

Scarce were they returned to the houſe of *Piedro Korrea de Gama*, when *Andrew Vidal* came and told them, that the governor was ready to receive them; ſo they went to the palace, where they were no ſooner come within the anti-chamber, but the governor's ſecretary came to deſire them to tarry a little, the governor being buſy with cloſing ſome letters. So whilſt ſome *Portugueſe* were entertaining Mr. *Vander Voerde* near the window, ſays *Souſa* to Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, *Come, ſhall you and I take a glaſs of wine in the mean while?* Which Mr. *Springapple*, ſecretary of the embaſſy underſtanding, told him, that he would go along with them; but *Paulo de Kunha*, and ſome other *Portugueſe* taking him aſide, kept him in diſcourſe, whilſt Mr. *Hoogſtrate* was conducted by *Souſa* into the confeſſor's chamber. 1643.

Mr. Hoogſtrate's *private interview with the governor.*

Within a few minutes after, the governor *Antonio Telles da Silva*, entring the room, ſaluted Mr. *Hoogſtrate* very courteouſly, and ſetting himſelf in a chair near him, order'd the chamber to be lock'd, no body being preſent beſides themſelves but *Souſa*. The governor then told Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, that he had always taken a particular notice of his character, of his being a friend to the *Portugueſe*, that he hoped he would continue in the ſame opinion, and would not refuſe the offer made him by *Don John de Souſa*, in the king's and his name; their intention being not to enter into a war with the *Dutch*, but only to repoſſeſs themſelves of what of right belonged to the preſent king of *Portugal*, *Don John* IV. and that if count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* had ſtay'd any longer in this country, he himſelf would have been inſtrumental in bringing this matter about. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* anſwered the governor, that he ſhould be glad to underſtand what it was he could ſerve him in; *You have*, ſays he, *underſtood that from Mr.* Souſa, *and I deſire you to turn abſolute* Portugueſe. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* told him it was beyond his power, becauſe immediately after his return, he ſhould be provided with a majors commiſſion, and conſequently not be employed in the ſame place: Unto which the governor reply'd, *You need not queſtion any place of honour or profit among us, but it will perhaps not be convenient to diſcourſe together upon this point at preſent, for fear Mr.* Vander Voerde *ſhould ſuſpect us: But I intend to ſend two ambaſſadors, (of which Mr.* Paulo de Kunha *is to be one) to your government, who ſhall be empowered to treat with you further upon this account. And*, ſays he, *giving his hand to Mr.* Hoogſtrate, *reſt aſſured in the name of the king my maſter, that whatever Mr.* Paulo de Kunha *ſhall promiſe you will be punctually obſerved and performed.*

Then the governor took his leave, telling him that he would not detain him any longer, for fear of creating a ſuſpicion in his collegue, and ſo retired into his own apartment. But Mr. *Hoogſtrate* and *John de Souſa* were no ſooner return'd from thence, but the governor ſent for the ſaid Mr. *Hoogſtrate* and his collegue Mr. *Vander Voerden*, to confer with them, concerning their propoſals, made in the name of the council of *Dutch Braſil:* As they were walking thither, Mr. *John de Souſa* told again to Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, with a low voice, and why are you obliged to accept of the majors

1643. majors commiſſion? It is an eaſy matter for you to tell them, that you would rather continue governor of the place where you now are; and be ſatisfy'd that when you come among us, that you will not want any employment fit for a good ſoldier as you are. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* being not a little moved with this diſcourſe, was more deſirous to get aboard their veſſel, as ſoon as poſſible he might, to get an opportunity of communicating the whole matter to Mr. *Vander Voerde*; which he did accordingly, as ſoon as they were entered the cabin, the door of which he ordered to be lock'd immediately.

The Dutch *debate, whether to employ the* Tapoyers.

In the mean while, *viz.* the 5th of *July*, it was debated in the council of the *Dutch-Braſil*, whether for the ſecurity of the country, they ſhould not want the aſſiſtance of the *Tapoyers*, under their king *John Duwy*, dwelling in *Rio Grande*; who for that purpoſe had gathered a good body near *Kunhau*, eſpecially ſince the *Portugueſe* committed all manner of barbarities againſt the *Dutch*, and had ſummon'd the *barbarians* called *Rondelas*, from the *Bahia*.

But conſidering the devaſtations which muſt needs enſue upon the march of thoſe barbarous people in the flat countrey, it was thought convenient not to come to any certain reſolution upon this point, 'till they had adviſed with lieutenant colonel *Haus*, to whom a letter was diſpatched, immediately upon that account.

On the 7th of *July*, the ſaid Mr. *Haus* ſent word to the council, that he intended to march the ſame day from *Moribeka*, and after being joined with captain *John Blaar*, to attack the enemy at *St. Lawrence*; but by another letter of the 16th, written by captain *Blaar*, they were informed that the rebels continued very ſtrong at *St. Lawrence*, expecting a certain reinforcement from the *Matta*, where they had forced the people to take up arms for them; deſiring a ſuccour of fifty men, to drive them from thence. Hereupon the council diſpatched meſſengers both to *Blaar* and *Haus*, ordering them to join their troops, and to rout the rebels near *St. Lawrence*, on which in a great meaſure depended the preſervation of the *Dutch-Braſil*.

Haus *and* Blaar *ordered to join.*

The 7th of the ſame month the council received alſo a letter from lieutenant *Flemming*, dated at *Pojuka*, in which he adverti ſed them, that he had received certain intelligence, that *Kamaron* was marching againſt him, and that two companies were already come to the ſugar-mill of *Pikdora*. Hereupon orders were ſent him, that if he found himſelf not in a condition to keep the monaſtery for want of proviſions, he ſhould at the approach of *Kamaron*'s troops retire to *St. Antonio*, the better to make head againſt the enemy. The ſame day enſign *Hartſtin* marched with a detachment of ninety ſoldiers and thirty *Braſilians*, of the garriſons of the *Receif* and *Itamarika*, to *Ajama* and *Jegoaribi*, in queſt of the rebels, but meeting with none returned about noon, and the ſame evening directed his march towards *Haus*.

Lieutenant Flemming *ordered to retire to* St. Antonio.

1643.

The 8th of *July* the council having received advice from *Haus* that they intended the ſame day to march from the ſugar-mill of *St. John Ferdinando Vieira* to attack the rebels at *St. Lawrence*, if they would abide his coming, it was reſolved to ſend as many forces as poſſibly they could ſpare to his relief, conſidering that the preſervation of the whole *Dutch-Braſil* depended on the ſucceſs of this expedition; and accordingly two companies of foot, of *Mucheron* and *Blaar* were ordered to march thither, not queſtioning but that before their arrival *Haus* would be join'd by captain *John Blaar*; and in effect the next following day they received advice from Mr. *Haus*, that he was ready to join with the ſaid *Blaar*.

The council ſends ſuccours to Haus.

The 10th of *July*, the council gave an account by letters to *Haus*, what intelligence they had received concerning the poſture of affairs in *St. Antonio* and *Pojuka*, with orders to ſend as many firelocks and *Braſilians* as he could poſſibly ſpare to their relief, to keep the paſſage from *St. Antonio* to *Pojuka* and *Serenhaim* open; without which all communication betwixt them and the *Receif* would be cut off by the enemy. Two letters of *John Fernando Vieira* and *Antonio Kavalkanti* were the ſame day read in council, in which they complained of the ſeverity of the two laſt proclamations, but were not thought fit to be anſwered; eſpecially ſince *Amador d'Araouje* had about the ſame time retired from the paſs of *Pinderama*.

Haus *ordered to ſend relief to* St. Antonio.

Two days before, *viz.* that the council had received letters from Mr. *Hoek*, dated the 25th of *June*, at *Rio Grande*, intimating that hitherto there had not happened any commotions in thoſe parts, that however he had diſarmed the *Portugueſe*, and that the *Tapoyers* appeared to be well inclined to the government: Orders were ſent him to cultivate a good underſtanding with the *Tapoyers*, for which purpoſe they ſent ſome preſents to *John Duwy* their king, and that the council approved his diſarming of the *Portugueſe*. On the ſame day father *Imanuel*, *Lewis Bras*, *Imanuel Ferdinand de Sa*, *Kaſpar de Mendoza*, *Furtado* and *Jeronymo de Rocha*, all *Portugueſe* inhabitants of the *Dutch-Braſil* delivered their

1643. their petition to the council, requesting, that the time of six days appointed by the last proclamation, for the wives and children of the revolted *Portugueſe*, to leave the country, being expired, they might be allowed to stay in their habitations at leaſt, 'till the ways, which at that time were rendred unpaſſable, by the overflowing of the rivers, were ſomewhat mended. But conſidering that the *Portugueſe* rebels forced the inhabitants by threats and other unuſual methods to take up arms againſt the government, their requeſt was not granted.

The petition of the Portugueſe *rejected.*

The 13th of *July* the council were advertiſed by letters from *Haus*, dated the 12th, that he had paſſed the river *Kapivaribi*, and marching thro' the *Matta* to the ſugar-mills of *Arnao d'Ollanda*, had met with four hundred rebels, who at the approach of his troops were fled to *Moribeka*, with the loſs of ſome of their men, from whence they might without any oppoſition march to the *Matta* of *Braſil*, and that he was ready to march directly to *St. Lawrence*, where he would expect the further orders of the council. They immediately diſpatched their orders to him, to purſue and rout the flying rebels with all poſſible ſpeed, before they could make head again, which done, he ſhould fix his head quarters, in ſuch a place where he was ſure he might be ſupplied with proviſions out of the adjacent countrey; their magazines being ſo exhauſted, as not to be in a condition to ſupply his troops. *Haus* had already in ſome meaſure taken effectual care of this point, having in the mean while ſent a reinforcement of one hundred foot, and a company of *Braſilians*, under the command of captain *Tallo*, to Mr. *Ley* governor of *Moribeka* and *St. Antonio*. The council alſo ordered the governor of the *Cape of St. Auſtin* to ſtrengthen the fort with palliſadoes; and at the ſame time received Advice from Mr. *Ley* from *St. Antonio*, that the rebels under *Amador d'Araouje*, and *Pedro Marinha Falkao*, had poſted themſelves within ſight of them, in the new ſugar-mill, but as ſoon as he received the expected ſuccours, he did not queſtion to chaſe them from thence, *Amador d'Araouje* having in vain attempted to force thoſe of *Pojuka*, to take up arms againſt the government.

The rebels flee before Haus.

Revolt in Pojuka.

He received alſo intelligence from Mr. *Carpentier* out of *Goyana*, that things remained in quiet there as yet: But whilſt *Haus* was buſy in making head againſt the rebels in the *Vergea*, *Petro Marinho Falkao* having declared himſelf head of the rebels of *Pojuka*, had gathered a body ſufficient to block up the garriſon of *St. Antonio*, who had no other ſupplies of proviſion, but what they received from the circumjacent countrey; ſo that the council being ſenſible of the danger, ſent immediately orders to *Haus*, to haſten to the relief of that place; who, accordingly directed his march the ſame night to the ſugar-mill of *Lowis Bras*, leaving captain *Wiltſchut* with a company of ſoldiers, and all the ſick, behind at *St. Lawrence*. 1643.

The council received alſo advice by letters from *Paul de Linge*, dated the 12th of *July* at *Parayba*, that things were as yet quiet thereabouts, but that with much ado he had hitherto kept the *Braſilians*, inhabiting the villages, from plundering the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, who were extremely diſſatisfied, becauſe ſome of the *Braſilians* and *Tapoyers*, that had done them conſiderable miſchief, were diſcharged out of cuſtody. They ordered him to take all poſſible care to keep both the *Braſilians* and *Dutch* inhabitants, who were both for plundering the *Portugueſe*, from doing any miſchief to them; for which reaſon the council ſent the following proclamation to be publiſh'd there.

A PROCLAMATION.

WE the members of the great council, having received frequent complaints, that many of the faithful inhabitants of the countrey, who lately have taken a new oath of allegiance to the government, are plundred and robb'd by the ſoldiers and volunteers; and being reſolved to maintain them in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and goods, have for that reaſon granted them ſafeguards, and taken them into our peculiar protection; do hereby forbid all our officers and ſoldiers, as well as the other inhabitants under our Juriſdiction, to attempt to plunder any of the inhabitants, provided with ſuch ſafeguards, or to endamage them any otherwiſe, either in their goods or perſons, upon pain of corporeal puniſhment.

The 15th of *July* in the evening, the council was advertiſed by Mr. *Ley*, that the rebels had kill'd ſome ſoldiers of the garriſon of *St. Antonio*, that were ſent abroad to fetch ſome cattle from the ſugar-mill *Gurapou*, and had ſo cloſely block'd up the place, that no proviſion could be brought thither; and as they were not provided with neceſſaries for above a few days longer, they were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt. Lieutenant colonel *Haus* being expected the ſame evening with his troops at *St. Lawrence*, orders were diſpatch'd thither for him to go either in perſon, or at leaſt to ſend as many able ſoldiers as he could bring together, under the

1643. the command of captain *John Blaar*, to the relief of *St. Antonio*, the council being of opinion, that the ſafety of the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, and of all the ſouthern provinces, depended on the preſervation of this place; for which reaſon, they alſo ordered captain *Falbo*, who was expected about the ſame time with a company of ſoldiers, and as many *Braſilians* at *Moribeka*, to march directly to *St. Antonio*, and to ſtay there 'till further orders; of all which they ſent advice to Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Heck*. *Haus* having, purſuant to theſe orders, directed his march to *St. Antonio*, (notwithſtanding the wearineſs of his ſoldiers tired by a tedious march) *Pedro Marinho Falkao* had no ſooner notice of his approach, but he raiſed the blockade of *St. Antonio*, and with his body of rebels gathered out of the three diſtricts of *St. Antonio*, *Pojuka* and *Moribeka*, to the number of ſix hundred, joined with the rebels in the *Vergea* of *Moribeka*.

The blockade of St. Antonio raiſed.

The 17th of *July* the council were advertiſed by *Haus* in a letter dated at *Moribeka*, that having received a meſſage from Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Heck* out of *St. Antonio*, with advice, that in *Puerto de Gallinas*, two boats with ammunition were landed by *Pedro de Kunha*, he had ſent thither captain *John Blaar*, and enſign *Hartſtein*, with a good Body of his ableſt ſoldiers and *Braſilians*, he himſelf not being in a condition to follow with the reſt, diſabled by their late marches; for which reaſon he had put them into quarters of refreſhment in *Moribeka*, where he would expect their further orders, as not judging his preſence neceſſary at the *Receif*, now the enemies were fled before him.

Orders ſent J. Haus *by the council.*

Orders were thereupon diſpatch'd to him by the council the 19th of *July*, to keep his head quarters in *Moribeka*, the better to keep a watchful eye over the rebels that were retired into the woods; and to be the nearer at hand to ſuccour either *St. Antonio* or *Pojuka*, for which *Moribeka* lay very convenient; but if the enemy ſhould become too ſtrong for him, he ſhould retreat towards the *Receif*. Advice alſo was ſent him, That *Amador d'Araouje*, *Pedro Marinho Falkao*, *John Pais*, and *Kabral*, were with the rebels they had gathered in *St. Antonio* and *Pojuka*, march'd the day before in the morning from *d'Ingenio Moreno Gardo*, to join their troops with thoſe of *John Fernandes Vieira*.

The council likewiſe received ſeveral letters from *John Hoek*, *Rudolph Baro*, and *James Rabbi*, dated the 5th, 6th and 7th of *July*, concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs in *Rio Grande*, and that they being threatned with an invaſion by *Kamaron* on the ſouth ſide, and by the *Braſilians* of *Siara* and *Maranhaon* from the north, they had diſarmed all the *Portugueſe* and laid up their arms in the fort of *Keulen*. They had alſo by the advice of king *John Duwy*, taken into cuſtody a certain *Portugueſe* called *Antonio Vetello*, with his ſon, being accuſed by the ſaid king *Duwy* of having had a hand in the murther committed upon the *Dutch* in *Siara*, and in the conſpiracy of the rebels. They further complained of the ill practices of the *Portugueſe*, who ſought by all means poſſible to oppreſs the *Dutch* thereabouts; adding withal, that king *Duwy* was ready with his *Tapoyers* to fall upon the *Portugueſe*, as ſoon as he received orders for that purpoſe, which had made many of the *Portugueſe* fly out of *Parayba*. 1643.

About the ſame time, near one thouſand *Braſilians*, *viz.* three hundred and ſixty nine men, the reſt women and children, being fled for ſhelter into the iſle of *Itamarika*, where they were maintained out of the magazines, it was reſolved the 21ſt of *July* by the council, to ſend thither Mr. *Liſtry*, to take effectual care, to eaſe the company of that burthen, that they might be engaged to provide themſelves out of their reſpective *Aldeas*. Things were as yet quiet about that time in *Itamarika*, *Goyana* and *Parayba*, by the good conduct of Mr. *Paul Vander Linge*, governor of the laſt. For as ſoon as the fire of rebellion began to break out in the *Vergea*, *Pojuka*, and in *Olinda*, the council being advertiſed that they ought to keep a watchful eye over thoſe of *Parayba*, where ſeveral were ſuſpected of being conſcious of the deſign, they ſent the 13th of *July*, *Paul de Linge*, one of the Aſſeſſors in the court of Juſtice thither, with an ample commiſſion, to endeavour to keep the inhabitants in obedience, and to act for that purpoſe, as he ſhould find it moſt conducing to the publick ſecurity. He was no ſooner arrived there, but he made it his chiefeſt care to provide the forts with ſufficient garriſons, ammunition and proviſions, which he took from the ſhips then lying in the road, behind the *Red-Land*: He further took care to ſecure all the ſuſpected perſons, and ſummoned the reſt to take a new oath of allegiance to the government, which they did accordingly.

The council uſed the ſame precaution in the diſtrict of *Pojuka*, in the *Vergea*, *Garaſſu* and *Goyana*, where they obliged ſuch of the inhabitants as had not left their dwelling-places to take a new oath of obedience. But the late ſuccours ſent thither from the *Bahia* fruſtrated all theſe endeavours.

Propoſitions made by Mr. Ley *to the council.*

On the 24th of *July*, Mr. *Ley* came with credentials from *St. Antonio* to the council, unto

1643. unto whom he made the following propoſitions.

I. That whereas ſeveral young and able men, living near *St. Antonio*, had not liſted themſelves purſuant to the proclamation iſſued for that purpoſe, they deſired orders might be ſent for all thoſe living in the juriſdiction of *Maurice's Town* and *St. Antonio* in the open countrey, to be obliged to take up arms for the defence of the country.

II. To oblige all ſuch young men as were not able to ſerve as volunteers, at their own charge, to liſt themſelves for ſoldiers, and to inſtruct them in martial diſcipline.

III. That perhaps it might not be unadviſeable to draw the garriſon out of *Porto Calvo*, to appear the more formidable in the field.

IV. To divide our land forces into two bodies, the better to maintain themſelves in the open countrey; whereas now upon the leaſt motion of the enemy, our whole force was obliged to follow them; and that the garriſon of *St. Antonio* ſhould be reinforced with ſuch a number, as to be able to ſend abroad a good party, for the conveniency of fetching the neceſſary proviſions out of the countrey.

After mature deliberation, the council was of opinion as to the

Their reſolutions.

I. That the young inhabitants of *St. Antonio*, *Pojuka*, and *Moribeka*, ought not to be forced to ſerve in the fort *St. Antonio*.

II. That they would empower Mr. *Ley* and *Heck*, to take as many of the young men as voluntarily offered themſelves into the ſervice for four months, at nine gilders *per* month, and one months advance money.

III. They were abſolutely againſt the leaving of the fort *Porto Calvo*, but that ought to be defended to the utmoſt.

IV. What concern'd the dividing of their land forces in two bodies, they would adviſe with colonel *Haus*, but they approved of the propoſed reinforcement of the garriſon of *St. Antonio*, for reaſons by them alledged.

Lieutenant *Haus Vogel*, by his letters dated the 18th and 27th of *July*, at *Seregippo del Rey* adviſed the council, that he had ſent a detachment towards *Kamaron*, who could not get ſight either of any *Portugueſe* or *Braſilians*, but that they had taken a ſingle *Portugueſe*, who was charged with letters to be carried to *Rio St. Franciſco:* He told them, that *Kamaron* with ſome troops was march'd through *Rio St. Franciſco* into the captainſhip of *Seregippo del Rey*; and that three or four ſmall veſſels or *caravans*, with ſome troops under the command of *Andrew Vidal*, were ſail'd from the *Bahia* to *Maranhaon* and *Siara*. 1643.

He likewiſe ſent the letters found upon the ſaid *Portugueſe* to the council, by which it appear'd, that the firſt foundation of this revolt had been laid among thoſe of the *Bahia*, or at leaſt that they had been made privy to it, and that they had provided theſe ſuccours. For among others, there was a letter from the biſhop of that place, to a certain friar of the *Receif*, in which he told him, that he hoped to be with him before long; whereupon the *Fiſcal* was ordered to examine the matter, in order to find out the bottom of this correſpondency betwixt theſe two clergymen.

Certain letters ſeized and communicated to the council.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers* of *Rio Grande* (according to Mr. *Linge's* letter of the 19th of *July*) had murther'd thirty five *Portugueſe* in the ſugar-mills of *Kunha*, who being of the number of thoſe that had ſurrendred their arms, purſuant to the proclamation, this cauſed no ſmall terror among the reſt of the *Portugueſe* thereabouts, and eſpecially in *Parayba*, where they left their habitations, ſo that it being to be fear'd they would aſſociate with the rebels, under pretence of ſelf-defence, Mr. *Linge* deſired a reinforcement of ſoldiers to keep the *Tapoyers* in awe. The council therefore commanded Mr. *Aſtellen* and captain *William Lambert* with his company of foot, beſides twenty fuſileers, and a detachment of fifty men out of the garriſons of *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, to take care of the *Tapoyers*, and to conduct them to the *Receif*, *Jacob Rabbi* their commander was ordered to march along with them, and *Rudolph Baro* appointed to provide them quarters upon the road.

The Tapoyers murther thirty five Portugueſe.

Haus having by this time ſufficiently refreſh'd his troops, writ a letter dated the firſt of *Auguſt* to the council, in which he deſired their orders to go in queſt of the rebels, and to attack them before they could be reinforced with their expected ſuccours; which being granted him, he attack'd them in *d'Ingenio* of *Balthaſar Moreno*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he beat them from place to place; 'till on the 3d of *Auguſt* they retired to their entrenchment upon a high ſteep hill, acceſſible only in one place. Notwithſtanding which, he relying upon the bravery of his ſoldiers, and hoping thereby to put an end to the war, attack'd them vigorouſly in this advantagious poſt; but the rebels being ſuperiour to him both in number and in the ſtrength of their camp, his forces were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred men, (ſome ſay five hundred) among whom was captain *Lor*. After this defeat, *Haus* being ſenſible that the enemy expected daily

Haus *engages the rebels.*

Is worſted and retires to the Receif.

1643. a freſh reinforcement from the *Bahia*, retired to the *Receif*, where he knew his troops were abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the place.

Two Portugueſe *condemned to death.*

On the firſt of *Auguſt Gonſalvo Kabral de Kalkos*, was by the court of juſtice condemned to death, having at the inſtigation of *John Fernandes Vieira*, undertaken to head the rebels in the captainſhip of *Goyana*. The ſame fate attending one *Thomas Pais*, an inhabitant of *Tienpio*, who had endeavoured to raiſe ſome troops for the ſaid *John Fernandes Vieira*. The ſame day the great council received advice out of *Serinheim*, (the letters being ſent privately in the night time in a ſmall boat down the river to the ſea-ſide) that the rebels began to be very numerous thereabouts, that they were maſters of the river, had ſtaved all the boats, and plundred *d'Ingeneo Formoſa*, where they carried away the negroes, and kill'd the beaſts belonging to the *Dutch*, but ſpared thoſe of the *Portugueſe*. The council being ſenſible that nothing but force would be able to reduce theſe rebels to their duty, and that they were from time to time reinforced from the *Bahia*, whereas the *Dutch* troops diminiſh'd daily, they reſolved the firſt of *Auguſt*, to ſend Mr. *Balthaſar Vander Voerden* councellor of juſtice to *Holland*, to repreſent to the council of nineteen there, the true ſtate of the affairs of the *Dutch-Braſil*, and to ſollicit prompt ſuccours. Accordingly the ſaid Mr. *Vander Voerden* having taken his leave of the council, ſet ſail the next day, with the reſt of the ſhips that lay ready to ſail for *Holland*, being inſtructed with ſufficient power and credentials from the council; as follows.

Rebellion in Serinhaim.

Mr. Vander Voerden *ſent with a credential into* HOLLAND.

Moſt noble, honourable, and moſt prudent lords.

NOtwithſtanding *the rebels make not the leaſt uſe of the royal authority, but cover their revolt with the cloak of godly liberty, we were always of opinion, that this rebellion of our* Portugueſe *inhabitants has not only been undertaken with the conſent of the king of* Portugal, *or at leaſt of his governor of the* Bahia, *but alſo encouraged and fomented by his authority and conduct. For how can it be ſuppoſed that* Kamaron, Henry Dias, *and the other ringleaders, ſhould have dared to attempt to attack us by force of arms without his approbation? It was likewiſe our conſtant opinion, (conſidering the preſent unſettled ſtate of* Portugal, *and the alliance betwixt that King and the ſtates of* Holland *againſt* Spain) *that he would be ſure never to acknowledge the tranſactions of the heads of the rebellion, and the ſuccours ſent them, to have been done by his authority, leſt the breach of faith and all its ill conſequences might be one time or other laid at his door, 'till he thought himſelf ſure in the entire conqueſt of the* Dutch Braſil. *Our gueſs has ſince proved more than too true, for* Antonio Telles de la Silva, *governor of the* Bahia *(as is evident from his anſwer to our letters here incloſed) denies to have had the leaſt knowledge, much leſs any hand in the contrivance or the conduct of this conſpiracy; laying the blame of this inſurrection upon their ring-leaders, who refuſed to obey his orders; and offering to ſend certain commiſſioners to appeaſe the fury of the rebels; and in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply, to force them by the kings authority to lay down their arms. But how little agreeable this offer of putting an end to this rebellion, is to his real intention, is apparent out of the report made by Mr.* Vander Voerden *and captain* Dieterick Hoogſtrate, *under-written by their own hands; in which you will find theſe expreſs words of the governor:* That the *Braſilians* and negroes were diſbanded by his majeſty of *Portugal*'s particular order. *The abſtracts of the ſeveral encloſed letters ſent from the* Bahia, *and taken from the meſſenger by our forces in* Seregippo, *will put it beyond all doubt, that ſeveral inhabitants of the* Bahia, *and among them the Biſhop himſelf, had already in* May *laſt ſome knowledge of the intentions of* John Fernandes Vieira, *and his accomplices; add to this the depoſitions of captain* Dieterick Hoogſtrate *ſubſcribed by himſelf, concerning the propoſitions made to him in private, whilſt he was managing the company's buſineſs there, in the quality of one of our deputies; which as it directly contradicts the governors anſwer to us, ſo it unravels the whole ſecret of his real intentions. And for as much as all theſe things are ſufficient forewarnings to us, that the rebels will be conſtantly ſupplied from the* Bahia, *whereas we on the contrary muſt expect to be weaken'd more and more in every reſpect, we judged it abſolutely neceſſary and requiſite for the ſervice of our ſtate, to ſend to you the members of the council of nineteen, Mr.* Balthaſar Vander Voerden, *councellor in our court of juſtice, to give you a verbal account of the deplorable ſtate of our affairs here, in a more ample manner, than the ſame may be expreſs'd in writing, not queſtioning, but your lordſhips will thereby be encouraged to ſend us a ſpeedy and ſufficient ſuccour, to re-eſtabliſh our affairs here, and to deliver your faithful ſubjects from the imminent dadger that threatens no leſs than the ruin and loſs of their lives and eſtates, and deſiring you to give a favourable reception to the ſaid Mr.* Balthaſar Vander Voerden.

1643.

Receif *the* 2d *of* Aug. 1645.

1643. *The Portugueſe prepare for the Invaſion of the Dutch-Braſil.*

Immediately after the departure of the two beforementioned envoys, Mr. *Vander Voerden* and captain *Hoogſtrate* out of the *Bahia*, being the 20th of *July*, the governor *Antonio Telles de Silva*, ordered all the ſea and land men that could be got together in haſte, to be embark'd in twelve ſhips ready fitted out for that purpoſe; with neceſſary ammunition, arms and proviſion, for the intended invaſion. *Hieronymo Serrao de Payva* had the ſupreme command over the fleet, as the colonel *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros* had over the land forces, both officers in the ſervice of the king of *Portugal*. The orders given to the admiral by the governor, dated the 20th *July*, contained in ſubſtance, that the great council of the *Dutch-Braſil* having notified to him the inſurrection of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants of *Pernambuko*, he had judged it expedient to equip his fleet, in order to put a ſpeedy ſtop to thoſe diſorders; becauſe he was willing to comply with the ſaid councils requeſt, in reſpect of the ſincere friendſhip and correſpondency betwixt the crown of *Portugal* and them, which he had ſtrict orders from his majeſty to obſerve; whereas it is evident, that the great council of the *Dutch-Braſil* in their letter to *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, of the 13th of *Auguſt* expreſly declare, never to have deſired any aſſiſtance from the governor of the *Bahia*, againſt the rebellious *Portugueſe* inhabitants.

Pretences for this invaſion.

Inſtructions of the Portugueſe Admiral.

The further Inſtructions given to the ſaid admiral *Payva* were, that he ſhould directly ſteer his courſe from the *Bahia* to *Pernambuko*, keeping about twenty or thirty leagues diſtance at ſea, from the ſhore; that coming to the tenth degree he ſhould approach the ſhore, and if he found the wind to blow hard from the ſouth, before he came to the before mentioned height, he ſhould be very careful not to paſs beyond the lands point in the night time. After having taken a view of the country, he ſhould, with the advice of his beſt pilots, endeavour to land his men in the moſt ſecure place he could meet with thereabouts, either at *Una*, *Lagamar* or *Tamandare*; being three leagues to the ſouth of the iſle of *Alexo*. But if they could not make any of theſe harbours, they ſhould enter at *Porto Doſſer*, *Nambous* or *Lagamar* of *Marakaipe*, lying two leagues to the north of *Alexo*. But if notwithſtanding all their endeavours, they alſo ſhould miſs their aim in thoſe places, to make themſelves maſters of *Porto de Gallinhas*, and to land their men betwixt that place and *Barra Grande*. After they had landed their men, with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, he ſhould ſet ſail to the bay of *Pernambuko*, in order to deliver with his own hands the governors letter to the lords of the great council. 1643.

The Portugueſe ſet ſail from the Bahia.

Accordingly the ſaid fleet ſet ſail towards the latter end of *July* from the *Bahia*, and in few days after arrived in the Bay of *Tamandare*, betwixt the rivers *Olna* and *Formoſa*, about four or five leagues beyond *Alevo* and *Serinhaim*. They were no ſooner come to an anchor there, but the colonel *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros* landed the 28th of *July* one thouſand eight hundred or two thouſand landmen, among whom were many reformed officers well appointed, and great ſtore of arms, ammunition, and other neceſſaries.

Land their men.

The firſt of *Auguſt*, towards evening, three ſhips with five ſmall veſſels appeared in ſight of the *Receif*, ſteering their courſe to the north, whereupon the council diſpatch'd their immediate orders to the two ſhips, the *Zoutlandia* and the *Zealandia*, to make all the ſail they could after them, to obſerve what courſe they ſteer'd, and to prevent their landing of men. About the ſame time an adviceboat arrived from admiral *Lichthart*, with letters to the council, intimating, that he had ſeen the ſaid ſhips, and that he ſuppoſed their intent to be, to land ſome men on the ſouth of the cape of *St. Auſtin*, for which reaſon he deſired them to ſend him ſome ſhips, and grant him leave to take as many of the garriſon of *St. Antonio* as he ſhould judge neceſſary to attack the enemy; of all which immediate notice was given to the northern parts, to be upon their guard againſt any ſudden ſurpriſe.

A falſe alarum upon the Receif.

But the next following day thoſe ſhips being got out of ſight, ſeveral maſters of ſmall veſſels, that had been near them at ſea, reported, that they were heavy freighted ſhips, which by the ſtrong north winds were forced near the ſhore, ſo that it was concluded that they had ſteered their courſe towards *Portugal*.

The Portugueſe Fleet ſail to Pernambuko.

Immediately after admiral *Payva* ſet ſail from the bay of *Tamandare*, and meeting with the fleet under the command of admiral *Salvador Korrea de Saa de Benavides*, which was latterly ſailed out of the port of *Rio Janeiro*, he returned with him into the ſaid harbour, and on *St. Lawrence*'s day with their joint forces ſailed from thence towards the bay of *Pernambuko*.

The firſt news the council received of it was on the 11th of *Auguſt*, by a maſter of a ſmall veſſel called, *John Hoen*, bound for *Seregippo del Rey*, and by commiſſary *John Barentz*, with advice that they had ſeen a fleet of twenty eight or thirty ſhips off of *Una*,

1643. *Una*, or *Rio Formoſa*, and that three of them had purſued them, and diſcharged ſome of their guns upon them. Much about the ſame time they received letters from major *Hoogſtrate*, from the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, and the fort *Vander Duſſen*, intimating, that *Andrew Vidal*, *Henry Dias* and *Paul de Kunha* were landed at *Una*, and marching to *Serinhaim*, had made themſelves maſters of the place, where they had given quarter to the *Dutch*, but cut to pieces all the *Braſilians*. The council hereupon took immediate care to ſend ſome ammunition and proviſions to the ſaid cape, having already, for the better ſecurity of that place, ordered Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Hoek*, two days before, to leave the fort of *St. Antonio*, and to retire with the garriſon to the cape of *St. Auſtin*, before they were encloſed by the enemy. That two ſhips, the *Deventer* and the *Elias*, which were in the harbour unlading their goods and proviſions brought along with them for the ſervice of the company, were ordered to be equipped immediately, in order to join with the other five ſhips that lay at anchor in the road, *viz.* the *Utrecht*, the *Zealandia*, *Ser Veer*, the *Zoutlandia*, and the *Golden-Doe*. The ſame Night advice of all what paſs'd was ſent to colonel *Haus*, with orders to be upon his guard, and to retire with his troops to the ſugar-mill belonging to Mr. *Hoek*, or any other convenient place, from whence he might be able to maintain a communication with the *Receif*. Letters were alſo diſpatch'd to Mr. *Dortmont* in *Itamarika*, to Mr. *Carpentier* in *Goyana*, and Mr. *de Linge* in *Parayba*, to advertiſe them of the enemies arrival.

The council adviſed the Receif.

They equip ſome ſhips.

To ſupply the want of ſea men, many labourers were impreſt aboard the ſhips, as were likewiſe thirty-five land ſoldiers of *Moucheron*'s company, who had ſpoiled their fleet by their laſt long march; and out of the ſhip *Elias* were a thouſand pounds of gunpowder, and out of the *Douchter* ſix hundred, ſent a ſhore for the uſe of the garriſon.

Not long after dinner time the enemies fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight or thirty ſhips, appeared in ſight of the *Receif*, where they caſt anchor to the north of four of our ſhips and a yacht, which lay in that road; ſo that the next following night was ſpent in ballaſting the two ſhips, the *Elias* and *Deventer*, and in fitting them for the ſea. The next morning with break of day the *Portugueſe* admiral who carried the white flag, ſent *Martinho de Rebeira* and *Balthaſar de Caſtilho*, as his deputies aboard the *Dutch* admiral *Cornelius Lichthart*, who brought four letters, *viz.* two from the governor of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Silva*, the firſt dated the 21st, and the ſecond the 22d of *July*, the third from the *Portugueſe* admiral, *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, and the fourth from *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*, dated the 12th of *Auguſt*; beſides another letter from the before-mentioned governor, directed to *John Fernando Vieira*, *Anthony Kavalkanti*, and the other heads of the *Portugueſe* rebels.

1643. *Letters ſent to the council.*

Admiral *Lichthart* carried the ſaid deputies aſhore, in order to deliver the letters to the council; which being tranſlated, were read at the meeting of the council the 14th of *Auguſt*, as well thoſe of the governor from the 21ſt, 22d, and 24th of *July*; as from *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, commodore of the *Portugueſe* fleets, and *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*, who had landed *Andrew Vidal* with his men near *Rio Formoſa*.

The firſt letter was as follows.

The firſt letter.

PUrſuant to your lordſhips letter, and the propoſitions made in your behalf by your deputies, *Mr.* Balthaſar Vander Voerden *councellor of juſtice, and* Dieterick Hoogſtrate *governour of the* Cape of St. Auſtin, *in which you requeſted the recalling of the troops under* Henry Dias; *I being deſirous to fulfil my promiſe, ſent to you in my anſwer by the moſt effectual means that I could poſſibly think of, have ſent you the two colonels* Martin Soares Moreno, *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros *(both perſons of unqueſtionable conduct and prudence) to the captainſhip of* Pernambuko, *with full power and inſtructions, to reduce the revolted* Portugueſe *to their due obedience, for which reaſon alſo I have ſent a letter to the ſaid rebels, to exhort them to the remembrance of their duty, and to lay down their arms. Which that it might prove the more effectual, I have ſent thither ſufficient force, which may be ſerviceable to your lordſhips, to reduce thoſe that remain obſtinate to reaſon, and to chaſe the rebellious troops out of your dominions. I hope that with God's aſſiſtance this may prove an effectual means to quench the fire of rebellion, to reſtore the peace of* Braſil, *and to encreaſe the good underſtanding and friendſhip which has been eſtabliſhed betwixt both theſe nations. We recommend you to God's protection, remaining,*

Bahia, July 21, 1645.

Your lordſhips affectionate ſervant,
Antonio Telles de Sylva.

The ſecond letter of the ſaid governor to the council runs thus,

The

1643.

The ſecond letter.

I Have diſpatched my orders to colonel Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia, *captain-major of our fleet (which I have ſent to your aſſiſtance) to deliver theſe preſents to you, immediately after the landing of the forces aboard the ſaid fleet, and to offer in my name all the aſſiſtance he is able to give you, purſuant to my command and your lordſhips requeſt. I am very ready to embrace this opportunity to give you theſe marks of my zeal for your welfare, eſpecially in contributing what in me lies to the reducing of your revolted ſubjects to their obedience. Neither do I in the leaſt queſtion, but that by this expedient the flames of an inteſtine war will be quenched, beyond all hopes of being ever rekindled hereafter; and that I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of having been inſtrumental to anſwer the expectation of your lordſhips, purſuant to the propoſals made to me upon that account in your behalf. So recommending you to God's protection, I reſt*

Your lordſhips
Bahia, July *affectionate ſervant,*
22, 1645. Antonio Telles de Sylva.

Beſides theſe he ſent another letter by *Don Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, admiral of the *Portugueſe* fleet, directed to the council of *Dutch Braſil*, as follows,

The third letter.

WHilſt I was endeavouring to ſatisfy the requeſt made to me by your ambaſſadours, and buſied in embarking the forces deſigned for your ſervice, under the command of the two colonels Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros, *together with colonel* Jeronymo de Payva, *captain-major of the forces,* Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides *admiral of this ſtate, and a member of the council of tranſmarine affairs, eſtabliſhed by authority of the king my maſter, happened to arrive by God's peculiar direction, with his fleet from* Rio de Janeiro, *in the* Bahia, *in order to conduct them to* Portugal. *But being deſirous to redouble my efforts, as well in the conduct of his perſon as in the ſtrength of his fleet, to render the whole the more ſerviceable to your lordſhips, I thought convenient to ſend the ſaid admiral with the fleet under his command, in conjunction with the reſt, to the revolted captainſhip, not queſtioning but that by his prudent conduct and authority, he will be very inſtrumental in reſtoring the peace in your dominions, according to our utmoſt wiſhes; and I live in hopes, that this may ſerve as real demonſtrations of the good underſtanding and friendſhip I am willing to cultivate betwixt theſe two ſtates, both as a juſt friend and good neighbour. I recommend you to God's protection.* 1643.

Bahia, July *Your affectionate ſervant,*
25, 1645. Antonio Telles de Sylva.

The chief contents of theſe letters tended to perſuade the great council of the *Dutch Braſil*, that the governor of the *Bahia* had, purſuant to the requeſt made by the deputies of the ſaid council to him, ſent certain land forces under the command of the two colonels *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros*, aboard the fleet commanded by *Jeronymo Sarrao de Payva*, in conjunction with the whole fleet of *Rio de Janeiro*, under the conduct of admiral *Korrea*, to aſſiſt them both by ſea and land, as is evident from the words of the preceding letters: He alſo requeſted by his deputies, *viz.* captain *Martinho de Rebeira*, and auditor-general *Balthaſar de Kaſtilho*, that the great council would be pleaſed to acquaint the king his maſter with it, in a particular letter from them to his majeſty. *The contents of theſe letters.*

What deſerves our particular obſervation in his letter to *John Fernandes Vieira*, and the reſt of the rebels is, that he calls them *the king's ſubjects, unto whom he has ſent this ſuccour for their defence*; yet with this reſtriction, in order to reduce them by all gentle means to their former obedience to the *Dutch* government. It being evident that the propoſitions made by our deputies to the governour *Telles* tended to no other purpoſe than to engage him to recall *Kamaron* and *Dias*, and ſuch others as were come to join with the rebellious *Portugueſe*, out of the *Dutch Braſil*, and in caſe of refuſal to declare them rebels and enemies to the king of *Portugal*; but he directly contrary to the intention and requeſt of the ſaid council; had inſtead of recalling them, ſent theſe forces to their ſuccours; and inſtead of leaving them to the diſpoſal of the council, had cauſed them to be landed in a remote place, where the ſaid *Kamaron* and *Dias* were with their forces at that time. Neither was the council ignorant of their intention, in ſending a fleet into the road of the *Receif* at this juncture; tending to no other end than to back the revolted rebels in their deſign, and to encourage the reſt to take up arms againſt them.

The council was fully ſatisfied as to this point, when they received advice from the cape of *St. Auſtin*, that the garriſon of *Serinhaim* had been forced to ſurrender to *Andrew Vidal* after his landing thereabouts.

Their

1643. Their chief debate then turned upon this point, by what means this fleet might be removed from the road of the *Receif* and our coaſts; conſidering that the whole naval force of the *Dutch* then ready to ſail, conſiſted only in five ſhips, *viz.* the *Utrecht*, *Zelandia*, *Ter Veere*, *Zoutlandia*, and the *Golden Doe*, not very well manned, and but indifferently provided with ammunition, eſpecially with gunpowder, and few ſoldiers could be drawn out of the neighbouring garriſons; whereas the *Portugueſe* fleet conſiſted at leaſt in eight or ten ſtout ſhips, the admiral being a two-deckt ſhip, reſembling at a diſtance one of their large galeons, ſo that the attacking of them appeared to be a hazardous enterprize. After mature deliberation it was unanimouſly reſolved in the ſaid council, to return thanks to the admiral *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, for the offered ſuccours againſt the rebels, and to tell him the reaſons that obliged us to deſire him to retire with his fleet out of our road, as will more at large appear out of the following letter: It was thought convenient to diſpatch the ſaid letter immediately, and whilſt we ſtaid for his anſwer, to uſe all poſſible diligence in equipping the two beforementioned ſhips, the *Deventer* and *Elias*; that if the *Portugueſe* refuſed to comply with the councils requeſt, we might be in a condition to attack them, and to drive their fleet from our coaſt, without which we ſaw but little probability to make our party good againſt the rebels, as long as they were backed by conſtant ſupplies from the *Bahia*. It was alſo taken into conſideration whether it were not expedient to detain one of the *Portugueſe* deputies till ſuch time that *Jeronymo Sarrao de Payva*, ſhould according to the requeſt of the council, come aſhore in the *Receif*; but this propoſition was rejected, for fear of furniſhing the *Portugueſe* with a new pretence of ſtaying in our road: Mr. *Gilbert de Wit* and *Henry Moucheron*, both members of the council of juſtice, being ordered to carry the ſaid letter, they went aboard the *Portugueſe* admiral the ſame evening, unto whom they delivered the following letter to *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*.

A letter from the council to the Portugueſe *admiral.*

WE underſtand both out of your lordſhip's letter and thoſe of the governor Antonio Telles de Sylva, *delivered to us by captain* Martin de Rebeira, *and the auditor-general* Balthaſar de Caſtilho, *as alſo by the verbal aſſurances given to us by them in your behalf, that your coming with the fleet into our road is with no other deſign than to aſſiſt us with your authority and council in bringing the rebels to reaſon, for all which we return our hearty thanks to your lordſhip. But at the ſame time we cannot forbear to repreſent to you, that the coming with ſo conſiderable a fleet in this juncture, gives us no ſmall cauſe of jealouſy, not only becauſe we never requeſted any ſuch aſſiſtance, but alſo by reaſon that inſtead of recalling* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias *with their troops, the two colonels* Andrew Vidal *and* Martin Soares Moreno, *have under pretence of reducing the rebels to obedience, landed their men and ammunition without our knowledge, in a far diſtant place, and conſequently for the defence of the revolted* Portugueſe; *whereas (purſuant to his excellency the governour's promiſe to us) this reduction might have been much better obtained by a ſevere proclamation, to oblige them to return to the* Bahia; *or at leaſt the before-mentioned colonels ought to have made their firſt addreſſes to us. Theſe proceedings have, contrary to your lordſhip's intention, drawn this ill conſequence after them, that many of the inhabitants imagining no otherwiſe than this fleet was intended for the aſſiſtance of the revolted* Portugueſe, *have alſo begun to take up arms, in order to join with them; which obliges us to return our thanks to your lordſhip for the offered ſuccours, deſiring you would be pleaſed with all poſſible ſpeed to retire with the fleet out of the road; which, as it will undeceive the inhabitants concerning the ſiniſter interpretations of your lordſhip's intentions, ſo it will ſerve as an effectual means to keep them in quiet, which at this juncture will work upon us a ſingular obligation. What relates to your lordſhips requeſt to take in freſh water and fuel here, being ill provided with both by reaſon of your ſudden departure from the* Bahia, *we ſhould be very ready to comply with it, were it not for the before alledged reaſons, and the badneſs of the ſeaſon, which would make it very tedious, which obliges us to beg your excuſe for this time upon that account. His excellency* Antonio Telles de Sylva *having told us in his letter that he had ordered* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva, *immediately after the landing of the infantry under* Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal, *to give us in perſon a full account with what power he was inſtructed by his excellency, we deſire your lordſhip to ſend the ſaid* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva *without delay to us, to confer with him concerning the inſtruction he has received from his excellency, in relation to the ſending and landing of theſe officers and land forces. For the reſt, we refer ourſelves to our deputies, councellours in our court of juſtice here, unto whom we deſire your lordſhip*

1643. *ſhip to give full credit, proportionable to their own merits and the truſt we have repoſed in them. God protect your lordſhip.*

Signed by
Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bulleſtrate,
P. J. Bas,
J. Van Walbeck,
G. de Wit,
J. Albrecht,
Henry de Moucheron,
J. Van Raeſvelt,
and
J. Lichthart.

Receif, Aug. 13, 1645.

This letter was pitched upon by the before-mentioned great council, as the beſt expedient at this juncture, till by the conjunction of the *Deventer* and *Elias*, we might be put in a probability of diſlodging them by force, if they refuſed to retire at the council's requeſt.

The Portugueſe fleet leave the road.

The 14th by break of day we ſaw the whole *Portugueſe* fleet under ſail, and for the moſt part out of ſight; and conſidering that the boats, which carried both ours and the two *Portugueſe* deputies, would ſcarce be able to overtake them, and that our deputies in their return were to give an account to our admiral on board his ſhip, whether, purſuant to the council's letter, the *Portugueſe* admiral had conſented to ſend *Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva* to the *Receif*, in order to open his inſtructions to the great council, which they had now all the reaſon to believe he would not, they diſpatched immediate orders to our admiral *Lichthart*, to make all the ſail he could with the ſhips under his command after the *Portugueſe*, to obſerve their motions, and to endeavour to come up with the flag ſhip, on board of which was the ſaid *Jeronymo Sarrao*, to deſire him to return with his ſhips to the road of the *Receif*, in order to confer with the council in perſon, concerning his inſtructions. But after mature deliberation, the whole proceedings of the *Portugueſe*, and the letters of the governour of the *Bahia* concerning the pretended reduction of the rebels, being looked upon as meer amuſements, orders were ſent to our admiral *Lichthart*, to oblige all the *Portugueſe* ſhips he could meet with to ſtrike, and to treat them for the future like enemies.

A letter to the council from Rio Grande.

The 28th of *Auguſt* the council was advertiſed by letters dated the 20th, at the fort of *St. Magaret* in *Rio Grande*, from the governour *de Linge*, that twelve of the enemies ſhips, after having landed ſome forces near *Tamandare*, were come into the bay of *Traikona*; and that according to the depoſition of a certain *Portugueſe* priſoner from on board the ſaid fleet, they intended to land likewiſe ſome men thereabouts, provided they might be joined by the rebels from the *Matta*; but if they failed to come, they would return to the *Bahia*. Whereupon orders were ſent to Mr. *de Linge*, to bring what forces he was able together, either of ſoldiers, *Tapoyers*, or *Braſilians*, to prevent their landing, and their conjunction with the rebels in that captainſhip. 1643.

The next thing under debate was, whether it were not convenient to ſend ſome ſhips under the command of admiral *Lichthart* that way, to attack the *Portugueſe*; after various conſultations, it was agreed to ſtay till all the ſhips might be got ready for that ſervice, to ſupply the want of ſeamen by good able labourers from the *Receif*, and ſo to render ourſelves as formidable at ſea as poſſible could be.

The Dutch admiral ſets ſail from the Receif.

In the mean while the ſaid admiral *Lichthart* ſet ſail the 1st of *September* with four ſhips and a yacht only, he himſelf being in the *Utrecht*, but was forced by ſtreſs of weather (in which the *Zelandia* loſt a maſt) and for fear of the rocks, to come to an anchor not far from the *Portugueſe*, who endeavoured to gain the wind of him. Mr. *de Wit* and *Moucheron* returned alſo with their boat, having not been able, by reaſon of the violent winds to overtake the *Portugueſe*, but had put their deputies on board a ſmall veſſel to ſail after their fleet.

The ſame day the council received letters from Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, *Ley*, and *Heck*, from the cape of *St. Auſtin*, that the enemies had poſted themſelves in the ſugar-mills *Salgado*, *Surhague*, and other places thereabouts; and becauſe the *Portugueſe* fleet, which had been ſeen off of the bay of *Traikona*, appeared again in ſight of the *Receif* the ſame evening, it was thought expedient to order admiral *Lichthart* immediately to go on board the *Utrecht*, and with that and the ſhip *Ter Veere* and two ſmaller veſſels, to keep a watchful eye over the *Portugueſe:* Care was alſo taken to get the ſhip the *Overyſſel* ready againſt next day, not queſtioning that when joined by this and the *Zoutlandia* and *Golden Doe*, which were ſent abroad for intelligence, they ſhould be able to cope with the *Portugueſe*, or at leaſt to force them out of the road. The next morning early the *Portugueſe* fleet might be plainly diſcovered from the *Receif*, but our admiral was not able to ſtir by reaſon of the contrary winds; nevertheleſs the *Zoutlandia* and the *Ter Veere*, which came from the ſouth a cruiſing, made all the ſail they could to eſcape

1643. escape the *Portugueſe*, which they did, being much the nimbler ſailors, and joined our fleet.

The 4th of *September* major *Bayert* and Mr. *Volbergen*, complained to the council, that Mr. *Vierbergen* count *Maurice*'s ſteward, had made it his buſineſs to give it out, that they being impowered to cut down certain trees, and ſome part of the ſtabling and gardens, for the better fortifying of the fort *Erneſtus*, had tranſgreſſed their commiſſion, in cutting down many of the great trees, with an intention, as he ſaid, to ruin the whole plantation; whereas they declared, that they had been very careful in preſerving as much as poſſible could be, all the largeſt cocoa-trees that ſtood not in their way; that by theſe rumours the rage of the populace had been raiſed to that pitch that they had much ado to appeaſe them, they being for the cutting down not only of all the trees, but alſo for the pulling down of the whole palace of count *Maurice*; all which they deſired to be regiſtered in the publick records, to ſerve them for a legal defence in due time and place.

In the mean time our admiral *Lichthart* being gone out in purſuit of the *Portugueſe* fleet, met with them in the bay of *Tamandare*, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips, three ſmaller veſſels, and four barks, the reſt being ſent loaden with ſugar to *Portugal*. He was not as yet joined by all the ſhips from the *Receif*; but being reſolved not to let ſlip this opportunity of attacking the enemy, ſent the 7th of *September* advice to the great council, that being come in ſight of the enemies fleet near the bay of *Tamandare*, conſiſting in all of eleven veſſels, he was reſolved to attack them there, deſiring them to ſend as many ſhips as poſſible they could immediately. Hereupon it was reſolved to join the two ſhips the *Deventer* and *Elias*, with the *Unicorn* and *Leyden*, then lying ready in the road and bound for *Holland*, and ſuch tenders as were at hand, and to ſend them forthwith to the admiral *Lichthart*. Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, the whole next following night was ſpent in manning the ſaid ſhips, but were the next morning detained for ſome time by the contrary winds.

The ſame day orders were given to all the ſoldiers and inhabitants of the iſle called *Antonio Vaez*, to provide themſelves with baſkets filled with earth; and palliſadoes were planted from the point of the *Receif* next to the river, to the utmoſt point near the ſea-ſide, and five great guns were planted upon a certain wreck, from whence they could command the ſea-ſhore as far as to the fort of five baſtions.

1643. *The* Dutch *fight and worſt the* Portugueſe *fleet.*

The 8th of *September*, the *Dutch* admiral having ordered the red flag to be put up, boarded the *Portugueſe* admiral carrying ſixty guns and three hundred men: He behaved himſelf very valiantly, having poſted himſelf at the entrance of his cabin with a flaming ſword in his hand, wherewith he killed three or four, but having received ſeveral wounds, was at laſt forced to yield. The reſt of the ſhips following the example of their admiral, had likewiſe boarded the *Portugueſe* ſhips; but theſe ſeeing the flag taken down from the admiral (a diſmal ſignal of her misfortune) they loſt all hopes, and threw themſelves headlong into the ſea, to eſcape the fury of the fire and ſword; whither being purſued by the *Dutch* in their boats, many periſhed before they could reach the ſhore. Above ſeven hundred *Portugueſe* were killed in this action, beſides a great number of priſoners, among whom was the admiral himſelf: Three ſhips were taken and ſent to the *Receif*, the reſt were ſet on fire, being not in a condition to be carried off, becauſe they had cut their cables and were run aſhore, where the *Portugueſe* had planted ſome cannon upon batteries, which ſo annoyed our people, that fearing they might run aground within the reach of the enemies cannon, they ſet fire to them, and with much ado got their ſhips clear from among the ſhelves. After this engagement I returned to the *Receif* to take care of my affairs there, and the admiral ſent an expreſs in a fiſher-boat, with the following letter to the council of the *Dutch Braſil*.

A letter from the Dutch *admiral to the council.*

NO *ſooner were the ſhips* Leyden, *the yacht and the* Doe, *arrived laſt night, near the point of* Tamandare, *but purſuant to the reſult of the council of war, it was reſolved to enter the next morning within the bar, which was performed in the following order: Firſt the ſhip* Utrecht *admiral, ſecond the* Ter Veere, *third the* Zelandia, fourth the *Overyſſel*, fifth the *Zoutlandia, followed by the* Doe *and* Leyden, *and the yacht, the* Unicorn, *the tenders being ordered to be at hand as occaſion ſhould require. Being come within the bar, we found the enemy ſeven ſail ſtrong, beſides three ſmall veſſels and four barks; and that they had planted ſeveral pieces of cannon upon two batteries on the ſea ſhore. We received a very warm ſalute both from their ſhips and batteries, and ſeveral vollies of ſmall ſhot; notwithſtanding which, the ſhip the* Utrecht *couragiouſly laid the* Portugueſe *admiral on board*

1643. *board, after a ſhort but ſharp diſpute took the ſhip and the admiral's flag: To be ſhort, the reſt of our ſhips behaved themſelves ſo well, that ſoon after they forced the* Portugueſe *to quit their ſhips; God be praiſed for this victory.* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva *the* Portugueſe *admiral is our priſoner, and at preſent in my ſhip, being ſorely wounded, whom I intend to deliver up to your lordſhips ſo ſoon as I ſhall come to the* Receif; *in the mean while, I intend to ſend back the* Leyden *and the* Unicorn *to morrow morning, according to your lordſhips directions. And foraſmuch as there is likely to be no more action hereabouts, the enemy having ſtrengthened themſelves near the ſea-ſhore, I will with the firſt opportunity return to the* Receif, *where I hope to give in perſon a more ample account of the whole action; I recommend your lordſhips to God's protection. In haſte,*

From the ſhip the Utrecht, *within the bay of* Tamandare, September 9, 1645.

Your lordſhips ſervant,

Cornelius Lichthart.

The *Portugueſe* admiral *Sarrao de Paiva* in his letter dated the 18th of *September*, gave the following account of his engagement to the two colonels *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal Negreiros.*

The Portugueſe *admiral's letter to* Andrew Vidal.

IT being the general diſcourſe here in the Receif, *which is likewiſe come to my ears, that it is reported by you there, how the* Dutch *admiral* John Cornelius Lichthart, *did before the beginning of the laſt engagement enter the bay with a white flag, thus ſurprizing our people, killed many of them in cool blood. I thought myſelf obliged to acquaint you, that indeed two days before the ſaid engagement, a yacht and a bark with white flags, appeared at the entrance of the bay, at which one of our ſmall veſſels and a bark ſhot three cannon ſhot. But that day when the admiral entred the ſaid bay, he had put up both the* Dutch *and red flags. Neither is it true what had been ſaid of their killing our men in cool blood, there being not one man ſlain aboard my ſhip, but during the heat of the engagement, five or ſix that had hid themſelves below deck having received quarter, and a ſoldier ſorely wounded ordered immediately to be looked after with all care imaginable. Neither was there a ſtroke given after the yielding of the ſhip, but every body treated and provided for according to his quality and preſent neceſſity. The reaſon why ſo few had quarter given them was, becauſe moſt leapt over-board, the ſea men firſt, and then the ſoldiers; I being not able with ſword in hand to keep them from chuſing rather to periſh in the ſea than to ſtand it out aboard the ſhip. Two or three perſons of note ſeeing me ſorely wounded, freely gave me quarter, without knowing either my perſon, or being aſked it by me; a convincing argument that they would not have refuſed the ſame to all the reſt that would have begged quarter. I muſt confeſs myſelf ſo much obliged to the humanity and generoſity of the admiral, that it is not to be expreſt in writing. Beſides that it is unqueſtionable that we firſt ſhot at them, both from our ſhips and batteries near the ſea-ſhore. I have given you a true account of the whole matter, of which as I have been an eye witneſs myſelf, ſo I don't queſtion you will give an entire credit to what I have written to you on this account. God protect you for many years.* 1643.

Receif, Sept. 18, 1645. *Jeronymo Sarrao da Paiva.*

Andrew Vidal ſent a Letter in anſwer to this by one of our drummers (ſent to the enemy upon ſome errand) dated the 20th of *September* as follows:

His anſwer to the admiral's letter.

WE are ſufficiently ſatisfied by your lordſhips letter, that inſtead of being entertained according to your merits, you receive the ſame ill treatment with the reſt of our countreymen; though conſidering that your caſe is different from the reſt, you ought to have been treated in another manner, your lordſhip being come without the leaſt intention of waging war againſt them (which they ought to have made due reflection upon) but only as you were going to convoy ſome ſhips homeward, did at their own requeſt, land our forces in that captainſhip; conſidering the ill uſage and tyrannies our ſubjects have received at their hands, we are afraid we cannot promiſe your lordſhip a much better entertainment; of all which murders committed in cool blood, we have taken ſo circumſtantial an account, that we are ſure we ſhall be able to juſtify our cauſe and ourſelves, both to the ſtates of the United Netherlands *and the reſt of our allies; for we have fiſhed up many of our* Portugueſe *with bullets and ſtones tied to their legs and necks, ſome had the good fortune to be ſaved as they were ſwimming aſhore, but many were burnt alive in the wrecks of the ſhips, the intention of theſe gentlemen being without queſtion*

1645. *queſtion, by making ſo general a ſlaughter among their fellow chriſtians, to cut off from us all hopes of returning home: of all which they will be obliged to give one day a ſevere account, both to God almighty and thoſe who ſhall require ſatisfaction for it at their hands, it being our conſtant opinion, that they never will be able to juſtify their cruelties, and the miſchief done to our people, either before God or the king our maſter. We hope your lordſhip will reſt ſatisfied in this preſent condition, and put your truſt in God and our king, who are ſtill alive to demand a ſevere ſatisfaction from them. God protect your lordſhip.*

From our quarters at St. John *in the* Vergea, Sept. 29, 1645.
ſigned
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

A certain lieutenant belonging to the enemy, called *Franciſco Guomes*, came along with the ſame drummer, with a letter from the ſaid *Andrew Vidal* directed to the great council, the contents of which were as follows.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros's *letter to the great council.*

I *Received your lordſhips letter at* Iguaracu, *wherein you ſeem to be extremely diſguſted at the killing of ſome* Braſilians, *with their wives, by our ſoldiers; under pretence that the abſolute command over them belongs only to you, which I cannot but be much ſurprized at, when I conſider that your lordſhips in your proclamation, wherein you command not to give quarter to any* Portugueſe *inhabitants (though natural ſubjects of the king my maſter) you alledge among other reaſons, becauſe they had received their birth and education in this captainſhip (which however was firſt conquered by the* Portugueſe *kings at the expence of many of their ſubjects) whereas now you would impoſe this hardſhip upon the ſame inhabitants, to give quarter to thoſe* Braſilians, *who not long ago have been maintained and inſtructed in the catholick faith, as being their vaſſals, and conſequently not yours, but the king my maſter's ſubjects. Your lordſhips ought to remember, that you are not in poſſeſſion of this countrey by right of ſucceſſion, or any other legal pretenſion, but baſely by force of arms. We deſire your lordſhips to take effectual meaſures concerning the methods to be obſerved in the carrying on of this war, which we hope will be managed ſo by your prudence, as that quarter may be allowed to the inhabitants of our nation; if not, I ſhall be obliged to act as I find it moſt conſiſtent with my honour, to take ſatisfaction for theſe injuries. We deſire alſo to put a ſtop to the murdering of the women, children, and ancient people, in cool blood, as has been done lately at* Tihicupapo, Rio Grande *and* Parayba. *God protect your lordſhips.* 1645.

From our quarters at St. John, September 29, 1645.
ſigned,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The great council returned with the conſent of the members of the court of juſtice, and colonel *Garſman*, an immediate anſwer to the ſaid letter, wherewith they ſent the ſaid lieutenant in company of the drummer, back the ſame evening.

An account of their proceeding ſince their landing.

But we muſt look back to their proceedings: After *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros* and *Martin Soares Moreno* had landed their men, to the number of eighteen hundred or two thouſand, the 28th of *July* 1645, with good ſtore of arms and ammunition, near *Tamandare*, betwixt *Olna* and *Formoſa*, they were ſoon after joined, not only by four companies which had taken their way by land from the *Bahia*, but alſo by the troops under the command of *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias*, who had hitherto kept *Porto Calvo* blocked up by their forces. From thence they directed their march to the city of *Serinhaim*, and laid ſiege to the fort in which there was only a garriſon of eighty *Dutch* ſoldiers and ſixty *Braſilians*, commanded by *Samuel Lambert* and *Coſmo de Moucheron*. Two days after their arrival near *Serinhaim*, the enemy poſted themſelves in the *d'Ingenio* of *Daniel Hohn*; about which time *Henry Dias* was ſeen in *Serinhaim*, notwithſtanding the *Portugueſe* commanders *Andrew Vidal* and *Moreno* diſowned to have any correſpondence with them at that time: The ſaid commanders had alſo ſent the captain major *Paulo de Kunha* before to ſummon the ſaid fort, which he did accordingly by his letter dated the 2d of *Auguſt* at the ſugar-mill of *James Peres*, and directed to *Samuel Lambert.*

The ſummons ſent to the fort of Serinhaim.

I *Am come to this ſugar-mill by ſpecial orders from* Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros *our governors, they being very buſy at preſent in landing their men; they have ſent me before to prevent all miſchief that otherwiſe might happen betwixt you and us; and if in the mean while you will join your forces with ours, or retire with them to ſome other place, you may ſafely do it, I being ready to furniſh you with paſſes for that purpoſe, the before-mentioned governours being*

1645. *being come with an intention to put a ſtop to the preſent inſurrection. God protect you.*

From the ſugar-mill in St. Antonio, Auguſt 2, 1645.

Paulo de Kunha.

Two days after the before-mentioned commanders in chief ſent another letter to *Samuel Lambert*, very little different from this.

A ſecond ſummons from the Portugueſe *commanders.*

WE ſuppoſe you not to be acquainted with the intention of our coming, which makes us to be the leſs ſurprized at your ſtanding upon your defence. The great council of the Dutch Braſil *have ſent an embaſſy to our governor general by ſea and land,* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *to deſire his excellency to make uſe of his authority and forces to appeaſe the inſurrection in this captainſhip, which requeſt being readily granted, in order to be ſerviceable to the council, and to free the* Portugueſe *from the outrages they ſuffered in their houſes and families, we were ſent to land our forces near theſe ſugar-mills of* Rio Formoſa; *which having been done accordingly, and ready to march further into the countrey, we thought fit to acquaint you with our intentions, which in all probability may have reacht your ears, the ſame having been publiſhed in ſeveral places by our proclamations, of which we ſend you one, deſiring it may be affixed on the church of* Serinhaim. *We deſire you therefore to lay by your arms to remove all ſuſpicion; not queſtioning but that we ſhall meet with a favourable reception on your ſide, as we on the other hand ſhall make it our main endeavours to reſtore tranquillity among the revolted* Portugueſe *by all gentle means that poſſibly may be uſed; aſſuring you at the ſame time, that in caſe you refuſe to concur with us in this deſign, you will cauſe no ſmall diſpleaſure to the great council of the* Dutch Braſil. *God protect you.*

From the ſugar-mill of Formoſa, Auguſt 4, 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The next following day *Paulo de Kunha* came in perſon before the place with a body of ſoldiers and boors, provided with arms from on board the fleet, and after having inveſted the place, cut off the water of the fountains and rivers from the beſieged. In the mean while *Rowland Carpenter* and *Daniel Hohn* had been ſent away with paſſes by the commanders of the *Portugueſe* forces, who embarked their heavy cannon on board *Carpenter*'s veſſel, in order to carry it up the river *Formoſa*. Within five days of the arrival of *Paulo da Kunha*, the whole force of the enemy appeared in ſight of *Serinhaim* in battle array, and cloſely blockt up the fort. The *Dutch* garriſon was inconſiderable in proportion of the enemies ſtrength, who had ſo well guarded all the avenues leading to the place, that they were ſoon reduced to want all manner of neceſſaries, eſpecially water. Beſides this, many of the circumjacent inhabitants and volunteers went daily over to the enemy, who gave them an account of the condition of the fort; and notwithſtanding they had ſent ſeveral meſſengers to the *Receif*, they had heard nothing from the council for two months laſt paſt; ſo that being without all hopes of maintaining their poſt, they judged it more for the intereſt of the company to preſerve the garriſon, which might be ſerviceable in other places, where there was ſufficient want of good ſoldiers, than raſhly to expoſe themſelves to the fury of the enemies ſword: Accordingly *Samuel Lambert*, *Coſmo de Moucheron*, and *La Montagny*, who commanded in the fort, upon the ſecond ſummons made by the enemy, entred the 6th of *Auguſt* into a capitulation with the *Portugueſe*, of which *Moucheron* gave an account in perſon the 15th of *Auguſt* to the council, and delivered it the 20th of *Auguſt* to them in writing.

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The fort of Serinhaim *blocked up by, and ſurrendred to the* Portugueſe.

"WE the *Portugueſe* commanders make "known to every body that we "were ſent into this countrey at the re- "queſt of the great council of the *Dutch* "*Braſil*, to appeaſe the revolt and trou- "bles ariſen among the *Portugueſe* inhabi- "tants. But at our landing here, being "informed that notwithſtanding this re- "queſt and our good intention, the *Dutch* "had murdered many *Portugueſe* in cool "blood (it being evident that they had "cut to pieces ſeveral *Portugueſe*, who "were inticed into a church for that pur- "poſe) and that they had formed a camp "to oppoſe us, which ought to be a cau- "tion to us, not to leave any ſtrong holds "behind us, whilſt we are marching to- "wards the *Receif*, we have thought it "neceſſary to enter into this capitulation, "till ſuch time that we may have the oppor- "tunity of concerting new meaſures with "the great council, of which the articles "are as follows:

I. The commanders *Samuel Lambert* and *Coſmo de Moucheron* ſhall have leave to march out of the fort and caſtle, with the garriſon, with enſigns diſplayed, all their arms, matches burning, *&c.*

II. They

1645. II. They ſhall be permitted to march along the road with their enſigns, and ſwords drawn, and ſhall be ſafely conducted by one or more captains, who alſo ſhall be obliged to provide them carriages and boats, for the tranſportation of their perſons and goods to the *Receif*.

III. The *Portugueſe* oblige themſelves to reſtore to *Moucheron* all what has been taken from him, and belonged to him before the ſiege.

IV. They alſo oblige themſelves to engage the inhabitants of the city as well as thoſe of *Kamara*, to paſs by all paſt injuries either by word or deed; and that ſuch of the *Dutch* as are willing to continue there, ſhall be maintained in their poſſeſſions in the ſame manner as the *Portugueſe* are; and ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges, and their own religion, provided they do not preach in publick, and pay due reverence to conſecrated places. They ſhall be at liberty to traffick with the *Portugueſe*, and call in their debts as before, neither ſhall they be obliged to take up arms againſt the ſtates of the *United Provinces*.

V. The *Dutch* officers ſhall reſtore to the *Portugueſe* all their *Braſilians*, with their wives and children, as being ſubjects of king *John* IV. whom God preſerve; and what relates to their reception and entertainment, is to be left to the diſcretion of the chief commanders of the *Portugueſe*.

Upon theſe conditions they ſhall be obliged to ſurrender the fort, with every thing thereunto belonging, this afternoon, but are permitted to provide themſelves with neceſſaries for their journey, which they ſhall have liberty to perform at their own leiſure.

ſigned,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros,
Alvaro Fregoſa d'Albuquerque,
Diogno de Silveira,
Lopes Laurenzo,
Fereiro Betenkor,
Suppolito Abuko de Verkoſa,
and
Sebaſtian de Guimares.

Immediately after the ſurrender of the fort, *Moucheron* entred into a long diſcourſe with the *Portugueſe* commanders, about their proceeding, which he told them were far different from what the governor pretended in his letters, to wit, the appeaſing of the revolt of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, according to the requeſt of the *great council*. They anſwered him with tergiverſations, telling him that they would be very careful not to act contrary to the peace eſtabliſh'd betwixt the king his maſter and the ſtates general. But it was not long before they began to lord it over the country, by taking ſuch as were in the leaſt ſuſpected to them into cuſtody, and taking an account of thoſe of the *Dutch* that had married *Portugueſe* women; nay they erected a court of Juſtice of their own, and forced *Moucheron* to ſell his ſlaves for the fourth part of what they were worth. They had ſo little regard to the late articles, that they cauſed thirty *Braſilians*, part of that garriſon, to be tied to the Paliſadoes, where they were ſtrangled; the *Portugueſe* alledged in their behalf, that they had ſuffered death for certain crimes they had confeſſed themſelves, tho' it is more probable they were made ſacrifices to the diſcontented *Portugueſe* inhabitants, that had made heavy complaints at the *Braſilians*. However, about thirty of them were ſpared, and beſtowed upon the officers to carry their baggage, and their wives given to the inhabitants. The *Portugueſe* made *Alvaro Fregoſo d'Albuquerque* governor of the city and fort, and made one *Francis de la Tour*, a *French* deſerter, captain over forty deſerters, who had taken ſervice among them.

Evaſions of the Portugueſe.

1645.

The Portegueſe *play the Maſter.*

They alſo raiſed three companies out of the *Portugueſe* boors, or inhabitants, commanded by *Pedro Fregoſo*, *Ignatius Ferrere* and *Immanuel de Mello*, which were put into *Serinhaim* for the defence of that place, where they alſo cauſed two *Jews* to be baptized, called *Jacquo Franco* and *Iſaac Navare*. Moſt of the *Dutch* who had any poſſeſſions or ſugar-mills thereabouts had ſafe-guards allow'd them, ſo that none, except two, who came to the *Receif*, left that captainſhip, of which they had ſufficient reaſon to repent afterwards, being very ill treated by the *Portugueſe*, as ſhall be ſhewn more at large hereafter.

The 15th of *Auguſt* in the afternoon, the garriſon of *Serinhaim*, conſiſting of thirty two men (the reſt having ſtaid behind) arrived in a bark at the *Receif*; and their commander in chief appear'd the ſame day before the council, where he gave an account of the reaſons that moved him to ſurrender the place, notwithſtanding which he was ordered to be examined by a court-marſhal, to anſwer the ſame: The enſign who had conducted the garriſon to the *Receif*, delivered the ſame day a letter to the ſaid council, from *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal*, dated the 8th of *Auguſt*, intimating that they were come into the *Dutch-Braſil*, by ſpecial command from the governor of the *Bahia*, and exaſperating

1645. ting the outrages, they ſaid were committed by the *Hollanders* againſt the *Portugueſe*. This letter had another encloſed from the ſaid governor, dated the 30th of *July*, with a proclamation, to be publiſh'd in the captainſhip of *Pernambuko*, whereby all the inhabitants were ſummon'd to appear peremptorily before them, within the ſpace of eight days, to receive their directions for reſtoring tranquility among them. The letter from *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal* was as follows.

A Letter from the Portugueſe *Commanders to the council.*

WHEN your lordſhips found your ſelves entangled by a dangerous conſpiracy among the Portugueſe *inhabitants of this captainſhip, you made your applications to* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *governor general of* Braſil, *deſiring him to make uſe of the moſt effectual means he could to appeaſe this rebellion. About the ſame time the inhabitants of this countrey by one unanimous voice implored his aid and protection againſt thoſe many affronts, plunderings, murthers and raviſhments of women they groaned under; being reſolved with joint conſent to arm themſelves with ſticks (the uſe of arms being taken away from them by their tyrannical governors) againſt thoſe oppreſſions, and to defend their honour to the laſt gaſp; not queſtioning but that God Almighty would take vengeance for the blood of ſo many innocent people. They repreſented to his excellency, that he was obliged by his ſtation to aſſiſt them in this extremity, as they were his countrymen; but, if that ſhould not be prevailing enough, reaſons of ſtate would induce him, not to force them to deſpair by denying them his aid; which if he did, it ſhould be at the peril of his head, and that he muſt give a ſevere account of it before God Almighty, and others, if they ſhould be conſtrained to beg that from a foreign power, which they could not obtain from their countrymen. The governor having taken all theſe preſſing reaſons into mature conſideration, and in reſpect both of your lordſhips requeſt, and the heavy complaints of the* Portugueſe, *made it his chief care to find out the moſt effectual means (which your lordſhips ſeem'd to leave to his diſcretion) to appeaſe this revolt. Being ſenſible that the revolt of the* Portugueſe *inhabitants had taken deep root among them, and was likely to prove more univerſal againſt your government, he judged it moſt expedient, to ſend hither certain perſons with ſuch forces as he thought might either by their prudence, and, if that fail'd, by force of arms, reſtore the ſo much deſired tranquility. It is upon this account, my lords, we are come to this place, in order to employ all our force and aſſiſtance, according to your requeſt, purſuant to the peace eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe two nations, in regard of which we value not the expences we have been put to upon this occaſion. But we ſcarce had ſet foot aſhore, when our ears and hearts were ſtruck with the doleful outcries of forty innocent catholick* Portugueſe, *murthered in the church of* Rio Formoſo, *whither they were enticed for that purpoſe, by thoſe that were in your ſervice, without the leaſt reſpect of age or ſex, the very babes being by the natives barbarouſly murthered, as they were lying on their mothers breaſts. Neither have the ſighs and groans of many noble maids eſcaped our ears, that were raviſh'd in the* Vergea *and* St. Lawrence, *by the* Braſilians, *not to mention here what barbarities have been committed in* Pojuka, *where is the ſight of many a hermit and innocent babe who were ſlaughter'd in a cave. Neither have they abſtained from holy and conſecrated places; they have cut to pieces the images of the ſaints, and ſtripp'd the queen of heaven, the virgin* Mary, *our bleſſed lady, of all her apparel; things ſo enormous, and never heard of before, enough to create horror and aſtoniſhment in a generous heart. And notwithſtanding your lordſhips had deſired the governor general to interpoſe his authority, you did form a camp, which continues in the field to this day; and we being obliged by our orders to come to you upon the* Receif, *we judged it not convenient to leave any armed power behind us, which in time might prove the occaſion of great inconveniences to us; we ſhall endeavour to ſhew all due reſpect and kindneſs to your ſubjects, and carry the garriſon of* Serinhaim *along with us, 'till matters may be concerted betwixt your lordſhip and us, for the ſervice of god and the ſtate. In the mean while, we moſt earneſtly deſire a ſtop may be put to the outrages committed by your ſoldiers hitherto, to avoid all occaſion of a rupture on your ſide; we proteſt on the other hand, in the name of God and* John IV. *the king our maſter, whom God preſerve, as alſo in the name of the ſtates general, whoſe power God encreaſe, that we deſire nothing ſo much, as the continuation of the late eſtabliſhed peace, which ſhall be the guide of all our actions; of which we have brought along with us an authentick copy, to ſerve us as a ſufficient juſtification by all the princes of* Europe. *And that your lordſhips may be ſatisfied in the reality of it, we have ſent you encloſed a copy of the proclamation publiſhed by us, at our landing in in this captainſhip.*

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God preſerve your lordſhips.

Serinhaim, Aug. 8, 1645. Martin Soares Moreno, Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The before-mentioned proclamation runs thus:

Their

1645.

Their PROCLAMATION.

WE *the commanders in chief of the* Portugueſe *forces*, Martin Soares Moreno, *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, *make known to all perſons and inhabitants of the captainſhip of* Pernambuko; *that the* great council *of the* Dutch-Braſil, *having by a letter ſent to the governor and captain general of* Braſil, *given advice of the revolt ariſen among the* Portugueſe *of this place; deſiring to endeavour the appeaſing of this rebellion by his aſſiſtance; for which purpoſe the ſaid governor now having ſent us with a ſufficent force into this captainſhip, we command all the* Portugueſe, *of what condition and quality ſoever, to appear peremptorily within eight days after the publication of theſe preſents before us, in order to reſtore tranquility among them, purſuant to the requeſt of the lords of the council of the* Dutch-Braſil. *We alſo hereby intreat the ſaid lords, in the moſt friendly manner that can be, purſuant to the tenour of the ſtrict alliance there is betwixt both theſe nations, to ſtop the further perſecution of the* Portugueſe, *or any other warlike executions; and that if any of their ſoldiers preſume to act contrary to it, they may, upon complaint made thereof to them, be ſeverely puniſhed.*

I Alexes Antunes *have penned this proclamation, and I* Franco Bravo Deſembarquador *have approv'd it.*

Martin Soares Moreno,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The great council reſolved to give a ſhort anſwer to the ſaid letter, and to refute the proclamation by another; and conſidering, that the origin and cauſe of all thoſe troubles and miſdeameanours were laid at the door of the council, they ordered the two councellors of the court of juſtice *De Witt* and *Moucheron*, in conjunction with Mr. *Walbeek* aſſeſſor in the ſame court, to anſwer the ſame, and thereby to repreſent to the council of nineteen in *Holland*, that they were occaſioned by the rebels and their adherents.

In the month of *Auguſt* the troops lately come from the *Bahia* marched from *Serinhaim* to *Pojuka*, and ſo to the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, where being join'd by the forces under the command of *Kamaron* and *Dias*, and the inhabitants, they reſolved (after our men had quitted *Pojuka* and the city *St. Antonio de Cabo*) to attack the fort *Vander Duſſen* on the *Cape of St. Auſtin* from the land ſide; purſuant to which reſolution they poſted their troops all along both ſides the river.

The Portugueſe *beſiege the* Cape of St. Auſtin.

The council in the mean while being forewarned of the enemies deſign, had ordered the 2d of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Adrian Bulleſtrate*, one of their own members, and admiral *Lichthart*, to go thither with all ſpeed, and to take effectual care that nothing might be wanting for the defence of the place. They were for that end to take a full view of the fort *Vander Duſſen* and all its outworks, and to conſider whether the redoubt upon the hill call'd *Nazareth*, and the battery at the entrance of the harbour might be repaired for the better defence of the fort. Accordingly Mr. *Bulleſtrate* and admiral *Lichthart* left the *Receif* the 5th of *Auguſt*, and arrived the ſame evening in the fort *Vander Duſſen*, where having executed their commiſſion, Mr. *Bulleſtrate* returned the 9th of *Auguſt* to the *Receif*, where he gave the following account to the council.

Mr. Bulleſtrate *and admiral* Lichthart *ſent to the* Cape of St. Auſtin.

That he left the *Receif* the 5th of *Auguſt*, in the morning about nine a clock, and came the ſame evening to the fort *Vander Duſſen* on the *Cape of St. Auſtin.*

That the 6th of *Auguſt*, after forenoon ſermon was ended he rid with the admiral, and ſome other officers, to the hill of the *Cape of St. Auſtin*; where having taken a view of the harbour, he found the ſtone-redoubt in a condition to be repaired, without any great charge, the cannon upon the batteries nail'd up, but the works towards the ſeaſide in pretty good order.

An account of their tranſactions.

That he had ordered a draught to be made, to ſurround the redoubt with palliſadoes, to raiſe a battery within it, to build a guard-houſe, and to widen the ditches: He alſo had ordered a ſtone breaſt-work, (for want of wood) to be made on the backſide of the battery, with a row of Palliſadoes, and a guard-houſe; and that with the firſt fair weather, they ſhould ſet on fire all the buſhes and brambles on the ſaid hill, and clear the ground round about the church *Nazareth.*

Upon view of the fort *Vander Duſſen*, he had commanded the major *Hoogſtrate* with all poſſible ſpeed to put it in a good poſture of defence, the admiral having already taken care to have it ſurrounded with palliſadoes. That on the 7th of *Auguſt*, having paid off the garriſon, and thoſe belonging to the artillery, he paſſed through very difficult ways to *St. Antonio*, where he likewiſe paid off the ſoldiery, viſited the retrenchment, and put every thing in the beſt order he could.

That he had bargained with certain perſons to repair the ſaid redoubt on the hill called *Nazareth*, and the ſtone breaſt-work, the building of two guardhouſes, and ſurrounding both the works with palliſadoes

1643. liſadoes, according to his draught, for nine hundred gilders, the whole to be compleated within three weeks time. Here it was he had the firſt notice of the landing of ſome forces from the *Bahia*, near *Rio Formoſa*, by the ſame fleet which the week before was ſeen off of the *Receif:* But not being able to get any ſure intelligence, he had ſent a meſſenger to lieutenant *Montangie*, then commander in *Serinhaim*, to give him a true account of the matter, and in what condition he and his garriſon were at that time; encouraging him by fair promiſes, all communication by land being already cut off betwixt them. Here he alſo liſted thirty eight volunteers that offered their ſervice.

That the 8th of *Auguſt* he left the ſaid place, and notwithſtanding the badneſs of the weather, rid croſs the hills of *Hegendos* to the ſea-ſhore, where meeting with the admiral, they went together up the river *Sangado* with the tide, as far as *Calandaria*, where they ſtaid for ſome time, and received the news, that in the laſt encounter betwixt colonel *Haus* and the rebels near that hill, above two hundred of the laſt, among whom were ſome officers, were ſlain, and about forty or fifty on our ſide. One *Melchior Alvares* came on purpoſe to tell them, that about three hundred of the revolted inhabitants were inclined to accept of a pardon, which he referred to the council.

That being ready to take horſe in order to his return to the *Receif*, a certain ſoldier of our troops, that had been left behind, complained that he had been ſtripp'd ſtark naked by the ſervants of the ferryman of the river *Sangada*, who had wounded and beat him miſerably. *Melchior Alvares* was ordered to take care of his wounds, and captain *Piſtor* to go with twenty of his men in queſt of theſe villains; who, coming to the ferry, beſet the houſe, took the ferryman and his three ſons priſoners, but the *Mulat*, who had committed the fact, eſcaped their hands.

That he purſued his journey on horſeback towards the *Receif*, notwithſtanding the violent rains, and not without great danger paſs'd the river the ſame night near the fort *Æmilia*.

That on the 9th of *Auguſt*, he was advertiſed by ſome negroes belonging to *Moſes Navarre*, whom he had ſent with letters to *d'Ingenio Surſacque*, that an ambuſh had been laid for them near *Candelaria*, but the enemy durſt not attack them, their negroes being all ſuch as were taken priſoners, and afterwards made their eſcape to us.

Major *Hoogſtrate* ſent advice by his letters on the 13th of *Auguſt*, to the council, that the garriſon and volunteers of *St. Antonio* being ſafely arrived on the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, they were now about two hundred and eighty ſtrong, *viz.* two hundred and ſeventeen ſoldiers and gunners, and ſixty three volunteers. That immediately after our garriſon had left *St. Antonio*, *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* had poſted themſelves with their troops in the ſugar-mill *Algodais*, near that place, where they expected to be join'd by *Martin Soares* and *Andrew Vidal*'s forces, ſafely arrived from the *Bahia*. That he expected every day to be beſieged, and fear'd nothing ſo much as want of freſh water, the ſpring being cut off by the enemy. Hereupon immediate orders were given by the council to ſend thither thirty barrels of water, ſome ammunition and proviſion, and what elſe ſhould be requiſite for a vigorous defence of the place, which was ſufficiently provided before with ſoldiers. The next following day they received intelligence from Major *Hoogſtrate*, Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Heck*, that the enemies troops had taken poſt in the ſugar-mill *Salgado Zuviſiaque* and other circumjacent places. The council rely'd much upon the bravery and fidelity of the offices within the fort, from whom they promiſed themſelves a very vigorous defence, they being all perſons who had advanced themſelves in their ſervices, and were in expectation of better preferments, *viz.* Major *Hoogſtrate*, *Caſpar Vander Ley*, formerly a captain of horſe, *John Hick*, and *Albert Gerritſon Wedda*, an old captain belonging to the company: But their unfaithfulneſs and covetous temper over-balanced all theſe conſiderations; for the ſaid major *Hoogſtrate*, commander in chief, with the conſent of *Caſper Vander Ley*, and *Albert Gerritſon Wedda*, treacherouſly and villanouſly ſold and ſurrendred the ſaid fort to the *Portugueſe* the 23d of *Auguſt* for the ſum of eighteen thouſand gilders, beſides ſome other rewards promiſed them upon that account. They went over with the whole garriſon to the enemy, who made *Hoogſtrate* colonel of a *Dutch* regiment, raiſed out of theſe and other ſoldiers of ſeveral nations, that had deſerted our ſervice. Thus this ſtrong hold was betray'd to the *Portugueſe*, by a perſon who owed his whole fortune to our company.

1645. *Advice from the Cape of St. Auſtin.*

Martin Soares Moreno gave the following account of the ſurrender of this fort to the governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, in his letter dated from the hill of *Nazareth*, *Aug.* 26, 1645.

1645. *A letter to the governor of the* Bahia, *concerning the taking of the* Cape of Puntael.

SUnday the 23d of this month, God Almighty, through his mercy, has put us into the poſſeſſion of the fort of the cape of Puntael, *which was beſieged by* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros: *The next day we were rejoyced with the money ſent to us by your lordſhip, and the wine preſented to me in particular, part of which I have beſtowed upon entertaining ſome of our friends, who are merry with me at this time.*

We have made an excellent bargain; for beſides the importance of the place, and its artillery, we have got the very flower of their ſoldiers; beſides that, this will be like a ſignal to the reſt to follow their footſteps.

John Fernand Vieira *has raiſed on ſaturday laſt the ſum of four thouſand ducats for our uſe, though not without force, but it was very welcome to us at this time, when we were upon ſtriking up the bargain for the better fortifying of this place, the harbour of which is not inferiour to that of the* Receif: *But I will not trouble your lordſhip any longer with this point.*

Not long after the ſurrender of the fort, a bark appeared in ſight, ſent to its relief from the Receif. *We ſent captain* Barreiros *with a well arm'd bark out againſt her, who took her with thirty five men, and good ſtore of gunpowder and bullets, all which will prove very ſerviceable to us.*

I kindly deſire your lordſhip, that in caſe you ſend a meſſenger with this news to his majeſty, captain Damian de Lankois *may be employed upon that errand, it being very probable, that the king, beſides a good preſent, will reward him with ſome honourable employment.*

Laſt night we received advice, that the fleet under Jeronymo de Paiva *was entred the bay of* Tamandare; *I am ſorely afraid they will be attack'd by the ſhips ſent thither from the* Receif, *notwithſtanding we have deſired him ſeveral times to come into our road.*

Kapivara *is gone from that place by land to the* Bahia, *perhaps he has given him notice that we are maſters of the cape; if he thinks fit to bring his fleet to this place, he is ſafe, if not, it lies at his door. 'Tis diſcourſed here, that the ſhip the* Biſhop *is miſſing, perhaps he has a fancy to convoy* Salvador Korrea *ſome part of the way.*

I cannot forbear to let your lordſhip know how much you ſtand indebted to major Dieterick Hoogſtrate, *and the reſt of the commanders of the fort. We have promiſed to the firſt a commandery of Chriſt. I beg of your lordſhip to make my promiſe good to him in his majeſty's name, as ſoon as poſſible may be, he being a perſon who will be ready to do us all the further ſervice he can. We have for the preſent engaged him with ſome preſents of leſs moment, of which we ſhall give an account to you hereafter. Captain* Vander Ley *has likewiſe deſerved well of us, and ſo have all the reſt that had married* Portugueſe *women: It is reported here that he is a perſon of note in his country: We have likewiſe promiſed to him a commandery of Chriſt, and a yearly penſion for one of his ſons: We hope your lordſhip will not refuſe to make good our promiſe, becauſe his ſons are born of a* Portugueſe *woman: The name of the eldeſt being* John, *and the youngeſt* Caſpar Vander Ley. *The reſt are at preſent at their habitations, as ſoon as they return we muſt engage them with ſome promiſes, of which we will give an account to your lordſhip. They are all of conſequence to us, having married* Portugueſe *women. I hope your lordſhip will be well ſatisfied with this piece of ſervice, for* John Fernand Vieira *ſometimes brings us more money in an hour, than the conqueſt of the cape coſts us. He is at preſent in the* Vargea *among the* Barbarians, *and we in the fort on the cape, till we have got every thing in readineſs.* Kapivara *is about three days ago gone by land, poſſibly he may be with you before the bark which carries this letter; I wiſh it may arrive in ſafety, and to your lordſhip a long life for the defence of this ſtate.* Signed

Martin Soares Moreno.

1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros*, had in the mean while ſent ſeven or eight letters from the cape of *St. Auſtin*, dated the 23d, 30th, and 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and the 2d and 6th of *September*, in which they advertiſed the admiral *Paiva*, that they were in poſſeſſion of that cape, deſiring him by all means to come with his fleet into that harbour. The firſt of the two laſt letters was thus written.

Letter from the Portugueſe *commanders to admiral* Paiva.

MY LORD,

WE are got now into the poſſeſſion of the harbour of Nazareth, *and that, as the ſaying is, without caſting an anchor; which is the reaſon we intreat you likewiſe to come with your fleet hither, where you may careen your ſhips, and provide yourſelves with freſh proviſions, men, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries, till ſuch time we ſhall mutually agree in what is further to be undertaken for the ſervice of God and his majeſty. The enemy has hitherto but one ſhip of ſtrength at ſea, the reſt being of no conſequence; neither are they for engaging with you at this time, but endeavour to cut off your communication with the ſea coaſt. My lord, you*

1645. *have given ſo many proofs of your courage before this time, that this retreat will not abate any thing from the fame of your victories: On the other hand, you have to conſider, that you are anſwerable for ſo many thouſand lives of thoſe that are in your fleet; wherefore we deſire you once more to come hither with the fleet, and ſuch officers as are under your command, where you will meet with a very kind and comfortable reception. But being ſenſible that it would be a groſs error in us, to urge a matter ſo evident in itſelf, any further, to ſo great a commander as you, we live in hopes of your coming, where we intend, in the houſe of* Nazareth, *to receive the bleſſed ſacrament, which name we have given to the fort, having among other things found a maſs book here, which is of no ſmall ſervice to us.*

God preſerve your lordſhip.

Puntael, *the* 2d *of* Sept. 1645. *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.*

The contents of the ſecond letter to the ſame admiral, are as follows:

YOUR lordſhip being already acquainted with our being maſters of the Puntael *(cape) we hope you will take the firſt opportunity of coming to us; the enemies having two ſquadrons of ſhips at ſea, with one fireſhip, to force you from this coaſt, which has been diſcovered to us by a letter writ at the* Receif, *and directed to the governor, and taken by us in a bark deſign'd for the relief of that place, of which we thought fit to give you immediate notice, that you might take your meaſures according to your wonted prudence. Theſe* Dutch *gentlemen have, by their treacherous dealings, obliged us to have recourſe to open force, and we deſire your lordſhip to repay them in their own coin, with fire and ſword, as they do to us. If you deſign to come hither, it muſt be done ſpeedily, all delay being dangerous at this time. We have a true copy of this letter in our journal to ſerve for our juſtification hereafter.*

God preſerve your lordſhip.

Dated in the *Puntael* of the bleſſed ſacrament, *September* the 6th, 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.*

An account of the ſurrender of the cape of *St. Auſtin*, and of the further tranſactions betwixt us and the *Portugueſe*, was ſent in a letter by *Caſpar da Coſta d'Abreu*, from the ſaid cape to his friend *Domingos da Koſta*, an inhabitant of the *Bahia*, which runs thus:

I Wiſh this letter may find you in good health, as I who am your faithful comrade deſire; I am in a tolerable good condition in the Puntael *of* Nazareth, *which after a ſiege of twenty days was ſurrendred to us at an eaſy rate, becauſe thoſe who commanded within the fort had* Portugueſe *wives, and their eſtates thereabouts. The captain of horſe was the moſt forward of all in ſurrendering the place; they have obtained what conditions they demanded, and a gratuity of four thouſand ducats beſides. We found in the fort three hundred* Dutch, *of their beſt troops, and twelve braſs pieces of cannon, four of which were four and twenty pounders, and proviſions for three months; ſo that if they had not come with us to a compoſition, it would have coſt us abundance of men, whereas now we have gain'd the place with the loſs of one ſingle man, who was kill'd by a random cannon ſhot. We made ourſelves maſters of a bark, firing from the* Puntael, *before its ſurrender, in which was a gentleman with ſeveral hundred men that were going to the* Receif. *This gentleman and another of* Serinhaim *(being both magiſtrates in their reſpective places) we delivered up to the inhabitants, who ſoon kill'd them, notwithſtanding one was married with a* Portugueſe *woman; for they having been heard to ſay, that they hoped to waſh their hands in the blood of the* Portugueſe, *the women were ſo much exaſperated againſt them, that they ſoon diſpatch'd them, according to their deſires. The priſoners are for the moſt part detained at* St. Anthony, *in order to be ſent to the* Bahia; *but many among them have taken ſervice with us. We ſuppoſe the number of the dead and* Dutch *priſoners amount to near thirteen hundred: We have not ſeen the ſquadron under* Salvador Korrea de Saa; *we are afraid ſome misfortune has befallen him; ſome of our ſhips were cruiſing hereabouts, but within theſe three or four days none of them have appear'd on this coaſt. The* Dutch *have a fleet of twelve ſhips at ſea, it is well if they don't venture a bruſh with us. The* Receif *with all its forts are inveſted,* Lawrence Karneiro *is at* Porto Calvo; *the* Jews *report, that orders are come to take all the* Dutch *forces out of* Rio Grande, Paraiba *and* St. Francis, *in order to tranſport them to the* Receif. *There is no great harmony betwixt the* Jews *and* Dutch, *the firſt pretending that the others intend to ſell the country. Four of their head officers, which are our priſoners, are ordered to be ſent to the* Bahia, *and among them their maſter of the artillery. The ſame day that we were become maſters of* Puntael, *a bark arrived there from the* Receif *with orders to keep it to the laſt extremity; we took the bark with good ſtore of ammunition and proviſion, worth in all about fifteen hundred ducats.*

1645.

Sept. *the* 5th, 1645. *Caſpar da Coſta d'Abreu.*

From

1645. From this and the following letters, it is apparent, that major *Hoogſtrate* had laid the foundation of his treacherous deſign of betraying the cape of *St. Auſtin* to the *Portugueſe*, long before; to wit, ever ſince he with Mr. *Balthaſar Vander Voorde* was ſent to the governor of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Sylva*. Thus a certain ſerjeant ſold a redoubt near the city of *Olinda* to the enemy for three hundred gilders.

At the beginning of the ſiege of the cape of *St. Auſtin*, *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros* ſent two letters to major *Hoogſtrate*, *Ley* and *Hick*, by one *John Guomes de Mello*, dated the thirteenth of *Auguſt*; in the firſt of which the ſaid *Vidal* complains of the ill treatment and murthers committed upon the *Portugueſe* by the *Dutch*; in the ſecond he requeſts them to declare, purſuant to the promiſes made by *Hoogſtrate* in the *Bahia*, for the king of *Portugal*, and to deliver the fort into their hands.

Two letters from Vidal *to* Hoogſtrate.

The firſt was as follows:

I *Am come this morning to the village of* St. Antonio de Cabo, *in hopes of receiving news from you and captain* Ley. *I give by theſe preſents notice to you, that we are ſent hither by order from the governor* Antonio Telles de Sylva, *with no other intention than to appeaſe the troubles lately ariſen in this country, purſuant to the requeſt of the council, of which you are a ſufficient witneſs. No ſooner were we arrived at* Tamandare, *but we received many informations directly contrary to what we expected to meet with here*; viz. *That in* Rio Grande *thirty ſeven inhabitants had been murthered, many virgins deflower'd, and the image of the virgin* Mary *groſly miſuſed by the* Dutch; *things ſo abominable in themſelves, that it is ſcarce to be imagined ſo brave a nation ſhould be guilty of ſuch enormities. Whilſt I am writing this letter, news is brought me, that the* Dutch *have cauſed many of the inhabitants of* Goyana *to be murthered, tho' I can ſcarce give credit to it; for ſuppoſing this to be true, we could not avoid giving aſſiſtance to theſe miſerable people, tho' they were the moſt deſpiſeable of all nations, conſidering they crave our help, and are not only chriſtians, but alſo ſubjects of the king our maſter, whom God preſerve. Whilſt the council was in expectation of the iſſues of the intended accommodation, they have ſurprized and killed many of the inhabitants, which obliges us, to require you in the name of God, of his majeſty, his highneſs and the ſtates general, not to give any occaſion for a rupture, but to maintain the late concluded peace to the utmoſt of your power, as we are ready on our ſide, to concert all poſſible meaſures with the commander in chief of this place, which may tend to the tranquillity of both parties. The bearers hereof are captain* John Guomes de Mello, *and lieutenant* Francis Guomes, *who we deſire may be diſpatched back with all poſſible ſpeed.*

1645.

God preſerve you for many years.

Auguſt 13, 1645. *Andrew Vidal.*

The ſecond letter was written thus:

The ſecond letter.

YOUR *promiſe made to us in the* Bahia, *and what has ſince been told by captain* Ley *to* John Fernandes Vieira, *and captain* John Guomes de Mello, *encourages us to proceed in our former deſign, not queſtioning but that both you and captain* Ley *will not in the leaſt recede from the engagement you have been pleaſed to oblige us with, and to tie us to your ſervice. We are come into this country at the head of three thouſand choſen men, back'd by two ſquadrons of men of war well equip'd, one of which has not as yet appear'd on this coaſt, the other you have ſeen yourſelf paſs by the other day. I hope this may ſerve as a means to ſet the poor miſerable inhabitants at liberty; and as both they and we wiſh for nothing more than to ſee you embrace our ſide, that we may not want an opportunity to give you more evident proofs of our reſpect and affection towards you, ſo we deſire you not to entertain the leaſt ſiniſter ſuſpicion of us; we being ready (for the performance of which we by theſe preſents give you our words) to accompliſh in every point, what has been promiſed to you, by* John Fernandes Vieira, *and* John Guomes de Mello. *And I for my part aſſure you, that I will not fail to perform and agree to whatever you ſhall further demand upon this occaſion.*

The inhabitants of the place ſhall be provided with paſports, and protected by us, in the ſame manner as the commander of Serinhaim, Carpenter, *and ſome others were; and we expect the ſame at your hand. And that you may be ſure whom to treat with upon this account, we have ſent to you* John Guomes de Mello, *who is intruſted with the whole matter; which if you refuſe to do, we muſt take ſuch meaſures as we ſhall judge moſt expedient for us.* In the mean while God preſerve you for many years.

St. Antonio de Cabo, Aug. 13, 1645. Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

Major *Hoogſtrate*, Mr. *Hick* and *Ley*, ſent an anſwer to this letter immediately, containing

1645. containing in ſubſtance, that they were not in the leaſt concerned in the outrages committed by the *Tapoyers* againſt the *Portugueſe*, and ſeemingly refuſed to treat with *de Mello*. It runs thus:

His anſwer to them.

WE *have received your letter ſent by* John Guomes de Mello, *out of which we underſtand, that you are come to* St. Antonio. *We are extremely well ſatisfied, that the governor* Antonio Telles da Sylva *has undertaken to appeaſe the tumults ariſen in theſe parts, and don't queſtion but that your preſence will contribute much towards the accompliſhment of it. The affronts and outrages you ſpeak of by the* Tapoyers *and* Dutch *ſoldiers put upon the inhabitants, as they were committed ſorely againſt our will, ſo I can aſſure you, that no body, not ſo much as the leaſt child, has been ſuffer'd to be miſuſed upon our accounts, ſo that theſe complaints muſt not be made to us, but ought to be referr'd to the council. The treaty you propoſe with captain* John Guomes de Mello, *and lieutenant* Francis Guomes, *is beyond our province and power, ſo that we earneſtly deſire you not to uſe any further ſollicitations to us upon that account. So we kiſs your hands, recommmending you to God's protection.* We reſt

Your ſervants and good friends,

Caſpar Vander Ley,
D. Van Hoogſtrate.
John Hick.

Hoogſtrate *diſcovers theſe letters.*

Major *Hoogſtrate* took care to ſend theſe two letters, together with their anſwer to the council, with repeated aſſurances of their conſtant fidelity; whereupon the great council confirm'd *Hoogſtrate* in his government, and exhorted *Ley* and *Hick* to perſevere in their brave reſolution, which they would in due time take care to reward with better preferments. This diſcovery of the enemies letters being look'd upon as an undeniable proof of Mr. *Hoogſtrate*'s ſincere intentions, had ſuch an influence upon the generality of the people, that there was ſcarce any body but what thought himſelf ſecure of his fidelity and duty. Nevertheleſs, as theſe temptations could not but raiſe ſome jealouſy in the minds of the council, they thought fit to ſend colonel *Haus* to the *Receif*, to order him to the Cape of *St. Auſtin*.

The council in the mean while, being by *Vidal*'s letters to *Hoogſtrate* ſufficiently convinced, that the intended recalling of the rebellious troops were nothing but amuſements, ſent immediate orders to their admiral *Lichthart*, that for the future he ſhould treat all the *Portugueſe* ſhips he could meet with as enemies. 1645.

Conſultations about drawing all the forces into the Receif.

The 15th of *Auguſt*, colonel *Haus* being come to the *Receif*, propoſed to the council, that he judged it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate, that ſince by the ſuccours come from the *Bahia* to the aſſiſtance of the rebels under *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal*, they were grown very ſtrong and numerous, the troops encamped in the field ſhould be drawn into the *Receif*, becauſe they being beſides the *Braſilians*, not above three hundred ſtrong, they might eaſily be cut off in a place where they could not be ſeconded from the *Receif*, where they were wanting for the defence of that place, which being the capital of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, would in all likelihood be attack'd with the utmoſt vigour by the enemy.

Againſt this opinion many reaſons were alledged too.

I. By ſo doing they muſt quit all the open country from whence they were now ſupplied with cattle and meal, which they ſtood highly in need of, till ſuch time that they could receive new ſupplies from *Holland*, and that in ſuch a caſe they muſt expect the enemy immediately at their gates.

II. That thereby the number of the enemy would be encreaſed, the inhabitants of the country being freed from the dread of our troops, would join with them againſt us.

III. That by ſo doing we muſt leave the *Tapoyers*, that had taken up arms at our requeſt, and were to be joined by our troops near *Machiape* or *St. Antonio*, to the enemies mercy. To this it was anſwer'd,

1. That as to the ſupplies of cattle and meal from the country, they ſhould be in a much better condition to be furniſhed withal, when their forces could be ſent abroad into all circumjacent parts of the country, whereas now they were forced to remain in one certain place. Beſides that, we being maſters at ſea, might embark at any time a certain number of men, and land them where we found it moſt convenient, which would oblige the enemy, inſtead of beſieging the *Receif*, to divide his forces for the defence of the country. What related to the increaſe of the enemies forces, by the acceſſion of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants of the country, was to be look'd upon as of no great conſequence againſt us; it being more for our intereſt to ſee them appear as declared enemies than diſſembling friends; it being generally known, that their inclinations were bent for their countrymen, and that notwithſtanding all

1645. their ſpecious pretences, they miſs'd no opportunity of giving intelligence to the enemy of what paſſed among us; whereas, if they were once declared enemies of the ſtates, we ſhould have a fair opportunity of ſeizing upon their cattle, proviſions, and other moveables, for the uſe of the *Receif*; which being thus provided, would diſcourage the enemy from attempting to reduce it by famine.

What was alledged concerning the danger of the *Tapoyers*, was acknowledged to be of no ſmall moment; but conſidering they had received no news as yet of their motion, it was not judged of ſuch vaſt conſequence as to be put in balance with the welfare of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, which depended in a great meaſure on the ſafety of theſe troops.

After mature deliberation of the whole matter, it was reſolved, on the 15th of *Auguſt*, by the council, with the approbation of the members of the court of juſtice, that conſidering the danger the troops were expoſed to, and that on their ſafety depended the preſervation of the *Receif*, they ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed march thither, and that only fifty men ſhould be left in the houſe of *de Wit*, under captain *Wiltſchut*, in order to command ſome part of the circumjacent country, and to ſerve as a retreat for our parties that ſhould be ſent abroad to fetch in cattle, and *Farinha*, or meal.

Purſuant to this reſolution, colonel *Haus* went thither on horſeback the ſame day, to put it in execution the ſame evening, if poſſible he could, or at furtheſt the next morning. But it ſeems colonel *Haus* was ſo neglectful, as to delay the march of theſe troops not only that afternoon, but alſo the whole next following day; and inſtead of retreating towards the *Receif*, tarried in the ſame ſugar-mill, without having the leaſt intelligence of the enemies approach; ſo that on the 17th of *Auguſt*, being ſurprized by the troops of *Andrew Vidal*, much more numerous than his, before they could betake themſelves to their arms they were put to the rout. The council being advertiſed, that colonel *Haus* with his troops were attacked by the enemy in the ſugar-mill of Mr. *de Wit*, they call'd the city militia to their arms, Mr. *Bulleſtrate* and *de Bas* went to the houſe *Baviſta*; from whence, as being near at hand, they might give the neceſſary orders, according as they ſhould receive advice from *Haus*: And twelve firelocks were poſted in this houſe for the better ſecurity of the bridge croſs the river. *Dieterick Hamel*, and the counſellors of juſtice, took care to look after the *Receif*. Immediately after, word being brought to the council that colonel *Haus* had been overthrown, and was retired to the houſe of *de Wit* belonging to the ſugar-mill, it was conſulted, whether by any means they might be able to relieve him; and, tho' by reaſon of the weakneſs of the garriſon, it was no eaſy matter to do it; nevertheleſs, it was reſolved, with one hundred volunteers of the inhabitants, and one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, to attempt his relief. But before this could be put in execution, a certain *Braſilian* that had been preſent at the whole action, and having, by changing his clothes with a *Portugueſe*, found means to eſcape to the *Receif*, brought the unwelcome news, that colonel *Haus*, with the forces under his command, had ſurrendred the houſe belonging to the ſugar-mill, and themſelves, upon promiſe of quarters, at diſcretion.

Colonel Haus *put to the rout.*

1645.

Colonel Haus *ſurrenders at diſcretion.*

It was generally believed, that this misfortune was chiefly occaſioned by colonel *Haus*'s own neglect, who did not, till it was too late, put the ſoldiers into a poſture of defence, which was afterwards confirmed by the depoſition of *William Jacobſon*, late captain lieutenant of colonel *Haus*'s own company, made before the great council the 6th of *July*, 1646.

It was not till the night before our defeat, that colonel *Haus* received the firſt intelligences from a priſoner, a *Negro*, that the enemy with a ſtrong body were broken up from *Moribeka*. The next morning, one of our ſafe-guards brought word to the colonel, that the enemy was paſſing the river; and ſoon after, the colonel's groom, who had been to water his maſter's horſe in the ſaid river, came in a full gallop, telling him likewiſe, that the rebels were paſſing the river, ſo that we ſoon after heard them fire upon our advanced guard, who retired immediately to the main body. Colonel *Haus* did not call the ſoldiers to their arms, or cauſed the alarum to be given, until the enemy came within ſight of us, and charged our out-guard, when we firſt began to ſkirmiſh with them: But they charging us with their more numerous forces in the front, whilſt *Kamaron* with his troops endeavoured to cut off our retreat to the *Receif*, which we were not able to prevent, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of our number, *Haus* aſk'd captain *Wiltſchut*, *Blaer* and *Liſtry*, *What was beſt to be done? Wiltſchut* anſwered, *You never aſk'd our advice before, do what you think beſt.* Whereupon *Haus* ordered to retreat to the houſe of Mr. *de Wit:* Captain *Blaer*, who expected no quarter, being on the other hand for fighting our way through to the *Receif*. The houſe was bravely defended for four

A further account of the defeat of colonel Haus *by captain* Jacobſon.

1645. four hours, but at laſt powder and ball beginning to fail, becauſe half a barrel of gunpowder (which was all they had left) blew up by accident, they ſurrendred at diſcretion to *Andrew Vidal*, under condition to have their lives ſaved, as well for themſelves as the *Braſilians* among them; which agreement being ſigned by *Vidal*, and two or three more of the chief commanders of the *Portugueſe*, was delivered to colonel *Haus*. Notwithſtanding which, the *Braſilians* were cut to pieces by the inhabitants, with the conſent of the *Portugueſe* commanders, as ſoon as we had quitted our poſt in the houſe. The *Braſilian* women ſeeing their huſbands murthered before their faces, daſh'd moſt of their childrens brains againſt the walls, for fear they ſhould fall alive into the hands of the *Portugueſe*. All the *Dutch*, about two hundred and fifty ſtrong, among whom were colonel *Haus*, captain *Blaer* and *Liſtry*, were made priſoners of war, and were for the firſt four or five days kept in the ſugar-mill of *Hacq*, when *John Fernandes Vieira*, and many of the inhabitants ſollicited *Andrew Vidal*, to deliver the ſaid priſoners up into their hands, with an intention to kill them, but *Vidal* refuſed to grant their requeſt, and cauſed them forthwith to be ſent by land to the *Babia*: They were indifferently well treated in their journey thither; but ſuch as either by reaſon of ſickneſs, or any other accident, were left behind, fell into the inhabitants hands, who cut them to pieces, and would have done the ſame with all the reſt, had it not been for their convoy. After their arrival in the *Babia*, an account being taken of their names, they had certain quarters aſſigned them, and thirty-one pence halfpenny *per* week for their pay, and a meaſure of meal for every ten days.

They had liberty to walk up and down within the city where they pleaſed, except colonel *Haus*, captain *Wiltſchut*, and *Liſtry*, who were confined to their lodgings, and durſt not, without ſpecial leave, talk with any body. Colonel *Haus* was at laſt ſent to *Portugal*, and *Wiltſchut* and *Liſtry*, in *June* 1647, put on board a ſhip, with two hundred and thirty *Dutch* priſoners; about ſixty of our men took ſervice among them there, but they refuſed the natives of *Holland*.

The enemies being greatly encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, and their ſtrength encreaſing daily by the great concourſe of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, who in the captainſhips of *Parayba* and *Goyana*, which hitherto had remained in quiet, and engaged themſelves to the government by a new oath of allegiance, now alſo took up arms againſt us; ſo that it was thought convenient to recal our garriſons out of thoſe parts. 1645.

But to return to the cape of *St. Auſtin*, after the ſurrender of which the garriſon was carried to *St. Antonio*, where they were forced to deliver up their arms. Among the reſt of our priſoners there was *Iſaac Zweers*, afterwards vice-admiral of *Holland* and *Weſtfriſeland*, *Abraham Van Millingen*, and *John Broeckhuſen*, both ſtill living in *Holland*. Major *Hoogſtrate* addreſs'd himſelf to them, endeavouring to bring them over to the *Portugueſe* ſide, by the allurements of captain, lieutenant, and enſign's places, telling them, that it would now be in his power to promote them to much higher employments; but when he ſaw them refuſe his offer, he ſwore they ſhould repent it. At the ſame time he preferr'd three *Dutch* men, to wit, *Winſel Smith*, formerly his lieutenant; *Alexander Boucholt*, and *Claes Claeſen*, a native of *Amſterdam*, to captains places; the laſt of theſe three being an intimate friend of *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen*, told them, and confirmed it by many oaths, that he had taken ſervice among them for no other end, than to get an opportunity of returning to us. They had alſo liberty given them to walk abroad, but not without a guard to keep a watchful eye over all their actions. *What became of the garriſon of the cape of* St. Auſtin.

Not long after, the *Portugueſe* provider *Mor* ſent for *John Broekhuſen*, and after the firſt complements were paſs'd, told him, that if he would ſerve the king of *Portugal* in the quality of commiſſary-general, he ſhould go along with him to the camp, where he ſhould receive one hundred gilders *per* month, and be welcome to his table beſides; and that if he refuſed his offer, and ſtay'd behind, he would be in danger of being murthered by the inhabitants. He reply'd, that being engaged by his oath to the company, he could not break it, though with the hazard of his life. *And* (ſaid the providor) *will you chuſe rather to ſerve a company of mob than a king? We are juſt now upon the point of executing a deſign which is infallible, and then you will begin to ſee that the king's cauſe is the juſteſt, and will be crown'd with ſucceſs for ever.* Then he gave him a cup with brandy, of which after Mr. *Broekhuſen* had taken a good draught, he took his leave, and return'd to his comrades, unto whom he gave an account of what had paſs'd betwixt them.

Theſe had in the mean while been inform'd by ſome *Portugueſe*, that this deſign was upon the iſle *Itamarika*, and being certain that the council did not fore-

ſee

1645. ſee this danger, they were contriving all poſſible means to give them notice of it, but could not pitch upon any perſon fitly qualified for this undertaking. At laſt, *Iſaac Zweers*, by vaſt promiſes of reward, prevailed ſo far upon a *Dutch* trumpeter, call'd *Martin Stomp*, that he undertook to carry this piece of news in perſon to the council, and at the ſame time to requeſt the releaſing of the *Dutch* priſoners ſtill remaining at *St. Antonio*. Every thing being agreed upon betwixt them, the trumpeter took his leave of Mr. *Zweers*, and ſet out on his journey to the *Receif* about midnight, leaving his wife and children behind him. Mr. *Zweers* and Mr. *Broekhuſen* appear'd very well ſatisfied, but nevertheleſs were in their hearts not a little concerned for the iſſue of this enterprize.

A Dutch trumpeter diſcovers the enemies deſign upon Itamarika *to the council.*

They would often call upon the trumpeter's wife to enjoin her ſilence, and ordered her, that if any enquired after him, to tell them that he was run away from her, in order to take ſervice in the camp in the *Vergea*.

Some days after they met with one *Peter Ritſau*, formerly baker to the garriſon of the cape of *St. Auſtin*; *Broekhuſen* having a mind to feel his pulſe, and finding him not averſe to ſuch a taſk, he at laſt with fair words prevail'd upon him to undertake the ſame journey the trumpeter had done before; that in caſe he ſhould miſcarry, which they much feared he might, the council might nevertheleſs be advertiſed of the enemies intended expedition againſt *Itamarika*. The baker having deſired a certificate from them, teſtifying, that he never had taken ſervice among the *Portugueſe*, prepared himſelf for his journey, which he intended to begin with the firſt dark night.

A baker ſent upon the ſame errand.

The ſame night they were forewarn'd of a deſign againſt their lives, by a certain *Italian* call'd *Jacomo da Perugalho*, ſo that *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* gueſſing, not without reaſon, that ſome of the *Portugueze* had got ſcent of their ſending away the trumpeter and baker, thought it not adviſeable to ſtay longer in this place, but to aſk leave from colonel *Pedro Marinha Falkaho*, to go to the *Algodais*, where they could not want conveniency to go along with the reſt of the priſoners, that were intended to be ſent to the *Bahia*, which was readily granted.

In the mean while, the baker having taken the firſt opportunity to ſet out on his journey, was met by two *Portugueſe* in the ſugar-mill *Trapicha*, who having found the beforementioned certificate about him, carried him priſoner to *St. Antonio de Cabo*, where being put to the torture, it made ſuch a noiſe among the inhabitants, that they all riſe up in arms, proteſting, they would not be ſatisfied till they had fetch'd *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* from the *Algodais*, and cut them to pieces; for which purpoſe they alſo obtained ſeven ſoldiers from *Pedro Marinha*, and had certainly put it in execution if captain *Ley* had not oppoſed it; for as good luck would have it, they happened at that time to be in his ſugar-mill, and the baker had ſtood it out bravely, without diſcovering the matter. The next morning captain *Ley* gave them a viſit, telling them what had happened, and ſays he, to *Broekhuſen*, *What is your meaning by this?* but he having no great confidence in *Ley*, denied every thing to the utmoſt.

Is ſeized.

1645.

But the 2d of *October* the whole deſign was likely to have been diſcovered by the imprudence of the beforementioned trumpeter's wife, who being got drunk, told ſome of her acquaintance, that her huſband was gone to the *Receif*. She was carried a priſoner to the cape of *St. Auſtin*, where ſhe was miſerably tortured, but being a reſolute woman, would not confeſs any thing: It was however major *Hoogſtrate*'s advice, that the *Portugueſe* ought not to keep the *Dutch* any longer in *Pernambuko*, but that all ſuch as refuſed to take ſervice among them, ought to be ſent to the *Bahia*. Accordingly all the *Dutch* priſoners then about the cape and *St. Anthony*, were ſent to the *Algodais*, where every one was aſk'd by colonel *Pedro Marinha*, whether they would take ſervice under the king of *Portugal*, and ſuch as would not, ſhould be ſent forthwith by land to the *Bahia*, a tedious journey; beſides, that they ran the hazard of being murthered by the way. Many took ſervice for fear, but *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* being aſk'd again, whether they were not willing to ſerve the king, they anſwered, they would rather die than bear arms againſt their own nation.

The trumpeters journey diſcovered.

The 5th of *October*, all the priſoners under a convoy, both of ſoldiers and boors, were carried from the *Algodais* to *Pojuka*. But ſcarce were they come thither, when *Zweers* was ordered to be ſent back to the cape of *St. Auſtin*, where he was put to the rack, to extort from him a confeſſion concerning the trumpeter's journey to the *Receif*, who, as they ſuppoſed, had diſcovered their deſign upon *Itamarika*; but not being able to bring him to make the leaſt diſcovery, they ſent him, after an impriſonment of five weeks, to the *Bahia*.

Zweers *tortured.*

In the mean while Mr. *Broekhuſen*, with the reſt of the *Dutch* priſoners, had been forced to travel day and night till the 28th of *November* 1645, when they came to a caſtle call'd *Tapuao*, on the ſea-ſhore of the

The Dutch *priſoners come to the* Bahia.

1645. *Bahia*, about half a league from the city of *St. Salvador*, after a dangerous journey: They were carried in ten boats to the city, on that ſide where it is beſt fortified, the *Portugueſe* being not willing to let them have a ſight of the fortifications on the land ſide, Mr. *Broekhuſen* was by order from the governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, made a priſoner in a citizen's houſe, and the ſoldiers diſpoſed into quarters. The next day they heard the drums beat up for volunteers, every one being invited to ſerve the king of *Portugal*, of what nation ſoever, except the *Dutch*.

1646. The next following year, on the 18th of *January* 1646, *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* intercepted a letter writ by *Hoogſtrate* to *Hondius*, concerning ſeveral tranſactions to be communicated to the governor, of which captain *Ley* having got ſcent, gave immediate notice thereof to the governour the firſt of *February*, who threatned them with no leſs than the gallows, ſent them to a loathſome priſon; with ſtrict orders that no body ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with them, nor that pen, ink, or paper, ſhould be allowed them; nay, whilſt the clerk was ſetting down their names, a captain came and told them from the governor, that they were the traitors who kept correſpondence with the *Dutch* in the *Receif*; and ordered that a centinel ſhould be ſet at the priſon door, to keep the inhabitants from laying violent hands upon them; for as they were carrying to priſon, they made a horrible noiſe, crying, *To the gallows with theſe impoſtors and traitors.* They remained five whole days in this priſon, without any victuals or drink, till being almoſt ſpent with hunger and thirſt, they got leave to write to the governor, repreſenting to him their deplorable condition; who gave immediate orders that victuals ſhould be given them for the future: The *Portugueſe* keeper being afraid, that if they ſhould give them plenty of victuals at firſt, it might turn to the danger of their lives, was ſo cautious, as to ſend them no more than each a piece of bread well dipt in wine at firſt, and after ſome hours, ſuch another, but ſomething bigger, till by degrees their ſtomachs were reſtored to their former digeſtive faculty.

A letter intercepted by Zweers *and* Broekhuſen.

Are committed to priſon.

Suffer for want of victuals.

Are provided with victuals.

The laſt day of *February* the governour gave publick audience (which is done three times every year) for the releaſing of thoſe that are priſoners on the king's account. Upon this occaſion a free acceſs was likewiſe granted to our people to the governor. They paſſed thro' the anti-chamber, lined on both ſides with his guards, into the room of audience, adorned with damaſk hangings of divers colours: Here they found the governor ſitting in an elbow chair, on the right-ſide of which ſtood the royal throne, raiſed four ſteps higher from the ground than the governor's ſeat, which was ſurrounded upon the floor with very fine tapeſtry. Juſt behind him ſtood his ſecretary, and ſome halbardiers; on both ſides ſat ſeveral councellours and lawyers, their heads covered, and behind them the officers of the army, all uncovered. The governor, as ſoon as he ſaw our priſoners, gave them a ſign to come nearer, which they having done accordingly, Mr. *Broekhuſen* upon his knees, ſpoke to him thus: *We ſuppoſe your lordſhip not to be ignorant, that now for a whole month we have been detained in a miſerable priſon; without being conſcious of any crime committed againſt you, unleſs it were, that we have detained the letter your lordſhip knows of; if in this we have committed a fault we beg your lordſhip's pardon.*

Have audience of the governour.

1646.

And (replied the governour) ſuppoſing you had done ſuch a thing in Holland? Upon which *Broekhuſen* anſwered, *That his lordſhip would be pleaſed to remember that it was no more than a private letter, and not directed to his lordſhip*; the governour after having pauſed for a little while, gave immediate order for their diſcharge; from that time they had liberty given them of walking abroad, but were fain to carry themſelves very ſwimmingly, for fear of the inhabitants, who kept a watchful eye over them.

Are diſcharged.

The 7th of *May*, *Iſaac Zweers* and *John Broekhuſen* were carried on board a yacht called the *St. Francis*, in order to be conveyed to the iſle of *Terceira*; and as they were the firſt *Dutch* priſoners that were ſent to that iſland, every body looked upon it no otherwiſe than a pretence to throw them over board after they were come at ſea. Here they met with worſe treatment than before, being forced to ſtand to the pump during the whole voyage, and yet were ready to be ſtarved, notwithſtanding the ſea-men catched more fiſh than they could conſume. At laſt the 28th being arrived in the road near *Terceira*, they ſaw within an hour after a *Dutch* ſhip coming to anchor near them; they called to the ſhip till the maſter ſent ſome of his people aboard them, unto whom they made their complaints, and underſtanding that the maſter was a native of *Niewendam* called *Martin Peter Honing*, they began to be a little chearful, tho' the *Portugueſe* would not allow them to go aboard the *Dutch* ſhip. But the 29th being left alone with the ſteer-man and only one boy in the veſſel, they found means to go in ſpight of their keepers, aboard *Martin Peter Honing*, who promiſed to ſee them delivered. The ſame afternoon *Moor* the governour of

Are ſent to Terceira.

1646. this and the adjacent iſlands, reſiding in *Terceira* ſent for *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen*, and told them that he had received a letter from the governour *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, in which he deſired him to detain them priſoners in the caſtle for a twelve month; but that he did not think himſelf obliged to follow his directions, he having no other dependance but on the king, who being not concerned in this war, his orders were to ſend all the priſoners brought thither to *Portugal*; that they might rely upon it, and for their preſent ſuſtenance, till a ſhip ſhould be ready to go, ordered them nine rix dollars.

And from thence to Portugal.

The 13th of *June* they met with a maſter of a *French* veſſel, who offered to carry them without any reward to *Portugal*, which they willingly accepted of: Here they met with many of their fellow priſoners, who had imagined no otherwiſe but that the *Portugueſe* had thrown them over board. They continued here till the 10th of *September*, when Mr. *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* embarked themſelves at *Liſbon* aboard a man of war called the *Prince Henry*, and at laſt, the 4th of *December*, after a thouſand dangers and miſeries, which they had ſuſtained ſince their departure from the *Dutch Braſil*, arrived ſafely in the *Maeſe*.

Arrive ſafely in Holland.

But we muſt return towards the *Receif*. The unexpected defeat of colonel *Haus*, put all the inhabitants of the *Receif* under a great conſternation; but the council left no ſtone unturned to put the place with all the adjacent forts, in a condition to make a vigorous defence, in caſe it ſhould be attacked by the enemy; and that every thing might be performed with the beſt order that could be, *Peter Bas* was conſtituted commander in chief in the *Receif*. Admiral *Lichthart* was to take care of the batteries, and artillery thereunto belonging; *Henry Moucheron* was made commander in *Maurice's town*; all their thoughts being now bent upon the defence of theſe places, which before they judged out of danger.

Preparations in the Receif.

The ſtables and out-houſes for the uſe of the negroes, as likewiſe the walks and gardens belonging to count *Maurice*'s houſe being no ſmall impediment to the fort *Erneſtus*; it being to be feared that under favour of theſe houſes and trees, the enemy might unexpectedly ſurprize the fort and *Maurice's town*, and the inhabitants earneſtly requeſted the pulling down of thoſe ſtables, out-houſes and trees, and what elſe might prove dangerous to the place; orders were given to Mr. *Valbergen* and major *Bayert*; commanding in the fort *Erneſtus*, to ſee the ſame put in execution, with as little damage to the houſe as poſſibly could be. The houſes near the fort *Brun* were *likewiſe ordered to be pulled* down, and the horn-work belonging to it, to be levelled at the requeſt of the citizens. Many negroes were alſo employed under the conduct of major *Beck* and the captain of the city militia, to break down all the houſes in *Maurice's town*, which lay too near the new retrenchments. All *Portugueſe* priſoners were ordered to be diſtributed in the ſhips, and ſeveral volunteers who had committed many outrages in the countrey, and were detained in cuſtody, were taken into ſervice for three months. A rumour being ſpread abroad that 18 of the enemy were come into the *Aſſagados*, a company of citizens were got in readineſs to aſſiſt them, but it proved not true. 1646.

The ſhip the Orange tree comes from Holland.

The ſame day the ſhip called the *Orange-tree* arrived near the *Receif*, being come out of the *Maeſe* the 21st of *May* with thirty-five ſoldiers for recruits. The watches were ſo diſpoſed, that in *Maurice's town* Mr. *de Wit* and *Raetfield* (beſides the ordinary offices) and in the *Receif* Mr. *Aldrich* and *Valbergen* ſhould go the rounds.

Balthaſar Dortmund, governour of *Itamarika* ſent advice to the council the 17th of *Auguſt* that *Kavalkanti* was with ſome troops come to *Iguaraku*, and had ſummoned the *Braſilians* to join with him in four days, under forfeiture of their lives.

The citizens petition for the pulling down of Maurice's *houſe.*

The 19th the citizens preſented a petition, ſhewing the neceſſity of having the houſe of count *Maurice* pulled down, as hindring the proſpect from the fort *Erneſtus*, and if once poſſeſſed by the enemy, they might from thence annoy both the fort and the *Receif* itſelf with their cannon. But the council having adviſed with Mr. *Walbeck*, admiral *Lichthart*, *Aldrick de Wit*, *Raetfield*, *Moucheron* and *Valbergen*, thought fit not to agree to it for that time, being in hopes that it might be made uſeful for their defence. Mr. *de Wit* and *Hamel* were commanded to go from hence to each houſe in *Maurice's town*, and to take an exact account of what negroes were able to bear arms, and to furniſh them with muſquets and pikes; the ſame charge was given to admiral *Lichthart*, and captain *Bartholomew Van Collen*, for the *Receif*. All the ſick that were in a ſtate of reconvaleſcency in the caſtle were likewiſe ordered to be armmed for its defence.

Negroes armed.

Orders ſent to Mr. Dortmund.

At the ſame time an anſwer was ſent to Mr. *Dortmund*, with orders to draw as many *Braſilians* as poſſibly he could into the iſle of *Itamarika*, and to provide himſelf with as much cattle and meal (farinha) as he was able to get out of the adjacent places; but that if he found himſelf not in a condition to maintain the whole iſland,

or

1646. or the city of *Schop*, he ſhould retire into the fort *Orange*, where he might be ſupplied by ſea, and conſequently make a vigorous defence. Mr. *Carpenter* was likewiſe forewarned to be upon his guard, and to retire in time into the iſle of *Itamarika*, with his ſoldiers and *Braſilians*, if he found the inhabitants ready to take up arms againſt him.

The 19th at night a party went abroad to get intelligence, but met with no enemy. Some negroes were alſo ſent towards the enemies quarters to know their ſtrength. The ſame evening the council received a letter by lieutenant *Francis Meades* from *Andrew Vidal*, in which he teſtified his readineſs ſtill to maintain the peace, complaining at the ſame time of outrages committed by our ſoldiers, as may be ſeen out of the following letter.

A letter from Vidal *to the council.*

WE have ſent you advice before by lieutenant Manuel Antonio, *of our arrival in this captainſhip, by orders from the governor* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and at your own requeſt, in order to reſtore tranquillity here by the moſt effectual means we could deviſe. We alſo did repreſent to your lordſhips the many innovations and unaccountable proceedings which had reached our ears, by the lamentable cries of ſeveral noble raviſhed virgins, and the doleful complaints of the inhabitants of* Rio Grande, *where forty perſons of note together with a prieſt, and the other day two more in the* Salinas *were murdered in cool blood. I can ſcarce mention without horror (and the reſpect every one ought to have to ſacred places forbids me to particularize) the outrages committed againſt the Images of ſaints, and eſpecially that of the mother of God, and ſacrileges committed by your ſoldiers: All which conſiderations, together with that we found you in a warlike condition, with your troops in the field, natural right of ſelf defence eſtabliſhed by the conſtant cuſtom of war did teach us, not to leave an armed power behind our backs, which upon occaſion might have proved fatal to us, before we could come to a reſolution in conjunction with your lordſhips, what meaſures were beſt to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of that tranquillity which was the only aim of our coming into theſe parts; according to which we have regulated ourſelves in our march towards the* Receif, *till we come to the town of* St. Antonio de Cabo; *where having cauſed* John Fernandes Vieira *to be taken into cuſtody, under a guard of twelve ſoldiers, we were ſurprized at the vaſt numbers of inhabitants, children, women, and religious men, who to ſhelter themſelves from the outrages and robberies committed againſt them by captain* Blaer *in the* Vergea, *came to* 1646. *ſeek for ſhelter among us. They gave us an account how that the ſaid captain not ſatisfied with having plundered their houſes, had carried away three of the nobleſt ladies of the countrey, after they had been grievouſly diſgraced before; the inhabitants being exaſperated by theſe violences, did (againſt our will) leave our camp ſo ſuddenly, that whatever haſte we made to march after them, we could not overtake them before they were engaged with ſome of your troops, in the ſugar-mill of* Iſabel Gonſalves, *which they intended to have ſet on fire, had it not been for our men, who were forced to interpoſe betwixt them and your ſoldiers, to their no ſmall danger and our loſs, as being expoſed to the vollies of your ſmall ſhot, which conſiſted for the moſt part of bullets cut in pieces and made four ſquare. As the hoſtilities committed daily againſt our troops, afford freſh occaſions of revolt among the inhabitants, ſo we cannot but lay before your lordſhips the late proclamation and ratification of peace betwixt us, proteſting now and for ever in the name of God,* John IV. *our king, as alſo in the name of the ſtates general and all our allies, that your lordſhips will not let things come to a rupture, and not give us new cauſe of acting offenſively, or to declare war againſt you. We cannot longer diſſemble our opinion, that the reiterated complaints of the inhabitants, may at leaſt in ſome meaſure ſerve for an excuſe, if not a juſtification of the proceedings of* John Fernandes Vieira, *concerning whom we are ſufficiently ſatisfied that his firſt intentions were only to afford protection to ſome innocent perſons threatned with deſtruction; which though it was in his power to do, yet did he retire from place to place with his forces, in hopes of avoiding any engagement, till forced thereunto by neceſſity, he was conſtrained to repel force by force. We beg of your lordſhips to take this letter into ſerious conſideration, being of ſo much conſequence, to our both ſides ſafeties; for it ſeems as if heaven itſelf were offended at our proceedings. God preſerve your lordſhips.*

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

From de Ingenio of St. John Baptiſt de Venies, Aug. 19, 1645.

An anſwer from the council was ſent the next following day by the ſame lieutenant.

The council's anſwer.

OUT of our anſwer to your letter dated at Serinhaim *the* 8th *of auguſt, you may ſufficiently ſee that the proteſtations made both by the governour* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and by yourſelf, concerning the maintaining of the*

1646. *the peace betwixt his majesty of* Portugal *and the states general of the* United Provinces, *were never looked upon by us as sincere, or to be relied upon, since your actions did in no wise agree with your words. The treacherous proposals made to one of our deputies, to betray one of our best strong holds into your hands; the landing of so formidable a force in our territories without any knowledge, under pretence of a misinterpreted sense of our letter to his excellency; the coming with a strong fleet into our road; the taking of the fort of* Serinhaim; *the slaughter of so many* Brasilians *our subjects in cool blood; the summons sent to the cape of* St. Austin *for a surrender, nay the attacking and surprising of our troops, who were forced to keep in the field, for the bridling of our rebellious inhabitants; all these, we say, cannot by any unbiass'd persons be looked upon otherwise, than manifest infractions of the said treaty, and open hostilities. We on our side can without the least contradiction to truth positively declare, that our armament was not in the least intended against his majesty of* Portugal, *but against the rebels and their adherents; which we were compelled to, when we saw many armed troops to penetrate into our territories cross the river* St. Francisco. *The surprising of some of our barks in the* Salgados; *the taking of the house* Marecape, *and making our safeguards prisoners there, as well as at* Cambao, *and several other places; the gallows that were erected on purpose to terrify our inhabitants into a compliance with the revolted party; the killing of three of the said inhabitants of* Pojuka *in cool blood, and the surprising of several of our soldiers and* Brasilians *sent to* St. Lawrence *to fetch farinha; the plundering of the houses and shops of several tradesmen in the countrey, with many such like violences committed by the revolted party; and what is the worst, before ever we appeared in arms, but endeavoured by proclamations of pardon and of maintaining them in their possessions, to divert the danger; all these actions, we say, will not admit of any other interpretation but of open hostilities.*

How can it be supposed that in the station we are, we could after all those provocations and slights of our kind offers, desist any longer from drawing the sword? Whatever in the mean time has been transacted contrary to the custom of war, has been done without our knowledge and intention, being occasioned by the treacherous dealings of the rebels, and consequently to be looked upon as deserved punishments, rather than the consequences of a just war; besides, that neither his excellency Antonio Telles da Sylva, *neither you nor any body else, has any legal power to call us to an account concerning the government or punishment of the subjects of the states general, no more than the king of* Portugal *is answerable to us for what is transacted upon that account in his kingdom or other dominions.* 1646.

Notwithstanding which we would have you not in the least lay the before-mentioned crimes and violencies at our door, we are so far from having encouraged or commanded the Tapoyers *to kill the* Portuguese *inhabitants in* Kunhao, *that for these several years last past we have endeavoured to prevent it; for having, by the ill treatment they had received from the* Portuguese, *been exasperated against them, they were for killing most of the inhabitants of that captainship, and had actually put it in execution, had we not interposed our authority, and ordered our garrisons to take them into their particular protection. What you say of ravishing of women, is not only beyond our knowledge, but even beyond whatever we heard of before, having taken all imaginable care to prevent such violences by our proclamation, published for that purpose. It is known to all the world that we afforded our peculiar protection to the women of* de Ingenio, *of* St. Arnout d'Orlanda, *and what concerns the taking of the ladies by captain* John Blaer, *was, as we are informed, done with no other intention, than to exchange them for his wife, or at least to keep them as hostages for her, he having received intelligence that she was very ill treated by you at* Serinhaim. *The rebels themselves made the first step towards those robberies and rapines that have been committed by our soldiers since; which however cannot come into balance with those cheats, frauds and rapines, wherewith those rebels have defrauded and robbed their creditors of their debts and goods; notwithstanding which we have by granting safeguards and otherwise done all what in us lay to prevent the same.*

The late murder upon the person of the Salinhas *was committed the* 17th *of* August, *without our knowledge, to our great dissatisfaction by the flying* Brasilians, *who being enraged at the killing of their men, women and children at* Serinhaim, *without any distinction of age or sex, took this opportunity of revenging themselves. You may easily guess that the papers dispersed by* Antonio Kavalkanti *at* Iguaracu, *have also contributed a little to this enterprize.*

Of the bullets mentioned by you to have been used in the last encounter, we have more reason to complain than you, it being our constant order not to recede from what is the custom of war in these cases.

The courtesy shewed in saving and receiving our soldiers, we are ready to acknowledge, and to return upon the like occasion, desiring you would send us back your resolution upon this point by the same drummer.

It being evident from what has been alledged, that all the past misfortunes ought to

1645. *be imputed to the rebels, unto whom we endeavoured by all requiſite means to reſtore tranquillity and peace; but they perſiſting in their rebellious deſigns, deſerve rather condign puniſhment than the leaſt excuſe at your hands. For which reaſon it is that we proteſt before God and the whole world, againſt the proceedings of his excellency* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and what elſe has been committed by yourſelf contrary to the treaty concluded betwixt his majeſty of* Portugal *and the ſtates general of the* United Provinces; *not queſtioning but that upon the receipt of theſe preſents, you will retire with your forces to the* Bahia; *and thereby put an end to the further violation of the ſaid treaty. Thus expecting your anſwer, we reſt, ſir,*

Receif. Aug. 20, 1645. *Yours, &c.*

Preparations againſt the Enemies coming to the Receif.

The ſame night word being brought that ſome of the enemies troops were advanced to *Olinda*, notice was given to all the circumjacent forts, to prepare for a vigorous defence, and two batteries ordered to be raiſed on the back-ſide of the dwelling-place of the negroes, from whence they might command the avenues to the *Receif* along the river-ſide. Several volunteers lately come from the flat country, were incorporated into one company under the command of ſecretary *Hamel*, as captain, and *Jeronymo Holman* their lieutenant: Two advanced guards were placed, one betwixt the fort *Bruin* and the triangular fort; the ſecond betwixt the laſt and count *Maurice*'s plantation: Part of the bridge of *Beaviſta* was broken down, to hinder the enemies paſſage that way; and conſidering the importance of the triangular fort, a detachment of twenty ſix ſoldiers out of ſeveral companies was ordered to reinforce the garriſon there. The ſame care was taken for the ſecurity of *Maurice*'s *Town*, *Antonio Vaez*, the fort *Erneſtus*, the quinquangular fort, and all the reſt.

In Maurice's Town *and other forts.*

Major *Bayeri* was ordered to have the remaining walls of count *Maurice*'s ſtables pull'd down, becauſe they hindred the proſpect from the fort *Erneſtus*; and *Henry Vermeulen* was commanded to employ thirty negroes in clearing the plantation of count *Maurice* and the ditches from all rubbiſh; and the before-mention'd *Bayeri*, ordered to remove the palliſadoes from the ſaid gardens, and to put them round his fort. The engineer *Piſteor* had orders given him to ſet a row of palliſadoes on that ſide of the fort of *Erneſtus*, where it fronts the before-mention'd gardens, and to extend them five rods into the river. And this fort being not ſufficiently ſtored with heavy cannon, commiſſary *Sticht* was to carry thither two great pieces, then planted at the bridge-foot, and inſtead of them to place there two culverins; likewiſe the entrance of the channel of *Maurice*'s *Town* was ſtopt by a double row of palliſadoes. The members of the council, in conjunction with thoſe of the court of juſtice, took another view of the ſuburbs of *Maurice*'s *Town*, to conſult whether it were beſt to maintain or to deſert that poſt, but the reſolution thereof was deferr'd 'till the next day. Two great cannons were planted in the *Quinquangular-Fort*, to command the river-ſide; and in conſideration that the hornworks belonging to that fort, required a conſiderable number of men for their defence, the governor of the fort was ordered to have the ſame levell'd by his *Braſilians* and ſoldiers, and one hundred negroes; and the woods betwixt the ſaid fort and the *Aſſagados*, were ordered to be cut down by the *Braſilians* belonging to the fort, when it was alſo reſolved to draw the fortifications of *Maurice*'s *Town* into a narrower compaſs, and to repair the walls round the *Receif*; ſo that by the indefatigable care of the council, all the fortifications both of the *Receif* and the other adjacent places, were put into ſuch a good poſture of defence, that the enemy, tho' very ſtrong, durſt not attempt any thing thereabouts for that time. Mr. *Dortmund* had drawn near 1400 perſons into *Itamarika*, 700 of which being women and children, he deſired ſome ſupplies of proviſions, but for the reſt, had put the iſland in a good poſture.

Letters to the council out of Parayba.

Mr. *Linge*, by his letter dated in *Parayba* the 22d of *Auguſt*, ſent advice to the council, that after notice given him of the defeat of colonel *Haus*, he had judged it moſt convenient to remove the garriſon and inhabitants of *Fredericia* into the forts; that however the *Portugueſe* were pretty quiet as yet, notwithſtanding his whole force conſiſted not in above four hundred ſoldiers, one hundred inhabitants, and fifty *Braſilians*, among whom were a good number of ſick and maimed men; and that the *Tapoyers* had ſlain about twelve or fourteen labouring countrymen. Major *Hoogſtrate*, *Ley* and *Heck*, had not long before given notice to the council, that they had burnt all the houſes, but eſpecially the magazine and church without the fort, for its better defence, and that the enemy had poſted themſelves on the hill of the cape, and on the ſouthern iſland.

On the 25th of *Auguſt*, upon another review of the fortifications of *Maurice*'s *Town*, the ſame were ordered to be brought forthwith to perfection.

The ſame day the council received letters from Mr. *Linge*, by the way of *Itamarika*, dated

1645. dated the 18th and 19th of *Auguſt*, in *Parayba*, that *William Barents* had ſent him advice from *Kunhao* the 14th of *Auguſt*, that he and *Rudolph Bawn* had a troop of *Tapoyers* ready for our ſervice, every thing being very quiet thereabouts; but that the ſaid *Tapoyers* had carried away all the cattle belonging to *Peter Farcharſon*, which had occaſioned no ſmall ſcarcity of freſh fleſh thereabouts.

It was alſo judged abſolutely neceſſary by the council, to take into their ſerious conſideration the preſent condition of the forts in *Rio St. Franciſco* and *Seregippo del Rey*, which being provided but with ſlender garriſons, and all communication cut off betwixt them and the *Receif*, and in great danger of being loſt; it was judged abſolutely neceſſary, after the defeat of colonel *Haus*, to endeavour the preſervation of them, and conſequently of the whole *Dutch-Braſil*, by removing them from thence to the *Receif*.

Conſultations about removing ſeveral garriſons to the Receif.

To accompliſh this with all imaginable ſecurity, Mr. *Walbeck* was deputed by the great council to the council of war, to know their opinion, by what means theſe garriſons, as well as that of *Porto Calvo*, might be with ſafety brought to the *Receif*, or whether, conſidering that they would be forced to leave their cannon behind them, they ſhould be ordered to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, in hopes of receiving ſpeedy ſuccours from *Holland* for their relief.

The council of war, having well weighed the whole matter, unanimouſly agreed upon the following reſolution.

The reſolution of the council of war.

THAT it was their opinion, conſidering the capital city was in danger for want of a ſufficient garriſon, the garriſons of the before-mention'd forts, which in all probability could not make any long reſiſtance, ought to be taken from thence with as much ammunition and cannon as could be done, and carried to the Receif. *But in regard that the fort of* Porto Calvo *lay pretty deep into countrey, where the river was very narrow and ſhallow, the garriſons of* Rio St. Franciſco, *and* Seregippo del Rey, *were to paſs that way in order to join them, and that they ſhould bury or break their cannon.*

By order from the council of war, *Aug.* 24, 1645.

Signed,

Kornelis Bayer,	Henry Advocaet.
Albertus Ooſterman,	Frederick Piſtoor.
L. Van. Harkema,	*capt.* Haelmeiſter.
John Denning,	Rene de Mouchy.
Samuel Lambartz.	

1645.

Accordingly two barks, with the ſhip *Zelandia*, were ordered for the execution of this enterprize, to *Rio St. Franciſco*.

The laſt day of *Auguſt*, one of the captains of theſe two barks return'd, and gave an account, that he being advanced into the river of *Rio St. Franciſco*, within a league of the ſaid fort, he received ſo warm a ſalute of ſmall ſhot from a *Portugueſe* veſſel full of firelocks, that he was forced to return, without being able to penetrate any further up the river; that the other bark being diſcouraged thereat, durſt not venture to go to *Seregippo*, but that they thought fit to retreat back with the ſhip *Zelandia*; he further added, that it would be very difficult to put this deſign in execution, unleſs they were provided with ſome galliots and yachts well armed.

Purſuant to this advice, the council ordered the yacht called the *Sprew*, with three other barks thither, to join with the ſhip *Zelandia*, for the more effectual execution of this deſign.

Some ſhips ſent to Rio St. Franciſco *under* William Lambartz.

They ſet ſail from the *Receif* the 2d of *September*, captain *William Lambartz* commodore. He return'd with the ſaid yacht, and the *Zelandia*, the firſt of *October*, to the *Receif*, where he gave the following account of his expedition to the council.

He gives an account of his expedition.

We came the 22d of *September* within a half league of the fort of *St. Maurice*, where we met with a bark, which at the diſcharge of one of our cannon, ſail'd away before us up the river. As we were in purſuit of her, we eſpied another ſmall veſſel, in company of the bark belonging to *John Hoek*, both full of ſoldiers: We ſaw the firſt of theſe two run aſhore, and the ſoldiers landing, who skirmiſhed with an oppoſite party for the defence of the veſſel: Our yacht under favour of our cannon, boarded the ſaid veſſel, with an intention to ſet it on fire; but finding it loaden with the baggage of our ſoldiers, fell to plundering firſt; and ſoon after eſpied a boat with a white flag, making all the ſail they could towards them: Major *Pappenheim*, late commander of the fort of *Rio St. Franciſco*, and Mr. *Hoek*, were in this Boat, being ſent by the enemy to let us know, that if we ſet fire to the veſſel, he would cut all the priſoners with their wives and children to pieces, ſo that we deſiſted from it. They gave us an account, that the ſaid fort had been forced to ſurrender three days before, for want of wood and proviſions, after a ſiege of twenty ſix days: That the *Portugueſe* having taken a ſerjeant with four ſoldiers of the garriſon of *Seregippo*, had killed the ſoldiers, and ſent the ſerjeant back with a convoy of two hundred men, to fetch the garriſon of *Seregippo*, which had

1645. had not above four days proviſion left, from thence. That about eight days before the ſurrender of the fort, colonel *Haus*, captain *Liſtry*, and captain *Wiltſchut* paſs'd by that way in their journey to the *Bahia*; whither they, purſuant to their capitulation, were to be carried with the reſt of the priſoners, and from thence to *Portugal*; and ſo further to *Holland*, without any other loſs except their baggage, being for the reſt indifferently well treated. They further added, that the *Portugueſe* not long ago detach'd two hundred men to the iſland of *Melchior Alvares*, in hopes to cut off the retreat of our men, and to prevent their excurſions; but came too late, our people being retired before. That the enemy had likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the fort *dos Affagados*, where Mr. *Bulleſtraete* being made a priſoner, was now on his way to the *Bahia*. Captain *Lambartz* hearing this account, thought it his beſt way to retreat towards the mouth of the river, where having ſpent two days in refitting his ſhips, he returned the firſt of *October* to the *Receif*.

The garriſons of the three forts forced to ſurrender.

The ſame ill ſucceſs attended us at *Seregippo* and *Porto-Calvo*; for the council having ſent a bark with proviſions to their relief, the ſame, contrary to her orders, came to anchor before *Rio St. Franciſco*, where being ſeized by the enemy, the garriſon of *Seregippo* being thereby diſappointed in their hopes, were forced to ſurrender after they had ſpent all their proviſions. After this misfortune, there was not the leaſt probability left of ſaving the garriſon of *Porto Calvo*, which lying deep into the countrey, the river was not navigable thereabouts by reaſon of its narrowneſs, and that the enemy was maſter of the field on both ſides, ſo that they were likewiſe obliged to ſurrender for want of neceſſaries. The garriſons of theſe three forts, were contrary to their capitulation, (by virtue of which they were to be conducted to the *Receif*) carried priſoners to the *Bahia*; but thoſe that could not follow the reſt, by reaſon of ſickneſs, or otherwiſe, were cut to pieces by the *Portugueſe*.

Are carried to the Bahia.

Many of the ſoldiers belonging to theſe as well as other garriſons, and of the troops under colonel *Haus*, dreading the danger of the land-journey to the *Bahia*, did take ſervice among the *Portugueſe*; but captain *Nicholas Nicholſon* being ſent with ſixty four of theſe *Dutch* to prepare an ambuſh for ſome of our forces, took this opportunity to join with us, which exaſperated the enemy to that degree, that they diſarmed all the *Dutch* that had taken ſervice there, and murthered them in cool blood; the like they did with the *Dutch* inhabitants that had ſtaid behind in the country.

The Portugueſe *kill all the* Dutch *in their ſervice.*

In the mean while the captainſhip of *Parayba*, through the good conduct of their governor *Paul de Linge*, remained in obedience; at leaſt in outward appearance, 'till the 25th of *Auguſt* 1645, when the inhabitants, having received intelligence of the defeat of colonel *Haus*, and the ſurrender of the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, and being at the ſame time encouraged by the ſuccours of five companies, and good ſtore of arms, ſent to them by *Vidal* from *Pernambuko*, they began alſo to take up arms, with an intention to cut off the communication betwixt the garriſon in the Monaſtery of *St. Franciſco*, as the inhabitants of *Fredericia*, (a place of no ſtrength) and the forts near the ſea ſhore; but Mr. *Linge* ſhrewdly ſuſpecting their deſign, did with conſent of the reſt of the officers there, order all the citizens with their effects, and the beforemention'd garriſon to withdraw within theſe forts, to prevent their being ſurpriſed by the *Portugueſe*, and to ſerve as an additional ſtrength for the defence of the forts; for which reaſon alſo the *Braſilians* inhabiting with their families in thoſe parts, were commanded to intrench themſelves under the cannon, which ſerved for outworks to them. The enemy finding themſelves by the conjunction of theſe forces, diſappointed in their deſign of making themſelves maſters of *Parayba* by force, had recourſe to their wonted artifice, not queſtioning, but they might have the ſame ſucceſs in purchaſing the forts of *Parayba*, as they had had at the *Cape of St. Auſtin*. To encompaſs which, they ſent in *September* 1645, one *Ferdinand Rodrigo de Bulhaus*, clerk of the court of juſtice of *Parayba*, with a letter directed to the commander in chief, *Paul Vander Linge*, offering him the ſum of 19000 gilders, if he would ſurrender the ſaid fort into their hands. But this meſſage had not the deſired effect, the meſſenger being by order from Mr. *de Linge* taken into cuſtody and hanged the next day; of which he ſent notice to the council the 16th of *September*. In the mean while, (according to Mr. *de Linge*'s letter from the 6th of *September*) five companies more of the enemies troops, making in all about three hundred Men, were arrived in *Parayba*, which being join'd by the ableſt of the inhabitants, had poſted themſelves near *Tibery*, where they had publiſhed by proclamation, for every one to repair to his ſugar-mill, under pain of forfeiting the ſame.

Revolt in Parayba.

Their meſſenger hanged.

The Paſſage betwixt the *Affagados* and the *Quinquangular-Fort*, where the cattle belonging to the *Receif* were kept at paſture, being much infeſted by the enemies parties, one of which had taken good part

of

1645. of it, a ſmall wooden fort was ordered to be erected in the moſt convenient poſt, for the ſecurity of the meadows thereabouts.

Sometime before, *viz.* the 26th of *July*, orders were ſent from the council to *Servaes Carpenter*, to diſarm the inhabitants of *Goyana*, who thereupon petitioned the ſaid council to be excuſed from ſurrendering their Arms, conſidering that thirty ſeven *Portugueſe* of *Kunhao*, who had been diſarmed, were murthered by the *Tapoyers*, and that they were daily in fear of the ſame treatment, 'till they were further removed from their borders. The council anſwered, that the murther committed upon theſe *Portugueſe* had been done without their knowledge, and contrary to their orders; that in caſe they perſiſted in their allegiance, they had nothing to fear from the *Tapoyers*, whilſt they were under their protection; neither ought they to imagine that the diſarming of them, was done with an intention to leave them a prey to the *Tapoyers*, but for our own ſecurity, and to furniſh them with a plauſible excuſe not to join with the rebels, whenever they ſhould be prompted thereunto by them. At the ſame time they repeated their orders to Mr. *Carpenter*, not to deſiſt from diſarming thoſe of *Goyana*, notwithſtanding their petition to the contrary, but that he ſhould be very careful, that neither the ſoldiers, nor *Braſilians* of *Marni* might be burthenſome to them. The council alſo deputed Mr. *Aſtelle* and captain *William Lambartz*, with letters to *John Duwy* and *Karakara*, the firſt king, and the ſecond commander in chief of a troop of the *Tapoyers*, with preſents to all the reſt of their commanders, in order to engage them to join with us, they having complained of their not having been preſented, like as *John Duwy* was before; accordingly the ſaid Mr. *Aſtelle* and captain *William Lambratz* having taken their leave the 28th of *Auguſt* of the council, took ſhipping for *Parayba*, in order to go from thence to *Kunhao* to treat with the *Tapoyers*.

Deputies ſent the Tapoyers.

The Members of the Court of Juſtice and the council of war, in conjunction with the magiſtrates, having repreſented to the *great council* the abſolute neceſſity of having the houſes in *Maurice's Town* pull'd down and laid level with the ground; an order of the ſaid council was publiſh'd the 29th of *Auguſt* by beat of drum, enjoining the inhabitants to pull down ſuch houſes, within the ſpace of two days, and in caſe of failure, every body to be at liberty to break down the ſame for his uſe; the houſe of Mr. *Rechteren* only excepted, which was to be converted into a redoubt, for the defence of the adjacent plain. The ſame day *John Denninger*, lately lieutenant to colonel *Haus*, ſucceeded captain *Blaar*, now a priſoner with the enemy, in his command; and many negroes offered to ſerve the company under a captain of their own chooſing. 1645.

The 30th of *Auguſt*, captain *William Lambartz*, with part of his forces return'd to the *Receif* from *Parayba*, where he gave the council an account of his negotiation: That not without a great deal of trouble they at laſt obtained two hundred *Tapoyers* from their king *John Duwy*, who pretended that he dreaded an incurſion from one of his neighbours, who in the abſence of his troops might perhaps kill him with all his family, and demanded at the ſame time, that all the *Portugueſe* might be killed in *Parayba*. That he marching with theſe *Tapoyers* into the ſaid captainſhip of *Parayba*, they actually ſlew all the *Portugueſe* they met with in their way, to the number of one hundred perſons, and plunder'd their houſes; and as ſoon as they found him prepared to appeaſe them, one half of them, with what negroes and other booty they had got, returned home; but continuing his march with the reſt thro' *Goyana* towards the *Receif*, the *Tapoyers* did no ſooner underſtand, that they were likely to meet with ſome oppoſition by the way, but they followed the footſteps of the reſt homewards; ſo that he was forced to retire with all ſpeed to the fort of *St. Margaret* in *Parayba*, from whence he returned by ſea to the *Receif*. Hereupon the council diſpatched ſome letters the 16th of *September* for *Rio Grande*, directed to king *John Duwy*, *Jacob Rabbi* and *Rudolf Baro*, exhorting them to join their arms with ours, for our mutual defence, and to chaſe the *Portugueſe* that were on their march thither, from thence.

The ſucceſſes of their negotiation.

The Tapoyers *deſert.*

The 13th of *September* 1645, *Jeronymo Serrao da Paiva*, late admiral of the *Portuguſe* fleet, (made priſoners in the late ſea engagement in the bay of *Tamandare*) appeared before the council, where being examined concerning the deſigns of the governor of the *Bahia* in ſending a fleet, and landing his forces in the Bay of *Tamandare*, as likewiſe concerning the fleet under the command of *Salvador Korrea de Saa*, he refuſed to give any other anſwer, or to make the leaſt confeſſion, except that he was ſent with the ſaid fleet and forces to offer his aſſiſtance to appeaſe the revolt ariſen among us. He deſired alſo leave to ſend a letter by a drummer to the colonels *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal*, about the exchanging of his perſon, and ſome other *Portugueſe* Priſoners, which was granted.

The captive Portugueſe *admiral examined.*

Some

1645. Some of the citizens having conceived a jealouſy, as if their preſſing circumſtances and the need they ſtood in of preſent relief, had not been ſufficiently repreſented to the council of nineteen in *Holland*, it was thought fit by the council to communicate the contents of the two laſt letters to them for their ſatisfaction.

The 19th of *September*, about noon, our whole fleet retired from the bay of *Tamandare* into the road of the *Receif*, with two men of war, and two ſmall veſſels taken from the enemy; where I was arrived long before, having left them, immediately after the engagement. The ſame night *Servaes Carpenter* who died the day before, was interr'd. The ſame day the yacht call'd the *Doe*, and one of the ſmall veſſels taken from the enemy, and call'd by us the *Receif*, were ſent out a cruſing to the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, to prevent the enemies receiving any ſupplies by ſea thereabouts.

The council being ſenſible that the enemy made it their chiefeſt endeavour to drive away their cattle, and to prevent them by ſtrong parties from fetching of wood and fiſhing, a company of fuſileers was order'd to be erected out of other companies, who were to be commanded by captain *Renbagh*, and to ſerve as a conſtant guard againſt the enemy's flying parties. The 21ſt of *September*, the following proclamation of pardon for ſuch as had taken ſervice with the enemy, was publiſh'd.

Company of fuſileers erected.

A PARDON *publiſh'd.*

THE great council of the Dutch-Braſil *being made ſenſible, that many of their ſubjects being fallen into the enemies hands, have either for fear of being killed or tranſported, and out of other conſiderations, taken ſervice among the enemies troops, and conſidering that moſt of them have been inveigled by their commanders, and perhaps are in a fair way of repenting of their error, have thought fit, by theſe preſents to grant our pardon to all ſuch as ſhall return to our ſervice, for all paſt offences; with our promiſe, that they ſhall receive the advantage of the ſame ſtation they were poſſeſs'd of among us before; and ſuch as are willing to return to their native countrey, ſhall have paſſports granted them for that purpoſe; from the benefit of which pardon, are however excepted* Dirck Hoogſtrate, *and the other traytors, who being commanders of forts, have treacherouſly delivered up the ſame to the enemy.*

By this time the enemy had block'd up all the avenues by land, leading to the *Receif*, in hopes to reduce us by famine, having poſted both all the *Portugueſe* forces ſent to their aid from the *Bahia*, and the rebellious troops, from the city of *Olinda* to the *Baretta*, in the form of a half-moon; and made about half a league from the fort of *Affagados* an entrenchment provided with ſix pieces of heavy cannon, brought hither from *Porto Calvo*,; but durſt not attack us by force, knowing we were prepared for their reception. 1645.

Mr. *Dortmund* having by his letters repreſented to the council, the neceſſity there was of ſending one of their members to provide for the ſecurity of *Itamarika*, and to keep the *Braſilians*, (conſiſting of 1500 men, women and children) by his authority in their duty againſt the ſolicitations of *Kamaron*, who left no ſtone unturn'd to bring them over to his ſide; they deſired Mr. *Bulleſtrate* to take upon him this province; who accordingly the 23d of *September*, ſet ſail thither in the ſhip the *Deventer*, and returning the 29th of *September* to the *Receif*, gave the following account to the council.

Mr Bulleſtrate *ſent to* Itamarika.

He arrived about noon at the entrance of the river *Maria Farinha*, where being informed by *John Vos*, maſter of a bark, that the enemy had twice attack'd the city of *Shoppe*, and continued before it ſtill, he went into a challop, with five or ſix ſeamen to the fort *Orange*, but was no ſooner eſpied by the garriſon, but they deſired him not to come nearer, they being ſtill ſmartly engaged with the enemy upon the hill, and doubtful of ſucceſs: Whereupon he ſent two ſeamen, with a letter to Mr. *Dortmund*, who being encouraged by the reward of two reals, brought an anſwer from him the ſame night, intimating that the enemy, had been forced to retire.

An account of his proceedings.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, by break of day, he went in a challop to the city of *Shoppe*, and finding that the enemy, what with the brave reſiſtance made by the garriſon, what with fear of this ſhip, had abandon'd not only the city, but alſo the whole iſland, he ordered the fortifications to be forthwith repaired, and to be put into a good poſture of defence.

For the enemy perceiving that it was in vain to attack us upon the *Receif*, ſent great part of their forces, embark'd in 8 boats and a bark againſt *Itamarika*, the 20th of *September*; where having ſurprized, and vigorouſly attack'd our forces poſted on the hill near the city, (our deſerters making the firſt attack) that they the third time made themſelves maſters of it, forcing our troops to retreat into their entrenchment of the church.

The Portugueſe attack Itamarika.

About three days after, *viz.* the 23d, Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, as we told you, arrived in the ſhip *Deventer*, to give the neceſſary orders for the defence of the place; and to keep the *Braſilians* in awe, he brought along with

1645. him ſome volunteers choſen from among the citizens, the garriſon of the *Receif* being ſo weak as not to be rendred uſeleſs by any further detachments; beſides that there were 400 *Braſilians* capable of bearing arms at *Itamarika*. He was charged by the great council, and the members of the council of war, to watch above all things for the defence of the fort *Orange*, which was to be maintained to the laſt, if they were not able to keep the whole iſland on the hill.

Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, after his arrival there, found it abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve likewiſe the city of *Shoppe*, from whence the ſaid fort muſt be ſupplied with wood, its ſituation being ſuch, as that ſo long as we were maſters at ſea, we could maintain a correſpondence betwixt the ſaid fort and city; for which purpoſe alſo, the yacht call'd the *Golden-Doe*, had her ſtation appointed betwixt the fort *Orange* and the hill, to maintain the paſſage of the river between both. But to return to the ſiege of the city: The enemy made three vigorous attacks upon the entrenchment on the hill, but was repulſed with the loſs of 150 kill'd; tho' a barber, who after the fight deſerted them, made their loſs amount to 450. *Kamaron* and *Hoogſtrate* were wounded, and we had only 15 kill'd and 16 wounded. The *Braſilians* lately tranſported thither, from the villages of *Goyana*, *Iguaracu*, and other places, behaved themſelves to a miracle upon this occaſion, tho' it muſt be allow'd, that the arrival of Mr. *Bulleſtrate* did not a little cool their courage, which made them abandon the iſland in the night, betwixt ſunday and monday.

Abandon it again.

Further conſultations about the ſafety of Itamarika.

The 2d of *October* the great council entred upon a ſecond debate concerning the preſervation of *Itamarika*, they having received certain intelligence, that the enemy had undertaken the laſt expedition againſt that iſland, upon hopes of being ſeconded therein by certain perſons of our party, with whom they kept a ſecret correſpondency; and tho' they were in the dark upon whom in particular to fix the intended treachery, yet did they think it conducing to the ſafety of that ſo important place, to remove captain *Sluyter* with his company from thence, and in their ſtead to ſend thither the company commanded by captain *William Lambartz*, and to entruſt him with the ſupreme command of all their forces there, which was put in execution accordingly the next day. The entrenchment round the church and the fort *Orange*, were alſo ordered to be ſtrengthen'd with palliſadoes; and the firſt, purſuant to the advice of *Garſtman* and *Dortmund*, I ordered to be ſurrounded with a counterſcarp, within the compaſs of which a company of *Braſilians* were lodged, with their wives and children, and the reſt to be employed in the defence of the fort *Orange*; ſo the redoubt which commanded the place, from which the fort was ſupplied with water, was ordered to be repaired againſt a ſudden attack, without which the fort could not long ſubſiſt, or hold out againſt an enemy. 1645.

Letters were about the ſame time delivered to the council, dated the 5th of *October*, by Major *Auſtin de Magethaes*, ſent by *Andrew Vidal*, to treat about the exchange of priſoners; he told them, that ſince admiral *Serrao de Paiva*, had by two ſeveral letters ſollicited his releaſement, he deſired that the ſame might be exchanged for other ſoldiers, or be ranſomed by *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, governor of the *Bahia*. He deſired alſo that a cartel might be agreed upon for the exchange of the ſoldiers; and that in the mean while ſuch of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, as were priſoners with us, might be releaſed for reaſonable ranſom, which was not accepted of by the council.

Vidal *ſollicits the exchange of priſoners.*

In the mean while, (purſuant to the letters from the commander in chief of *Rio Grande*, and *John Hoek* of the 6th of *October*) *Jacob Rabbi*, with a ſmall troop of *Tapoyers* and *Braſilians*, in conjunction with 30 *Dutch* inhabitants, made themſelves maſters of the ſeat of *John Leſtan*, with the ſlaughter of 15 *Portugueſe*. But they had not the ſame ſucceſs at *Fernandes Menda's* houſe in *Potigi*, which being defended by 50 *Portugueſe*, they were repulſed with ſome loſs.

Fifteen Portugueſe *killed by the* Tapoyers.

The enemies finding themſelves diſappointed in their deſign of gaining *Parayba* by treachery, did again apply all their care to block up all the avenues leading to the *Receif*, in hopes of reducing it by famine. This occaſioned many ſkirmiſhes, in which the *Braſilians*, who got the greateſt part of their proviſion out of the countrey, did a conſiderable miſchief to the *Portugueſe*; who for their greater ſecurity built a fort in *Pernambuko* (as they likewiſe did in the *Vargea* of *Parayba*) near the ſugar-mill of *George Huomo Pinto*, but ſlightly fortified, and not able to hold out againſt any vigorous attack. In *Rio Grande* the *Tapoyers* plaid the maſters over the *Portugueſe*; for as we told you before, that according to their cuſtom they entred the ſaid captainſhip in *July* 1645, when being informed of the rebellion of the *Portugueſe* in *Pernambuko*, they o.. of an inborn hatred to that nation, attacked the 16th of *July* ſome of them in the ſugar-mill of *Kunhao*, and killed every ſoul of them, the *Dutch* inhabitants thereabouts not being ſtrong enough to prevent it. From thence the *Tapoyers* marched to *Monpobu*, *Goyana*,

and

1645. and *Potoſi*, places belonging likewiſe to *Rio Grande*, where finding a body of *Portugueſe* entrenched with palliſadoes in the nature of a *Palanka*, they forced them in conjunction with ſome *Braſilians*, to ſurrender, under condition that their lives ſhould be ſaved, provided they did not give any further occaſion of diſturbance. But ſome of the *Portugueſe* flying afterwards into *Parayba*, the *Tapoyers* looking upon this as a breach of the late treaty, did with the beforementioned *Braſilians* agree to put the reſt to the ſword whereever they met with them, which they did accordingly, the *Braſilians* exclaiming againſt the tyranny committed upon thirty or forty of their comrades, who by *Andrew Vidal*'s order, were tied to palliſadoes in *Serinhaim* and ſtrangled, which had this good effect, that *Rio Grande* for that time was entirely purged of the rebellious crew, except ſome few who eſcaped their hands. Their eſtates and cattle were afterwards diſpoſed for the benefit of the company, and others their creditors, which furniſhed the publick magazines with good ſtore of fleſh, at a very ſeaſonable time. The *Portugueſe* being ſenſible that we drew conſiderable ſupplies of proviſions from that countrey, endeavoured to prevent it by ſending ſeveral bodies of their troops thither, but were always forced to retire to *Parayba*, whither they carried as much cattle along with them as they could.

The Tapoyers *clear* Rio Grande *of the* Portugueſe.

An account of the enemies forces.

According to the depoſition of captain *Nicholas Nicholſon* (who came over to us the 12th of *November*, as we ſhall ſee anon) the four companies of *Dutch* quartered in the *Vargea*, were as follows.

The company of *Nicholas Nicholſon*, 63 men, and among them 23 muſquets.

The company of *Alexander Buchhalt*, of 43 men, among whom 36 muſquets.

The company of captain *Anthony*, who was mortally wounded in a late engagement, conſiſting of 36 men, and among them 32 muſquets.

The company of *John de Witt*, of 40 men, but miſerable wretches, and among them only 12 muſquets.

Beſides theſe they had two other *Dutch* companies in *Goyana*, one commanded by *George Peterſon* of 17 men, all pikes, the other by *La Cour* of 19 men, likewiſe moſt pikes. They had alſo two more in *Parayba*, one under the command of captain *Peter Gendreef* of 19 men, moſt pikes; the ſecond by *Edward Verſman* of 20 men, among whom was but one muſqueteer: So that the whole number of theſe eight companies, amounted to no more than 257 men; their colonel was *Hoogſtrate*, and *Francis la Tour* late alderman of *Serinhaim*, major, a proteſt enemy to the *Hollanders*. Moſt of the *Dutch* priſoners were put under a neceſſity of taking ſervice with the enemy, being otherwiſe in danger of being murdered in their way to the *Bahia*, as it happened to 42 priſoners taken at the cape of *St. Auſtin*, who were all ſlain in the ſugar-mill *Konjau*, near *Serinhaim*. He further declared, that the enemies forces in the *Vergea*, conſiſted of about 700 men ſent from the *Bahia*, divided into nine companies, well armed with muſquets and firelocks. That beſides theſe, they had about 100 men, gathered from among the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, they having forced all the young men from the ſouth of *Huma*, as far as *St. Lawrence* to take up arms; ſome being armed with firelocks, others with muſquets they had taken from us; they were for the moſt part mulats, and an undiſciplined rabble, commanded by *John Fernand Vieira* as colonel, and *Anthony Dias* (who came from the *Bahia*) their major. Their captains moſt in eſteem among them were, *Simon Mendes*, *Domingos Fagundos*, and *John d'Albuquerque*. *Kamaron* commanded 100 *Braſilians* armed with blunderbuſſes, and *Dias* 200 negroes (among whom 50 were ours) provided with very good guns; beſides ſome *Tapoyers*. Each ſoldier had for his daily allowance, a pound of meat, and about a pint of farinha or meal, and 12 gilders *per* month; a captain 120 gilders, an enſign 42, a ſergeant 21, and a corporal 15 gilders *per* month. But they only paid the *Dutch* troops with ready money, the account with the *Portugueſe* from the *Bahia* being made up but once a year. They were at that time buſy in raiſing of a fort with four ſmall baſtions and a powder houſe, betwixt *Bierbrom*'s ſugar-mill and *Caſa de Sabrodo*, upon each of which were to be mounted three pieces of cannon, eight pieces having been brought for that purpoſe from *Porto Calvo*, among which were five of metal. Round about this fort the ſoldiers from the *Bahia* had their quarters aſſigned them, except the company commanded by *John de Magehais*, which was quartered in the *Baretta*, with four *Dutch* companies, *viz.* the *Dutch* that were in the ſugar-mill of *Bierbrom*, and thoſe commanded by captain *Peter Kavalkanti*, and *Anthony Jaconio*, and two or three companies of the *Portugueſe* come from the *Bahia*, in the ſugar-mill *Brito*; the reſt being *Portugueſe*, *Mulats*, and other idle fellows they had forced to follow them from the ſouth. Theſe were armed for the moſt part with firelocks and muſquets, the reſt with pikes, *Andrew Vidal*, *John Fernand Vieira*, and major *Hoogſtrate*, were at that time in the *Caſa de Sabrodo*; all theſe conſiſted not

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1645. in above 600 men. About the ſugar-mill of *John de Mendonce* were quartered three companies, two at the houſe of *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, and two more in the ſugar-mill of *Mengao*. The reſt were poſted in the *Salines*, *Baretta*, and the city of *Olinda*. Some of *Kamaron*'s troops were in the ſugar-mill of *Van Scholl*, and in the houſe of *John Kordero de Mendoje*, upon the bank of the river, being their advanced guard; *Henry Dias* with his troops had his poſt in the houſe of Mr. *Luffelen*. The redoubts belonging to the city of *Olinda*, were manned only with 17 ſoldiers.

In *November* the great council received intelligence, both by letters from *Paulo de Linge* out of *Parayba*, as alſo by ſeveral deſerters, that the enemy had ſent 400 men, 200 of which were ſoldiers, the reſt inhabitants, from *Rio Grande* into *Parayba*, to make themſelves maſters of the open countrey, or at leaſt to drive away the cattle; whereupon it was reſolved, with conſent of colonel *Garſman*, to endeavour to hinder the execution of the enemies deſign.

Captain Nicholas Nicholſon *deſerts the enemy.*

The 12th of *November*, captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, a native of *Amſterdam*, came, as we told you before, over to us to the *Receif*. He was among other priſoners of the cape of *St. Auſtin*, carried from thence to *St. Antonio*, where he took ſervice among the *Portugueſe*, but with no other intention than to deſert them upon the firſt opportunity; he being intruſted with a captain's commiſſion, to command a company of *Dutch* ſoldiers forced to liſt themſelves from among the priſoners they had taken, was ordered, at the recommendation of *Hoogſtrate*, and *Albert Geuitz Weddo*, with the approbation of *Vidal* and *John Vieira*, to lye in ambuſh for ſome of our people in the *Salines*, with a detachment of 60 men, out of the four *Dutch* companies in their ſervice; and four more companies were ordered for a reſerve, to aſſiſt him upon all occaſions. The ſupreme command of the whole body being committed to him, he approached as near as he could with his *Dutch* to the fort *Bruin*, where he took the opportunity to paſs the river by break of day, and to go with them (they being all willing to follow) over to us to the ſaid fort. Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon* had the command over the ſaid company confirmed to him by the council, they being all willing to enter into their ſervice: But the enemy had no ſooner notice of it, but they diſarmed all the *Dutch*, and under pretence of ſending them to the *Bahia*, cauſed them to be murdered by the way, with their wives and children.

The 2d of *November*, the council had received advice from Mr. *Linge* from *Parayba*, that *Andrew Vidal* had entred that captainſhip with 200 men, and that *Kamaron* had by letters ſtrongly ſollicited *Peter Potty*, to deſert our ſervice with his *Braſilians*, but had received a ſmart refuſal; the council ſent him two pieces of fine linnen cloth as a reward of his fidelity. For it ought to be obſerved, that the *Portugueſe* when they firſt began to take up arms againſt the government, did with letters and great promiſes, tempt the *Regidors* or commanders of the *Braſilians* to join with them, but they were ſo far from hearkening to them, that they ſent all the letters written upon that account, both by *Kamaron* and the reſt of the rebellious ringleaders, without opening to the council, thereby to avoid all ſuſpicion of keeping any correſpondence with the enemy, *Peter Potty* being a near kinſman of *Kamaron*; and ever ſince that time they have behaved themſelves ſo well upon all occaſions, and have done ſuch conſiderable miſchiefs to the *Portugueſe*, by plundering and killing them, wherever they could meet with them, that we had not the leaſt reaſon to miſtruſt the ſincerity of their intentions. 1645.

The Dutch *defeat the* Portugueſe.

The ſaid Mr. *Linge* did alſo ſend word *November* the 4th, that the enemy had attempted nothing as yet; and from *November* 14, that a party of 300 of our people being joined by ſome *Braſilians* of *Parayba*, had engaged 800 of the enemies troops, whom after a ſmart engagement they put to the rout, with the ſlaughter of a good number of their men. The *Braſilians* being encouraged by this ſucceſs, did over-run all the flat countrey, and meeting with a good number of *Portugueſe*, who were merry-making upon *St. Martin*'s eve in the ſugar mill of *Andrew Dias de Tigeireda*, they attackt them ſo furiouſly, that after a ſlender reſiſtance they put them all to the ſword, even the ſon of the ſaid *Tigeireda* himſelf, and a prieſt, without giving quarter to any body, except to a very beautiful maiden; who though almoſt diſtracted at the death of her father, and ſome of her other relations, that lay wallowing in their own blood, had ſuch a powerful influence upon the hearts of theſe *Barbarians*, that they brought her a priſoner ſafely to the fort of *Parayba*.

The Tapoyers *kill many* Portugueſe.

The Dutch *attack the* Portugueſe *near* Kunhao *without ſucceſs.*

The 21st of *November* towards the evening, 360 ſoldiers (20 of whom were taken from the *Receif*) ſet ſail in ſmall boats to the bay of *Traican*, and continued their march the ſame night, under the command of lieutenant *Berge*, juſtice *Hoek*, and the receiver-general of *Pernambuko*, towards *Kunhao*, in order to attack the enemy that were lately come into *Rio Grande* from *Parayba*; but theſe enemies having got ſome intel-

1645. intelligence of our deſigns, were retired from *Kunhao* to a retrenchment among the bogs, which being acceſſible but in one place, they ſo warmly ſaluted our forces that would have forced them from thence, with their ſhot, that they were obliged to retreat with the loſs of ſome dead and wounded, to the caſtle of *Keulen*, partly to refreſh their men, partly to prevent their penetrating deeper into the council.

The 4th of *December* it was reſolved to ſend the ſhip the *Overyſſel*, and the yacht called the *Sprew*, towards the *Bahia* a cruiſing, to get intelligence of their naval ſtrength thereabouts, and to endeavour to take ſome prizes. The 5th of *December* the great council ſent for all the commanders of the *Braſilians*, to inform them, that they had received conſiderable ſupplies of powder, ball, and all other ſorts of ammunition, by the ſhip called the *Swan*, with letters from *Holland*, that they were equipping a conſiderable fleet for their relief; at which the *Braſilians* were extremely rejoyced; the *Portugueſe* commanders having made it their buſineſs to perſuade them, that no ſuch thing was expected from *Holland*.

The Braſilian *commanders ſummoned.*

The ſame evening a *Braſilian* deſerter declared, that all the *Dutch* were killed by the rebellious inhabitants, and their wives and children made ſlaves. The ſame thing was confirmed by a negro deſerter, concerning captain *Bockholt*; who having taken ſervice with the enemy, and being afterwards ſuſpected by them, had cauſed him to be murdered, as they had done with all the reſt of the *Dutch* in their ſervice, who were ſlain in their way to the *Bahia*.

Advice that all the Dutch *were killed by the* Portugueſe.

The 7th of *December* it was reſolved in council, to erect four companies of fuſiliers, the ſame being found by experience to be more ſerviceable at this juncture, for which purpoſe the companies of colonel *Garſman*, captain *Jurian Remberger*, captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, and captain *John Taylor*, were pitched upon before all the reſt.

Four companies of fuſiliers erected.

In the ſame month of *December*, a certain *Portugueſe*, *Gaſper Gonſalves*, was taken by the *Braſilians* in the iſland of *Itamarika*, ſent on purpoſe to perſuade the *Braſilians*, that the *Dutch* intended to deliver them up to the *Portugueſe* for a certain ſum of money, and they to retire with their effects into *Holland*, which cauſed no ſmall commotion among the *Braſilians*, who began to give credit to the relation. And becauſe *Gonſalves* had ſpread this rumour abroad ſome time before the arrival of *Caſpar Honyhouſe* (who the 28th of *Auguſt* was appointed commander in chief of the *Braſilians* of *Itamarika* inſtead of *Liſtry* taken priſoner by the enemy) he was hardly put to it how to remove this jealouſy from among them. 1645.
Jacob Rabbi, purſuant to his letters of the 11th of *December*, was about the ſame time preparing to enter 80 leagues further into the countrey towards the *Tapoyers*, to ſollicit their aſſiſtance: He at laſt came to *Oyepe*, ſon-in-law of king *Duwy*, who promiſed, in caſe thoſe of *Siara* would ſend their troops to us, he would endeavour to raiſe as many of his vaſſals as he could; but king *Duwy* excuſed himſelf under pretence that many of his troops died by ſickneſs in the *Sartan*.

The night before the 27th of *December*, the enemy had by means of a boat, faſtned two puppets with fire-works to the ſhip called the *Swan*; but being diſcovered as ſoon as it took fire, was ſoon quencht without doing any damage to the veſſel; which made the ſhips to be conſtantly upon their guard for the future.

The 30th of *December* two ſuch puppets found by two ſoldiers in a ſmall boat near the fort *Bruin*, were preſented to the council. This boat, which queſtionleſs was ſent on purpoſe to faſten theſe puppets to ſome ſhip or other, being diſcovered by the centinels, the men quitted the boat, leaving the ſaid puppets behind them.

The Portugueſe *endeavour to fire the* Dutch *ſhips.*

Mr. *de Linge*, by his letters dated the 30th of *December* from the fort *St. Margaret* in *Parayba*, adviſed, that a certain negro who had deſerted the enemies quarter of *St. Andrew* had declared, that the enemy had built two large barks in order to tranſport 300 men in each, in order to attack *Peter Potty* commander of the *Braſilians* in his entrenchments. That *Kamaron* had been near three weeks in *Parayba*, the enemies troops conſiſting thereabouts in 16 companies; but that they had many ſick among them for want of proviſions, and that they had drawn all their forces out of *Rio Grande*.

The 6th of *January* 1646, *Peter Bas* one of the members of the great council, did by order from the ſaid council, ſet ſail with the two ſhips the *Lichthart* and the *Receif* and a bark called the *Blue-Boar*, towards the captainſhips of *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*. His inſtructions were, to conſult with Mr. *Linge* commander in chief in *Parayba*, and the reſt of the officers there, how to put the intrenchments and other works of the *Braſilians* into a poſture of defence. From thence he was to go to *Rio Grande*, there to take an exact account both of the real eſtates and chattels of ſuch *Portugueſe*, as by reaſon of their being engaged with the rebels, were forfeited to the company; he was alſo to uſe his endeavours to have thoſe goods which were upon that account concealed or embezzled, reſtored for the benefit of the ſaid company. He was alſo

Mr. Bas's commiſſion.

1645. ordered to act in all other respects, but especially in providing for the security of the captainship and the fort, as he found it most consistent with our present interest, and to exhort the inhabitants to remain stedfast in their duty, and not to neglect the cultivating of the grounds and breeding of cattle.

An account of the enemies designs.

The 12th of *January*, *Peter Dunkerke* arrived from *Parayba*, where he had been a cruising before the *Receif* in the ship *Hamel*; he brought a letter from Mr. *Linge*, dated in the fort *St. Margaret*, the 11th of *January*, who sent also one Mr. *Steinhuisen* to the council, he having deserted the enemy when they began to kill the *Dutch* in their service. This *Steenhuisen* brought advice to the council, that *Kamaron* with 500 well-appointed soldiers, was marched out of *Parayba* into *Rio Grande* to be master of the field there; and consequently to keep our garrisons from being supplied with cattle and farinha from thence. He further added, that the enemy were in want of meat, oil, and other necessaries; but that the inhabitants flattered themselves, that for want of provisions, we should shortly be obliged to surrender our forts into the hands of the *Portuguese*. This being likewise confirmed by Mr. *Linge*'s letter dated the 10th of *January*, a council was called against the 13th of *January*, *Dirk Hamel*, and Mr. *Bullestrate* being present, both members of the great council, besides the assessor *Walbeck*, as likewise lieutenant colonel *Garsman*, Mr. *Raetsfield*, Mr. *de Witt*, *Alrich*, *Volbergen*, and *Sams*, in order to deliberate concerning the present exigency, considering, that in case we should, by the enemies being masters of the field, be bereaved of the supplies of cattle and farinha of *Rio Grande*, at a juncture when *Itamarika* and *Parayba* are closely beset by their troops, it would be next to an impossibility to maintain ourselves in the possession of the *Dutch Brasil*, till the arrival of the expected succours from *Hollland*. It was therefore taken into consideration, whether this captainship might be best secured by a powerful diversion, or by endeavouring to drive him from thence. But being sensible that the enemy were so powerful near the *Receif*, *Parayba*, and *Itamarika*, as not to be attack'd in any of these places, without exposing the whole *Dutch Brasil* to an imminent danger, it was resolved, that in order to attempt the relief of the captainship of *Rio Grande*, Mr. *Dortmund* should be ordered to send 60 soldiers under the command of captain *Welling*, and 100 *Brasilians*, in the barks sent him for that purpose, from *Itamarika* to *Rio Grande*: At the same time orders were dispacht to Mr. *Linge*, commander in the fort *St. Margaret* in *Parayba*, to send the same number of soldiers under lieutenant *Bresman*, and of *Brasilians* to *Rio Grande*, to join with the rest that were to rendezvous there. These forces consisting of 120 soldiers and 200 *Brasilians*, set sail the 19th of *January* for *Rio Grande*, and were thought sufficient to oppose the enemies designs on that side.

Consultations held hereupon.

Their resolution.

Mr. *Dortmont* and *William Lambartz*, by a letter dated the 15th of *January*, gave notice to the council, that they had sent a body of 60 soldiers and 100 *Brasilians* abroad, as far in the *Aldea* by *Oubus*, and from thence to the sugar-mill *Arraripe*, but did not meet with any enemies in that part of the countrey, tho' they had several guns discharged at them from among the woods; so that they return'd to *Itamarika* by the way of *Tapasima*.

Mr. *Linge* not long after sent advice by his letter dated the 22d of *January*, at the fort of *St. Margaret* in *Parayba* to the council, that *Peter Potty* with 150 *Brasilians* had attack'd the enemy 400 strong in the *Aldea* of *Magrebbe*, and put them to flight with the loss of 20 killed, and many wounded, whereas they lost but one *Brasilian*.

The Portuguese defeated.

The 29th of *January* it was resolved in council, to bring the ships the *Elias*, *Orange-Tree*, *Deventer*, *Omlandia* and the *Swan*, into the road of the *Receif*, to be ready upon all occasions, in case the enemy should again appear at sea.

Mr. *Bas*, pursuant to his letter from the castle of *Keulen* in *Rio Grande*, dated the 23d of *January*, could not, by reason of a tempest, land his forces at *Kunhao*, in order to join them with those under captain *Rhineburgh*; but was forced to land his forces the 14th and 15th near *Peringi*. In the mean while *Kamaron* having found means to break in through the *Matta*, had surprised many of the inhabitants in their *Fazendas*, and kill'd them without distinction of age or sex: He had since posted himself with his forces, consisting of 400 soldiers, as many *Brasilians*, and 80 *Tapoyars*, under the command of *Antonio Jacomo Beserro*, at a house of *Henry Hamme* in *Mompabou*, to cut off the provisions from us. Our forces consisting of about 1000 soldiers, *Brasilians* and *Tapoyars*, march'd the 23d of *January* to a house of *John Lestan Navarre*, to attack the enemy, and to force them to quit the captainship of *Rio Grande*. Besides these *Jacob Rabbi* and the sons of king *Duwy*, were the 19th past, by the fort *Keulen*, at the head of 60 *Tapoyers*, and were daily follow'd by others, that came to our assistance. Mr. *Bas* sollicited also some supplies of provisions, of which they stood in great want, there being above 1500 *Brasilians*

Mr. Bas gives an account of his proceedings.

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1643. *Consultations held thereupon.*

filians, men, women and children, lodged under the caſtle. He deſired alſo ſome money, ammunition, linen and ſilks to preſent to the *Braſilians* and *Tapoyers*; all which, together with ſome pieces of red-cloth, was ſent him by the council.

According to this advice, it being much to be feared the enemy would ſcarce ſtand the brunt in *Rio Grande*, but retire into *Parayba*, it was taken into ſerious conſideration the 29th of *January*, whether it would be adviſeable, in caſe the enemy ſhould be forced by our troops, or voluntarily retreat into *Parayba*, to purſue them thither, and thereby endeavour the recovery likewiſe of that captainſhip: But conſidering that by reaſon of the weakneſs of our garriſons, we were not in a condition to ſend any further ſuccours from the *Receif*, *Itamarika* or *Parayba*, without running a manifeſt hazard to our troops there; whereas, on the contrary, the enemies did not want opportunity to relieve theirs from the adjacent places of *Parayba*, and that we lived in daily hopes of ſuccours from *Holland*, it was judged the beſt way, that the welfare of the whole *Dutch-Braſil* ought not to be put to the hazard by ſuch an enterprize as this.

Their reſult.

Accordingly orders were ſent to Mr. *Bas* and the reſt of the commanders of our troops there, to act with all imaginable caution, and rather than expoſe our men, in following the enemy into *Parayba*, to be contented with the recovery of the captainſhip of *Rio Grande*.

Colonel Garſman ſent to Rio Grande.

The 30th of *March*, colonel *Garſman* was by ſpecial order from the council ſent a ſecond time with ſome Troops to the captainſhip of *Rio Grande*, to inform himſelf, whether any troops of the enemy were poſted in that captainſhip, and in what number; his inſtructions were, that ſo ſoon as he had received intelligence of the enemy, he ſhould, with what forces he was able to bring together, endeavour to ſtop their progreſs. But if he found himſelf not ſtrong enough to oppoſe them, he ſhould ſend ſpeedy advice thereof to the council, that they might ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours, and that he was to take all imaginable care not to engage the enemy, before the arrival of the ſaid ſuccours. But if he found the enemy already ſo ſtrongly entrench'd as to be maſter of the countrey, without any hopes of forcing them from thence, the defence of the fort *Keulen* ſhould be his chiefeſt care, as likewiſe of the *Braſilians*, with their wives and children, and ſince, in caſe the ſaid fort of *Keulen* ſhould be in danger of being attack'd by the enemy, it would be of ill conſequence, to have theſe women and children enclоſed within the fortifications, for fear of want of proviſions, he was ſtrictly ordered to tranſport them in time, to ſome place of ſecurity, ſuch as *Siara*, or the like, where they might be able to ſubſiſt, and be ſecure againſt any attempt from the enemy. He was ordered alſo in his return to the *Receif*, to take *en paſſant* (if it could be done without inconveniency) a view of the fortifications of *Itamarika* and *Parayba*, in order to give an account of their condition to the council.

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But to return to Mr. *Bas*: According to his letters dated the 30th of *January* from the fort *Keulen*, captain *Rhinebergh* had with his body made ſix ſeveral attacks upon the enemy, who was retired from *Mompabou* and *Kunhao* into a bog, without being able to force their entrenchments; we loſt about 100 kill'd and wounded in this action, and retreated to the houſe of *John Leytan* with order to get ſome cattle, which was very ſcarce thereabouts, our forces feeding moſt upon fiſhes, which they caught by the help of two large nets; 28 of our wounded men were brought to the *Receif*, with advice that notwithſtanding this unſucceſsful attack on our ſide, the enemy were retreated into *Parayba*. Mr. *Bas* alſo ſollicited ſome freſh ſupplies of men and Ammunition, in order to purſue them into *Parayba*, but the reſolution upon this head was deferr'd 'till they ſhould hear further from Mr. *Bas*. The 7th of *February* it was reſolved by the council with the approbation of admiral *Lichthart* to equip the *Hollandia* and the *Swan* together with the yachts, the *Flight*, the *Hamel*, *Bulleſtrate* and *Lichthart* for cruiſing. By letters from Mr. *Linge*, dated the 11th of *February* at the fort *Margaret* in *Parayba*, the council was adviſed, how that, according to the depoſition of a negro deſerter, *Kamaron* was come with all his troops into the city of *Parayba*, with an intention to attack our forts on that ſide; an anſwer, with what was thought neceſſary for this preſent purpoſe, was immediately ſent back in a bark by the council. By another bark ſent by Mr. *Bas* from *Rio Grande*, they were advertiſed, that he lay ſtill encamped with his troops near the houſe of *John Leſtan*, where with much ado he could get proviſions for them, the enemy being ſtill poſted at *Momguappe*, and guarding all the avenues into the countrey; that he had ſent ſeveral ſpies abroad, to get intelligence concerning the preſent poſture of the enemy. The 17th of *February* the ſhip the *Swan* and the yacht call'd *Bulleſtrate* were ordered to go out a cruiſing; the 18th the yacht the *Flight*, and the 20th the ſhip *Hollandia* ſet ſail for the ſame purpoſe. The ſhip the *Overyſſel* was

The Dutch *attack the enemy, without ſucceſs.*

Advice from Mr. Linge.

alſo

1645. also ordered to go out, to serve for a spie ship on the coast of *Parayba*.

The 21st of *February* the council received a letter from Mr. *de Linge*, dated the 18th, in the fort of *St. Margaret*, intimating that he had heard nothing since of the enemy. Yet that he wish'd the forces he had sent to *Rio grande* might be returned with all convenient speed, to make use of them for the defence of his forts, in case of an attack. The 24th of *February* a party under command of captain *Killion Taylor* and captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, were sent abroad towards the island of the *Barette* to get some prisoners, but they return'd the 20th to the *Receif*, having met with no body except with a man, at a considerable distance. Another party which had taken their way towards *Olinda* and *Bracco de St. Jago*, but with the same success, the enemy having only shewn himself at a distance, as they were returning to the fort *Bruin*. The 27th of *February* the enemy appeared with a strong body in the *Salinas*, but being saluted by some cannon-shot from the fort *Bruin*, retired without attempting any thing.

Parties sent abroad without success.

News from Parayba.

In the mean while, according to Mr. *Linge*'s letter, from the 2d of *March*, three barks with soldiers were arrived in *Parayba* from *Rio Grande*, so that the rest, under the command of Mr. *Bas*, being 500 in number, might be hourly expected at the *Receif*. He further advised, that he had seen no enemy of late, but being informed that a considerable body lay encamp'd in a valley near the village of *Magarebbe*, he had ordered thither 120 soldiers, and 100 *Brasilians*, to beat up their Quarters, and to get some prisoners. In effect the 4th of *March*, he, with his troops consisting in 500 Men, arrived from *Rio Grande* at the *Receif*, and the 5th of *March* gave the council an account of his expedition.

Several skirmishes.

The 9th of *March* in the night, the enemy appeared in three bodies near the fort *Prince William*, and gave us several volleys of small shot, but being answered with our cannon retired immediately. The same day a party of 50 men were sent abroad under lieutenant *Mos* to get intelligence; being met by two companies of the enemy, a sharp encounter ensued, our forces retiring without any considerable loss, under the fort *Wardenburgh*, and the enemy retreated at the discharge of some of our cannon. By letters from Mr. *Linge*, dated the 8th of *March* at fort *St. Margaret* in *Parayba*, the council received the unwelcome news that the enemy in *Rio Grande* had by a pretended flight drawn the 5th of *March* lieutenant *John de Vael* with 48 soldiers, who were too eager in the pursuit of them, into an ambush, where they had kill'd 30 of them, tho', according to the report of some deserters that were present at the engagement, not without considerable loss also on their side; *Kamaron*, *Andrew Vidal* and some other *Portugueze* officers of note were also present. About the same time 15 *Brasilians* surprised five men, six women and eight children, in an entrenchment seven leagues above *Iguaracu*, called *Papeku*.

1645.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers*, who according to their custom, come once a year, about midsummer, from among the mountains, some hundreds strong, into the captainship of *Rio Grande*, were, after they had carried away all the horses and mares they could light on, retired to the hills; a thing very fortunate for us, for without it our garrisons would not have been able to subsist there. Provisions growing every day scarcer in the *Receif*, it was agreed the 6th of *March* by the council, to send the *Brasilians* raised in *Rio Grande* with a company of fusileers to *Itamarika*, to ease our magazines of that burthen, whilst they might provide themselves with *farinha* roots in that island. Much about the same time the two majors *Bayert* and *Pistoor*, appear'd before the council, intimating, that being informed that the citizens began to murmur at their staying at home, pretending that they were sufficient to guard the forts; for which purpose, as it was reported admiral *Lichthart* had offered 300 men, they were come on purpose to offer their service, and were ready to take the field with those few forces they had left in the garrison; tho' they at the same time protested, that they were of the same opinion, which had been approved some days before, to wit, that this undertaking, by reason of their small number, would be full of danger, and yet not answer the end of bringing provisions into the *Receif*. Admiral *Lichthart* being thereupon ask'd whether he had made any such offer, he declared not to have spoken any thing like it, his ships being so ill mann'd, that he could spare no men for any other service.

Propositions about the taking of the field.

The night before the 13th of *March*, the enemy appear'd both on the other side of the river and the dike leading to the fort *Bruin*, discharging their musquets and blunderbusses at our centinels, but upon the first salute from the cannon of the fort retired. The same they did near the fort of *Affagados*. The same evening betwixt nine and ten a clock they made an attack upon the wooden fort, built betwixt the *Affagados* and the *Quinquangular-Fort*, for the defence of the plain, which they continued 'till one a clock, cutting down some palisadoes, and bringing great store of dry reeds, in order to set it on fire, but in vain, being

The Portugueze *attack a wooden fort near the* Receif.

1645. being forced to retreat with the loſs of ſome of their Men; on our ſide two were kill'd, and four or five wounded, among the laſt was lieutenant *Caſper Ferdinand van Grol*, who received two dangerous wounds. The next morning the broken paliſadoes were repaired, and another row ordered to be ſet beyond the firſt, and footangles to be laid betwixt both. The 17th of *March* the bark call'd the *Parayba* coming from *Siara*, brought advice, that the *Braſilians* were gone from *Siara* to *Komeſi*, having refuſed to return to *Rio Grande*, for fear they ſhould be call'd to a ſevere account there for the murther of ſeveral inhabitants, committed by them before.

By the ſame bark Mr. *Linge* ſent advice from the 14th of *March*, that the enemy had appeared of late in a conſiderable body near the northern fort, but was retired now, but whether to *Rio Grande* or *St. Andre*, he was not able to tell. They had ſpoil'd all the *farinha-root* fields in the *Aldeas Magarebbe*, and thereabouts; ſo that the *Braſilians* being for the future to be furniſhed with proviſions out of the magazines, he deſired a ſupply of wine and oil: Immediately advice hereof was ſent to *Dortmund* commander in chief of *Itamarika*, and ſome ammunition, beſides 1000 gilders in ready money. The ſame ſum was tranſmitted to Mr. *Linge* in *Parayba*, and a barrel with oatmeal, a pipe of wine, a hogſhead with oil, and another fill'd with dry peaſe, beſides good ſtore of ammunition. He was alſo ordered to ſend the *Braſilians* back to *Rio Grande* for defence of that captainſhip, and to get intelligence whether the enemy had directed his march thither, in order to oppoſe his deſigns.

In the mean while admiral *Lichthart* (purſuant to his letter of the 21ſt of *March* to the council) had embark'd ſome ſoldiers and *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, and taking his courſe to the north-entrance of the river, was got up as far as to the iſle of *Tapeſco*, from whence they had brought back a great quantity of *farinha* roots, for the uſe of the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, and of the magazines there.

Good ſtore of farinha *roots brought to* Itamarika.

The 30th of *March* it was reſolved, with the approbation of admiral *Lichthart*, to ſend the following ſhips a cruiſing before the *Bahia*; the *Uliſſingen*, the *Ter Veer*, and the yachts, the *Greyhound*, the *Heemſtede*, *Sprew* and *Bulleſtrate*; and on the 6th of *April* the *Swan*, the *Zouteland*, the *Flight*, and the yacht the *Lichthart*, were ordered to go a cruiſing before the *Cape of St. Auſtin*, and ſet ſail the 10th of *April* accordingly.

Ships ſent out a cruiſing.

The 31ſt letters were brought to the council, dated the 25th of *March* in *Rio Grande*, intimating, that *Paulo de Kunha* and *Kamaron* were entred *Kunhao* with 800 men, among whom were 300 muſqueteers, to carry away the cattle from thence to *Parayba*. 1645.

But, according to colonel *Garſman*'s letters to the council, upon his arrival, which was the 4th of *April*, the enemy were already retired out of *Rio Grande*, without undertaking any thing againſt our people, who conſiſting only in 400 ſoldiers and 300 *Braſilians* lay encamp'd near the houſe of *John Leſtan*, yet they carried off ſome cattle.

News from colonel Garſman.

About the ſame time they received letters from Mr. *Linge*, that the enemy had made ſeveral falſe alarms near the forts, without attempting any thing. And in effect in *June*, they did not appear any more thereabouts.

In the year 1646, the 5th of *April* in the night, *Jacob Rabbi* was at the inſtigation of lieutenant colonel *Garſman*, near *Potoſi*, about three leagues diſtant from the caſtle of the ſame name, villainouſly ſhot with two bullets, as he was going home from one *John Miller*'s houſe, where he had been entertained that evening in company with colonel *Garſman*. *Rabbi* had a conſiderable time before (as he had declared to his friends) ſuſpected the treachery of *Garſman*, and was for that reaſon juſt upon his departure out of *Rio Grande*, in order to ſhelter himſelf among the *Tapoyers*. The council reſented this villainy to the higheſt degree, ſince, conſidering that this *Jacob Rabbi* was in great eſteem among the *Tapoyers*, and his wife a *Braſilian*, it was to be feared, that this would exaſpèrate both the *Tapoyers* and *Braſilians* againſt us. So that *Garſman* returning the 19th of *March* to the *Receif*, after he had given an account of his expedition to the council, was by their particular order, the 24th of *March*, taken into cuſtody, and ſent on board the *Hollandia*, major *Bayert* being ordered in the mean time to ſupply his place. This *Jacob Rabbi* a native of *Germany*, had been employ'd by authority of the ſtates general, his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and the company, to engage and keep the *Tapoyers* in the intereſt of our government; in which commiſſion he had acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he brought theſe *Tapoyers* ſeveral times, out of the mountains (their habitations) to our aſſiſtance. His dwelling-place was in the fort *Keulen* in *Rio Grande*, where he had married a *Braſilian* woman. *Gaſper Honyhouſe*, commander of the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, being ſlain in the laſt engagement in that iſland, Mr. *Vincent van Drillenbergh*, was, at their requeſt, conſtituted their commander by the council. 1646.

Jacob Rabbi *treacherouſly killed.*

Garſman *ſecured.*

1646. The 17th of *April*, ſome papers were delivered to the council, which had been diſperſed by the enemy, to debauch our ſoldiery; in return of which, they ſent abroad their ſummons, upbraiding ſuch of their ſubjects as were in the enemy's ſervice, with treachery, and exhorting them to return to their duty. It was alſo agreed to publiſh a copy of a letter delivered by the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador at the *Hague* to the ſtates general from the king his maſter; with the anſwer of the ſtates to the ſaid letter: For ſince the king of *Portugal* in this letter did diſown the war, and the proceedings of *Antonio Telles da Silva*, and his ſending of his troops into the *Dutch-Braſil*, they did not queſtion but by this means to open the eyes of the *Portugueſe* inhabitants, not to flatter themſelves with vain hopes of aſſiſtance from *Portugal*; beſides, that we were in hopes thereby to ſow the ſeeds of miſtruſt betwixt them and the *Portugueſe* commanders from the *Bahia*.

The 24th of *April*, two *Portugueſe* companies commanded by captain *Lawrence Karnero* and *Peter Kavalkanti*, conſiſting of about 40 men each, marched from the *Vargea* and the city of *Olinda* to *Iguaraſu*.

They were headed by *Vidal* and *Hoogſtrate* in perſon, who having got intelligence that admiral *Lichthart* and *John Nicholſon* were gone to *Itamarika*, to get ſome *farinha* roots. The 25th of *April*, as they were marching from *Iguaraſu*, a certain *German* chirurgeon, named *Chriſtopher Mars*, who was formerly taken priſoner by them, happening to ſtay ſomewhat behind, whilſt he was piſſing, was ſurprized by one of our parties near *Tapaſino*. Upon examination by Mr. *Walbeck*, he declared, that not long ago there were nine companies of the enemies forces quarter'd in the *Baretta*, the city of *Olinda*, and in the mills of *Bierboom* and *Brito*; each company conſiſting of betwixt 40 or 50 men. That there were five companies more, much of the ſame ſtrength, poſted in the *Salinas*, and *Henry Dias* with 200 mulats and negroes in *Gaſpar Cox*'s houſe, but they had then no forces in the *Vargea*.

One Mars *taken priſoner.*

His depoſitions.

That after *Nicholas Nicholſon* was come over to us with his troops, *Martin Soares Moreno* had cauſed 260 *Dutch*, both ſoldiers and inhabitants, (among whom were ſix women and two children) to be killed by a company of the country militia, in the woods of *Tabatinga*, betwixt *Sibero* and *Deriba*, in their way to the *Bahia*, beſides thoſe killed by his order in other places, amounting in all to 300.

By this time there began to be great ſcarcity of meat in the *Receif*, notwithſtanding which, the garriſons in the outworks, as well as the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, with their wives and children, were to be ſupplied from thence; and the *farinha* roots being either all taken up before by our own people, or elſe deſtroy'd by the enemy, in the iſland *Itamarika*: To ſupply this preſſing neceſſity, it was reſolved by the great council, to ſend a detachment of 400 men in barks to *St. Lawrence de Praja* or *Tujukapa*, to fetch *mandinka* or farinha roots from thence. This detachment was compoſed out of theſe following troops.

1646. *The* Dutch *go out for ſome* farinha *without ſucceſs.*

Out of captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*'s company 9 men.

From the *Quinquangular-fort* 25.

From the *Affagados* 25.

Out of the company of captain *William Lambartz* 50.

Volunteers from *Itamarika* 30.

Braſilians 150.

The 29th of *April* the council was, by letters from *Itamarika*, adverti ſed, that our forces being ſent abroad to fetch ſome *farinha*, had chaſed the enemy out of two or three entrenchments; but they retiring into another, ſurrounded with a deep ditch, they were there alſo with more courage than conduct attack'd by our troops, being forced to retire with the loſs of 16 kill'd and 26 wounded, among whom was captain *William Lambartz*: The enemy had likewiſe not a few kill'd on their ſide. Mr. *Dortmund*, commander in chief of *Itamarika*, therefore deſiring to be ſupplied with meal, his magazines being quite exhauſted, the council ſent thither the firſt of *May*, 20 barrels with meal, two with oatmeal, two with dry peaſe, beſides a pipe of wine and brandy, and 1000 gilders in money, for the uſe of the *Braſilians*.

The 3d of *May* the council received advice by a letter dated the 2d of *May* from Mr. *Dortmund*, that the enemy had carried away ten Negroes, four belonging to the company, the reſt to one Mr. *Seulin*, and four other men from *Itamarika*; and that the *Braſilians* there had been ſo far debauched by their intreagues, that they retired into a wood, and being twice ſummon'd to rejoin our troops, had refuſed ſo to do. That at laſt, Mr. *Appriſius*, (Miniſter of the *Braſilians*) having been ſent to reduce them to their duty, either by perſuaſions or threats, his arguments were ſo prevailing, that they return'd quietly, alledging for their excuſe, that they were forced to fly thither for want of ſubſiſtance. Hereupon *Dortmund* deſired freſh ſupplies for his magazines, that a perſon of authority might be ſent thither, and that another company might be put in place of that of captain *Voſterman*, his men being ready to revolt.

Mutiny of the Braſilians *appeaſed.*

1646. To remove all theſe obſtacles, it was reſolved immediately to diſpatch thither Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, a member of the great council, who was to agree with certain private perſons, to provide our garriſons with fiſh, and to act in every thing there, as he ſhould find it moſt expedient for the ſervice of the company.

Mr. Bulleſtrate ſent to Itamarika.

Accordingly Mr. *Bulleſtrate* ſet ſail the 4th of *May*, in the yacht the *Greyhound*, and arrived the ſame day in the afternoon in *Itamarika*, where having executed his commiſſion, he return'd the 10th of *May* to the *Receif*, and gave the following account to the council: That he had taken a view of the city of *Shoppe*, and the fort *Orange*, both which he had ordered to be ſtrengthned; as alſo, to fortify the old brick-houſe, formerly the *Stadthouſe*, with palliſadoes, againſt any ſudden attempt; that he having call'd before him all the commanders of the *Braſilians*, had repreſented to them that we were in daily expectation of a powerful ſuccour from *Holland*, exhorting them to remain ſtedfaſt in their duty, and to keep their ſoldiers under the beſt diſcipline they could; he had alſo preſented their commander with cloth for a ſuit of clothes, and the reſt with ſome wine and money, which they very thankfully accepted: He had *En Paſſant* taken a view of the plantations of *Conradt Pauli*, where he had found about 160 cocoa-trees cut down by the *Braſilians*, being forced by famine to feed upon the fruit; the like they had done in ſeveral other places; that he had endeavoured to treat with ſeveral private perſons for a certain quantity of fiſh to be delivered at the *Receif*, but could meet with none that would accept his offers; they alledging, that moſt of their negroes being either run away or taken by the enemy, they did catch no more fiſh but what they could readily ſell in the iſland, without the charge of ſalt and tranſportation; that he had likewiſe propoſed to the commander in chief of the *Braſilians*, to give them for the future money inſtead of meal; and that they were to be furniſhed with three nets to catch fiſh for their own uſe; that the commander promiſed to propoſe it to the reſt, and gave him ſome hopes that they would accept of the ſaid offer.

An account of his proceedings.

To ſupply the preſent want of proviſions, which began to be ſcarcer and ſcarcer every day in *Itamarika*, *Parayba*, *Rio Grande*, and the *Receif*, by reaſon that the expected ſupplies from *Holland* were not as yet arrived, and we were cloſely block'd up by land; it was thought fit to give all imaginable encouragement to the fiſhing trade; for which purpoſe the two members of the great council, Mr. *Hamel* and Mr. *Bas*, ordered the 7th of *May*, to buy up as much yarn as poſſible could be got to make fiſhing nets of, which afterwards ſtood us in good ſtead. 1646.

Fiſhery encouraged.

A certain *Portugueſe*, who had committed manſlaughter in *Angola*, and was fled from thence to the *Receif*, having accuſed *John Vieira d'Allegoas*, he was by order from the council taken into cuſtody.

John Vieira *accuſed of treaſon.*

This *Portugueſe* declared, that the ſaid *Vieira* had delivered to him a certain piece of parchment, written in characters, and a box, wherein were ſeveral other papers, in order to carry them to the enemy, which parchment and box he produced in the preſence of the members of the council. *John Vieira* denying the matter, was put to the rack, but continued reſolute in his denial; till at laſt, the key of theſe characters being found among his papers, and a certain *Jew* having unciphered theſe letters, it appear'd, that he had given an account of the whole poſture of our affairs to the enemy, with directions how to make themſelves maſters of the *Receif*; ſo that finding himſelf diſcovered, he confeſt that he had written and delivered theſe cypher-ed papers to the *Portugueſe*, and was executed the 29th of *May*.

Is executed.

The magazines being by this time almoſt exhauſted, there being ſcarce proviſions left for a few weeks, it was propoſed by the council to the majors, *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, that conſidering it was not adviſeable to exaſperate the ſoldiery at this juncture, by retrenching their allowance of bread and other eatables, whether inſtead of a pound of meat, they might not be prevailed upon to take ſix-pence, by this means to preſerve that ſmall ſtore of fleſh they had left, which theſe two majors undertook to propoſe to the ſoldiers, not without hopes of ſucceeding in their project, and that nobody might be excepted from bearing his ſhare in the publick calamity, it was ordered that the loaves which uſed before to weigh a pound and half, ſhould be reduced to one pound weight, and that each citizen and others depending on the company, nay the members of the great council themſelves, ſhould have an allowance only of two loaves *per* week; the ſame was to be given to all ſeamen, captains, lieutenants and enſigns; but the reſt, from the ſerjeant to the common ſoldier, ſhould have three pounds of bread allow'd them *per* week.

Orders concerning the allowance of bread.

Mr. *Linge* adviſed from the 1ſt of *May*, out of *Paraiba*, that the enemy had not attempted any thing againſt the forts, and that a party of *Braſilians* was gone abroad towards *Tapoa*, in hopes to take ſome priſoners. Much about the ſame time the council received advice, that colonel *Garſ-*

man,

1646. *man*, without orders from the council, had endeavoured by ſome preſents, to draw the *Tapoyers* into *Rio Grande*, under pretence of keeping them at hand, to enter into a confederacy with the new members of the great council that were expected from *Holland*. The council being not a little ſurprized at this undertaking, ſince by the coming of the *Tapoyers* into that captainſhip, they ſhould be diſappointed of a conſiderable part of thoſe ſupplies they received from thence; they ſent word to *Rudolph Barro* to leave no ſtone unturned to draw the *Tapoyers* by fair means back to their habitations, but that if they would ſend ſome of their commanders to the *Receif*, all imaginable ſatisfaction ſhould be given them concerning the murther of *Jacob Rabbi*; and the more to engage *Barro* to do his utmoſt, a preſent of wine, brandy, and ſome toys, was ordered to be ſent him. For as the caſe then ſtood, it was abſolutely neceſſary for us to remain maſters of *Rio Grande*, till the arrival of the ſuccours from *Holland*; the vaſt numbers of *Braſilians* that were fled to *Itamarika*, having conſumed all ſorts of proviſions there to that degree, that that iſland could not only not ſend any ſupplies to the *Receif*, but moſt of the women and children of the *Braſilians* muſt be ſupplied out of the magazines there; ſo that *Rio Grande* was the only place left from whence they received a conſiderable quantity of *Farinha* and cattle, which in ſome meaſure abated the ſcarcity of proviſions in the *Receif*, and by the prudent conduct of the council, was the chief means that the place continued in tolerable good health till the arrival of the ſuccours, which without it, it would in all humane probability have been impoſſible to be done; and no queſtion but this captainſhip might for a conſiderable time after, have furniſhed the garriſons to the ſouth with neceſſaries, had it not been for the following accident.

Garſman ſummons the Tapoyers without orders.

The conſequence of Rio Grande to the Dutch.

The expected ſuccours from *Holland* being detained by the winter ſeaſon and contrary winds, the *Braſilians* of *Gojana*, who with their wives and children had ſheltred themſelves in *Itamarika*, were reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of food; for after they had conſumed all what the iſland could afford for their ſubſiſtance, and all the avenues by land being block'd up by the enemy, they had no other ſupplies but what they received from our magazines: Theſe being now exhauſted to ſuch a degree, that each citizen had but one pound of bread allowed him *per* week (which however at that rate would not hold out above fourteen days longer) the council was under an abſolute neceſſity to have it propoſed to the *Braſilians*, to retire with their wives and children (in all about 1200) to *Rio Grande*, where they might ſubſiſt ſome time upon what the country afforded. Accordingly they writ to Mr. *Dortmund* the 1ſt of *May*, and ſent Mr. *Walbeck* thither in perſon, to perſuade the *Braſilians* to ſend at leaſt 500 women and children, with a certain number of their men, to *Siara* and *Rio Grande*, there being at that time in all near 1500 *Braſilians*, men, women and children in that iſland, among whom were only 500 fit to bear arms, under the command of *Caſpar Honyhouſe*, who had each ſcarce a pound of bread allow'd them *per* week. 1646.

Conſultations about the ſcarcity of proviſions.

Proviſions, as I told you before, growing daily ſcarcer and ſcarcer, by reaſon the ſuccours from *Holland* were detained beyond all expectation, by contrary winds; a general council was call'd, where the three numbers of the great council Mr. *Hamel*, Mr. *Bulleſtrate* and Mr. *Bas*, being preſent, as likewiſe admiral *Lichthart*, and the two majors *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, the following points were taken into debate.

Firſt of all, the ſending of the *Braſilians* from *Itamarika* to *Rio Grande*, being look'd upon as unavoidable, immediate orders were given to get the neceſſary tranſport veſſels ready for that purpoſe. It was alſo taken into conſideration, whether it were not feaſible to gather a ſufficient force out of the forts, who in conjunction with the *Braſilians*, might attack ſome place or other, from whence to provide ourſelves with *Farinha*; but to this it was objected by the majors *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, that the garriſons of the forts could not be weakned by any detachment, without running a great hazard; beſides that it was a hard matter to pitch upon any place where there was any ſtore of *Farinha*, the enemy having either conſumed, ſpoiled or carried it away before; ſo that we muſt expoſe our men to an apparent danger, without a ſure proſpect of intereſt; for, ſuppoſing we ſhould be ſucceſsful, the quantity that might be got, would not be ſufficient to maintain our garriſons for any conſiderable time. It was however agreed to take an exact account of all the garriſons, to ſee whether upon an occaſion ſomething might be undertaken for the ſervice of the ſtate. Accordingly theſe two majors, *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, having preſented a liſt of theſe forces the next day to the council, it was concluded that no troops could be ſpared out of the forts, except it were out of the *Affagados*, but they were but few in number. At the ſame time it was reſolved to ſend captain *Niger* with his company of *Braſilians* to *Rio Grande*, and the *Omlandia* and *Greyhound* yacht were ordered forthwith to

1646. sail to *Itamarika*, to transport the *Brasilians* to *Rio Grande*.

Further debates about the attacking of the enemy.

The 30th of *May* the council, the admiral, and two majors, entred into a second debate, whether it were possible to attack the enemy, and in what place: Against which it was alledged, that their chiefest force was at present in the *Vergea*; but supposing it was not, no *Farinha* was to be got there, because they were supply'd with it themselves from far distant places. That the *Farinha* fields nearest to the *Receif* were about *St. Lawrence*, at least five leagues from thence; that the nearest *Farinha* fields to the south were about *St. Antonio* and *Moribeka*, where by reason of the strength of the enemy, and the great distance from us, there was no probability of encompassing our design; and that the *Farinha* fields to the north were likewise at such a distance from the sea-side, as could not in any likelyhood answer our expectation. It was farther taken into consideration, whether some forces might not be spared in *Itamarika*, but it was carried in the negative, because since the *Brasilians* were ready to depart for *Rio Grande*, it was not adviseable to expose the rest of our troops there to a hazard. After serious deliberation, what forces possibly could be raised out of the forts, (their places being in the mean while to be supplied by the inhabitants) it was found that the *Affagados* could furnish about 70 or 80 men, the quinquangular fort, and *Maurice*'s town the same number, and that of *St. Antonio Vaez* about 50. But, considering that the city militia of the *Receif* consisted only of six companies of 70, or at the most 80 men each, and that they were obliged to be upon the guard every night there (the place being without a garrison) if a considerable number of them should be employed in the forts, this must needs expose the capital place, which the enemy chiefly aimed at, to an imminent danger. The seamen being not above 250 in all, could likewise not be employed in that service, unless we could leave our ships quite unmann'd and useless. So that after many arguments on both sides, it was agreed to chuse the secureſt way, and according to the orders of the council of XIX in *Holland*, to expect the succours from thence with patience, and in the mean while to provide for the security of our forts.

The same day the council received letters from Mr. *Walbeck*, that some of the *Brasilians* of *Itamarika* had deserted, a rumour being spread among them, that we intended to leave them to the mercy of the *Portuguese*, which had put all the rest into a great consternation, but that Mr. *Dortmund* had convinced them to the contrary. 1646. Mr. *Walbeck* and *Dortmund* had in the mean while represented to the *Brasilians*, that they being many in number, and consequently very ill provided for at this juncture, whether it were not best for them to go for some time to *Rio Grande*. They were at first averse to his proposals, for fear of being deserted by us, nevertheless the urgent necessity of providing for their sustenance, and to shew their compliance with the governments orders, were so reconciled with them, as to resolve to go to *Rio Grande*, provided they might be furnished with convenient transport-ships, provisions, and some ammunition for their defence, and fifty men of regular troops. Mr. *Dortmund* having again sollicited for provisions, some were sent (sufficient for fourteen days) immediately, with some gunpowder, bullets, and other ammunition.

The Brasilians *resolve to leave* Itamarika.

Accordingly above 1200 *Brasilians*, most women and children, whose husbands and fathers had been slain in our service, embark'd aboard the *Omlandia* and some yachts, a pound of salt-cod fish being allow'd to each for the whole voyage without bread. At their arrival in *Rio Grande* they were so emaciated by famine, that they appear'd more like dead carcasses than living bodies, and laid hold of every thing they could meet with to satisfy their greedy stomachs, so that in a little time they consumed all the *Farinha* that was left there.

Mr. *Linge*, by his letters from the 25th of *June* sent advice to the council, that there appear'd no enemy at that time in *Parayba*, but that ten *Tapoyers*, vassals of king *John Duwy*, being come into *Rio Grande*, had shewn themselves extremely dissatisfied at the murther of *Jacob Rabbi*, whereupon it was resolved to reconcile that king to our interest by the following presents:

Presents sent to king John Duwy.

200 gilders in ready money.
1000 Ells of *Osnabrugh* linnen cloth.
100 gallons of *Spanish* wine.
Two casks of brandy.
40 gallons of oil, and a barrel with powdered beef.

The Brasilians *depart from the forts near the* Receif.

The *Brasilians* in garrison in the fort, the *Bruin*, the *Quinquangular*, and some other forts, being dissatisfied at their being detained there for eight months last past, petitioned the council the 12th of *June*, to be sent back into *Rio Graude*.

The opinion of the two majors being ask'd thereupon, they advised, that considering they did no extraordinary service there they might well be spared; so that it was resolved the 14th of *June* in council, to pay them their arrears, and to send them

1646. back to *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, to inhabit their villages as before.

In the *Quinquangular* fort, the company of *Immanuel Barros* was order'd to keep guard inſtead of the *Braſilians*, who were commanded to depart the 20th of *June*. The 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th of *June*, the enemy ſhot in the night-time very fiercely againſt the fort *de Affagados*, a redoubt call'd *Kirk*, and the houſe *Boaviſta*.

The 15th of *June* it was propoſed to the council by admiral *Lichthart*, and the two majors, *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, to beat up the enemies quarters in the houſe of *Immanuel Kavalkanti*, and in the *Baretta*, with the following troops.

The company of captain *Killian Taylor*, 40 men.

The company of captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, of 70 men, which were to be joined by captain *de Niger* with 30 men out of the fort *Frederick*, with lieutenant *Mos* from the fort *Erneſtus* with 10 men, and lieutenant *Katnar* from the fort *Prince William* with 20 men.

In all 200 men.

A project to beat up the enemies quarters.

About 100 volunteers were ſuppoſed to be raiſed from among the citizens, under the colonel *Walbeck*, and *Immanuel Baros* with his Negroes, conſiſting in 50 men, theſe joined with the other 200, would make up a body of 350 men, to be commanded in chief by major *Piſtoor*, and to be conducted by ſea by admiral *Lichthart* to their landing place, *viz.* the regular troops to the ſouth of the *Baretta*, and the Negroes upon the iſland on the north-ſide, from whence they might break thro' the marſhes to the *Affagados*, and ſo further to the houſe croſs the river, where they were to make a falſe attack, whilſt the troops landed at the *Baretta*, aſſaulted them from before; the admiral, with his tranſport veſſels, to lay ready all this while to receive them, and to ſecure their retreat upon all occaſions. This propoſition being approved of by the council, partly to animate our ſoldiers, partly to get at leaſt ſome proviſions for the ſick, it was reſolved to be put in execution the next day, but the wind proving contrary, and afterwards the tides being unſeaſonable for the convenient landing of our men, this project was laid aſide, eſpecially when inſtead of 100 volunteers, ſcarce 25 offered themſelves for this ſervice, notwithſtanding the council gave them all imaginable encouragement, by promiſing them to receive the ſame treatment as the other ſervants of the company had, in caſe they ſhould be wounded or come to ſome other misfortune.

Is laid aſide.

In the mean while, the enemy having been informed by ſome of our deſerters, that by the departure of the *Braſilians* from *Itamarika*, the garriſons there were much weakned, they thought fit to lay hold of this opportunity, to land ſuch a force there, as ſhould be beyond our power to drive from thence. The 15th of *June*, with the break of day they ſurprized our ſpy ſhip there, call'd the *Sprew*, with ſeveral barks and boats at the entrance call'd *Paſſoos*, *(Markers)* they got three priſoners, the reſt eſcaping with the loſs of two of their comrades kill'd. 1646.

The ſhip before *Tapaſima* was ſet on fire by our own people, leaving the galliot, that lay hard by, to the enemy, after they had taken out all her men, who went aboard the yacht call'd the *Golden Doe*, lying before the north entrance. They landed with about 2600 men in chalops and other tranſport veſſels, and *Andrew Vidal* and *John Ferdinand Vieira*, writ the ſame night the following letter to Mr. *Dortmund*, commander in chief of *Itamarika*, which they ſent by a boy they had taken priſoner in the *Sprew*.

The Portugueſe land on Itamarika.

Their letter to Mr. DORTMUND.

Moſt honourable and moſt brave,

YOU are doubtleſs not unacquainted with the reſolution of the inhabitants of this country to retrieve their former liberty; to effect which they neither want power nor any other means; but their chief aim being to encompaſs their deſign without effuſion of blood, we thought fit to let you know that we are ready to attack you in this iſland with all our forces, unleſs you will prevent it by a treaty. For being ſenſible that you are paſs'd all hopes of relief, we were willing to adviſe you to treat with us, according to the cuſtom of war, uſed in ſuch caſes; that, in caſe hereafter things ſhould fall out contrary to your expectation by the fury of the conquering ſword, you may not lay the fault thereof at our doors; for which reaſon it is, that we offer to you and the reſt of the commanders there, all their arrears due to them from the company. Whereupon we expect your anſwer to-morrow.

From our head quarter, *June* 15, 1646.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.
John Ferdinand Vieira.

The 17th of *June* the council received advice from Mr. *Dortmund* of their landing, deſiring prompt ſuccours, without which he would not be in a condition to maintain the iſland againſt them. It was therefore taken into debate, whether it were poſſible for us to bring together ſuch a force, as without much hazard might be able to force the enemy from thence, but 'twas carried in the negative.

For

1646. *Conſultations about the relief of* Itamaraka.

For it was alledged, that without manifeſt danger, not above 200 ſoldiers could be taken out of the forts of the *Receif*, which number was not ſufficient to attack the enemy, who had already entrench'd himſelf there, with hopes of ſucceſs: And, conſidering that theſe forces muſt be tranſported thither by ſea, we wanted ſhips (there being at that time not above two barks at the *Receif*) both to convoy them thither, and to cut off the communication with the continent to the enemy. Beſides, that at leaſt fourteen days proviſions were required for this expedition, in caſe the enemy ſhould ſtand his ground, which at this juncture was not to be done, unleſs we would leave the magazines of the *Receif* quite empty; there being then no poſſibility of attempting its relief, the next thing under conſideration was, whether the entrenchments on the hill might be defended or not? Againſt the maintaining of it was objected; that without freſh ſupplies of proviſions this fort could not hold out a week, eſpecially ſince the enemy, by cutting off the pipes of the ſpring that furniſhed them with freſh water, would ſoon put them under a neceſſity of coming to ſurrender; when it was evident, that they might poſt themſelves betwixt the fort of *Orange* and this hill, and conſequently prevent their receiving any ſupplies from thence.

Whether the fort on the hill was to be defended.

Beſides that the hill being of a conſiderable compaſs, was the more difficult to be mention'd by our forces, the fort itſelf being irregular, and but ſlightly fortified on that ſide, eſpecially where the old church-wall, making up part of the courtain, would not be proof againſt the enemies cannon, and conſequently expoſe the whole fort, with the garriſon, to the mercy of the enemy: So that it being beyond all diſpute in the enemies power to cut off all communication with the fort *Orange*, it was unanimouſly reſolved and ordered, to leave the ſaid entrenchments, and to retire with the garriſon, and what proviſions and ammunition they had, into the fort *Orange*, before their retreat was ſtopt by the enemies troops; it being paſt all doubt, that in caſe they could maintain themſelves in that fort, they could at all times, if they were maſters of the field, recover the hill and the whole iſland.

The council were the more forward in coming to this reſolution, becauſe they had received certain information, that the enemy, who knew the importance of the fort *Orange*, had gain'd ſome of the gunners and volunteers of the fort by preſents, who had engaged to aſſign them a place where it was eaſieſt to be attack'd, whereabouts they were to charge the cannon with gunpowder only, to facilitate their attack: Two of the gunners were hang'd the 23d of *June* for this treachery, the reſt made their eſcape to the enemy. For the better preſervation therefore of this fort, our people left the entrenchments upon the hill the 21ſt of *June*, where the enemy poſted a ſtrong body of their troops immediately after. The council likewiſe ordered the yacht the *Heemſtede*, to cruiſe in conjunction with the *Golden Doe*, before the north entrance of the iſland, to keep open free communication for us with our garriſon, and to prevent the enemy from receiving any ſuccours that way; and at the ſame time ſome proviſions were ſent thither for the uſe of the garriſon.

Some gunners turn'd traitors.

1646. *Were hanged.*

But whilſt things were thus tranſacting with various fortune, tho' for the moſt part to our diſadvantage, and the ſo long expected ſuccours from *Holland* not arriving, the want of neceſſaries encreaſed more and more every day in the *Receif*, to ſuch a degree, that whatever was found fit for ſuſtenance, either in the publick magazines, or with private perſons, was apply'd to the common uſe; which however amounting to no more than one pound of bread a week for each ſingle perſon, many died for hunger; their legs beginning to ſwell firſt, which was the forerunner of certain death: Cats and dogs, of which we had great quantities, were look'd upon as dainties at that time; and you might ſee the Negroes digging the half-rotten bones of dead horſes out of the ground, and to gnaw them with incredible eagerneſs; neither was the want of freſh water leſs inſupportable, by reaſon of the heat of the climate, and the conſtant uſe of ſalt meats, all ſprings that were dug being brackiſh. The poor ſlaves, who had the leaſt ſhare of what was left, look'd ſo gaſhly and wild with their eyes and jaws ſunk, as appear'd terrible to the moſt undaunted of men. At laſt (notwithſtanding all the care taken by the council) things came to that paſs, that the allowance of one pound of bread *per* week was fain to be taken away from the inhabitants, and allotted the ſoldiers; who, by the enticements of the *Portugueſe* beginning to deſert apace, had two pound of bread allow'd them, as long as there was any left; but when all was ſpent, and no remedy was to be found againſt this lingring evil, it was propoſed by the council, and unanimouſly reſolved, rather to die bravely than to ſtarve, and to fight their way through the enemy. The ſoldiers were to lead the van, the women, children, ſick, and other unable people to keep in the middle, and the members of the great council, with the inhabitants to defend the rear: The *Jews* were

Great famine in the Receif.

1646. were above all the reſt in a deſperate condition, and therefore reſolved rather to die with ſword in hand than be burnt alive, which is their doom in *Portugal*.

But when we were juſt reduced to the laſt gaſp, all horſes, cats, dogs, and rats being conſumed, and a few quarterns of *Farinha* ſold at the rate of betwixt 80 or 90 gilders *per* quartern, which however could not ſuffice for above two days longer, on the 22[d] of *June*, (a day never to be forgotten) we ſaw two veſſels with *Dutch* colours making all the ſail they could towards the *Receif*: They had no ſooner caſt there anchors, and giving us the ſignal by the diſcharge of three guns each, that they came from *Holland*; but you might have read in all our faces the ſudden joy we conceived at this relief in our laſt extremity: There was no body that could ſtand upon his legs for want of bread, but did crawl to the harbour, where you might hear the cries of the people weeping for joy at a great diſtance. Theſe two ſhips, call'd the *Falcon* and *Elizabeth*, were freighted for the chamber of *Amſterdam*, and had left the *Texel* the 26th of *April*; they brought us the welcome news, that we might hourly expect the whole convoy. The captain of the *Elizabeth* told me himſelf, that having a very fair wind one day, he ſaid to his crew, *I am ſure they are in great extremity at the* Receif, *God ſend us fair wind and weather to relieve them in time*, which happened thus accordingly. The captains were each preſented with a golden medal, with the following inſcription; *The Falcon and Elizabeth did relieve the* Relief.

The Receif *releived.*

Mr. Bas *ſent to* Itamarika.

The 23[d] of *June*, Mr. *Bas*, a member of the council was ſent to *Itamarika*, to aſſiſt in the defence of the fort; by his letters of the 28th he adviſed, that the enemy continued ſtill in his poſt on the hill, and that he had ſent abroad ſome ſpies to get intelligence. The 7th of *July*, the ſaid Mr. *Bas* return'd to the *Receif* with the companies commanded by captain *Blewcock* and *Cunrad Held*, leaving the two companies of *Reinard Sikkema* and *Dignus Byſterman* there in garriſon. The enemy had ſome days before, after having blown up the fort on the hill, and ſet fire to their camp, left the iſland, carrying along with them all the cannon, and among them two braſs ones. For when they ſaw that we were reinforced with ſeveral ſhips from *Holland*, they did not think fit to abide there till we ſhould ſtop their paſſage back by our veſſels; neither were they inſenſible, that without being maſters of the fort *Orange*, they could not promiſe themſelves the poſſeſſion of the iſland, the ſouth entrance being commanded by the ſaid fort, and the north paſſage by our yachts.

The Portugueſe *leave* Itamarika.

1646.

The 29th of *June*, the council received advice from our head quarter at the houſe of *John Leſtan*, in *Rio Grande*, that two ſons of king *John Duwy*, with 23 *Tapoyers*, were ſent thither by their father, to aſſure our people of his good inclination and ſervice; but they refuſed to come into the fort *Keulen*, before they had ſpoken with *Rudolph Baro*, who had been ſent for upon that account. About this time ſeveral merchants ſet out ſome privateers, but as this could not be done without great charge, and there were but few ſhips at ſea of the *Portugueſe*, this turn'd to no great account, and conſequently continued not long. A very odd accident happened to me much at the ſame time: For ſome of the labourers, who were employed to unload a veſſel belonging to the company, were got ſo drunk, that they had kill'd a man, and hurt ſeveral others, by letting a pipe of wine fall upon them: I went thither to prevent any further diſorder, but was no ſooner entred the ſhip, when on a ſudden I found the ſilver galoons upon my coat turn black, and myſelf bereaved of my ſight, which however I recovered by degrees in a few days after, the cauſe of which I attributed to the ſtrong exhalations of the wine, that had been cloſed up for a conſiderable time before. Much about the ſame time a difference aroſe betwixt the officers of the army and the city militia, about the chief command of the head guard in the *Receif*, which the city officers laid claim to.

An accident happens to the author.

But to return to our ſo long expected ſuccours.

The reiterated letters from the council of the *Dutch Braſil* to the ſtates general, and the directors of our company, wherein they preſented their dangerous condition to them, had had ſuch an influence upon the firſt, that they adviſed the directors of the company, to ſend us a reinforcement of 5 or 6000 men, and a good fleet; for which purpoſe they ſent them 25 companies of their regular troops, and gave leave for the raiſing as many more, as in all mounted to 4000 land ſoldiers, beſides ſeamen and volunteers.

This fleet conſiſting of a good number of brave ſhips, was ready to ſet ſail in *November* 1645, but by reaſon of a ſudden and hard froſt, were detained in the road of *Ulyſſingen*, till *February* 1646. One Mr. *Bankert*, admiral of *Zealand*, had the chief command of this fleet, and at the ſame time the following five gentlemen, who were appointed members of the great council of the *Dutch Braſil*, and were to relieve the old ones, were ſent to their ſtations there;

A fleet equipt in Holland *for the relief of* Braſil.

to

1646. to wit *Walter Schonenburgh* preſident, *Michael Van Goch* Penſionary of *Vlyſſingen*, *Simon Van Beaumont* fiſcal of the city of *Dort*, *Henry Hacks*, and Mr. *Trowens*, two great merchants of *Amſterdam*, and Mr. *Heremite* a lawyer of *Dort*, their ſecretary. One *Sigiſmund Shoppe*, formerly under count *Maurice*, and who had commanded the land forces of *Dutch Braſil*, was now ſent in the quality of commander in chief of theſe forces; he was a moſt experienced captain, and who always kept a ſtrict diſcipline among the ſoldiers.

Never did any fleet ſent from *Holland* to *Braſil* meet with ſo many unfortunate accidents as this, during the ſix months they were at ſea. For within two days after they had left the *Dutch* coaſt, they were forced to caſt anchor in the *Downs* oppoſite to *Newport*, where they loſt two of their ſhips by ſtreſs of weather. After a ſtay of three days, the winds being ſomewhat allayed, the ſquadron under Mr. *Van Goch* ſet ſail again, but was two days after again forced into *St. Helens* in the iſle of *Wight*: Three days before their arrival a rich *Dutch* ſhip, valued at two millions of livres, then lately come from *Braſil*, was loſt among the rocks, ſo that of 300 perſons, no more than 30 were ſaved. Here they were detained by foul weather and contrary winds ſeven weeks, when another *Dutch* ſhip coming from *Braſil*, chanced to caſt anchor near them, and told them, that their countreymen in the *Receif* were drove to the laſt extremity; nay, that perhaps the place was ſurrendered by this time, they having no more than two months proviſions left at the time of his departure. Hereupon it was reſolved to continue their voyage with the whole fleet, notwithſtanding the winds were againſt them; but on the coaſt near *Portland* were again overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which they ſaw a *Scotch* ſhip with 200 perſons in her periſh. The fleet under Mr. *Van Goch* came with much ado to an anchor behind a rock, where they ſtaid till the fierceneſs of the tempeſt being allayed, they proſecuted their voyage. But ſcarce were they got through the channel, juſt as they were entring the *Spaniſh* ſea, but a difference aroſe betwixt Mr. *Van Goch* and Mr. *Beaumont* about the flag, the *Zelanders* (in a council of war held for that purpoſe) allotting the precedency to Mr. *Van Goch*; whereas the *Hollanders* pretended the ſame to belong to Mr. *Beaumont*; but Mr. *Van Goch* perſiſting notwithſtanding to claim the precedency, Mr. *Beaumont* gave a ſignal to the *Holland* ſhips to follow him, and ſo bid adieu to Mr. *Van Goch*, who after a troubleſome and tedious voyage, in which he loſt many of his men by ſickneſs, and eſpecially by the ſcurvy, he arrived the 14th of *July* with his ſhip in the road of the *Receif*, being the firſt of the five new lords of the council that arrived in the *Dutch Braſil*. The 31ſt of *July* 1646, the ſhip the *Bluecock*, and the *Vlyſſingen* of *Zealand*, came likewiſe to an anchor there; in the firſt came Mr. *Trowens*, and in the laſt colonel *Sigiſmund Shoppe*.

Some ſhips arrive from Holland, at the Receif.

1646.

The 6th of *Auguſt* the ſaid colonel gave an account to the members of the council, how purſuant to their orders, he was advanced with 450 men as far as the fort of *Olinda*, to diſcover the countenance of the enemy, and to take ſome priſoners; that they had made a ſhew of attacking us, but after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes retired, and with a body of their troops marched thro' *Bracer de St. Jago*, to cut off our retreat; but our people forced them to retreat again with the loſs of ſeveral of their men killed and wounded; whereas we had but one wounded during the whole action, beſides colonel *Shoppe* himſelf, who received a ſlight hurt on his leg.

The 8th of *Auguſt* the *Arms of Dort*, and in it Mr. *Beaumont*, arrived before the *Receif*, he was conducted the next day with all imaginable reſpect to the *Receif*.

The 12th late in the evening Mr. *Walter Schonenbergh*, preſident of the new council, and *Henry Hacks*, arrived in a bark from the north in the *Receif*, where they were received by all the citizens and ſoldiers in arms; they had been forced to leave their ſhip called the *Middleburgh*, before the north entrance of *Itamarika*, as likewiſe the *Dolphin*, loaden with proviſions on account of the chamber of *Zealand*, both which were ſeen the 30th of *July* off of *Olinda*, but being forced back by contrary winds, the laſt of theſe two did not come to an anchor near the *Receif* till the 13th of *Auguſt*.

More ſhips arrive from Holland.

The ſame day a certain negro deſerter coming to the *Receif*, brought information that the enemy intended to erect a fort on the paſs of the *Baretta*, to prevent our excurſions into the open countrey; whereupon it was reſolved, with unanimous conſent of Mr. *Schonenbergh* and the whole council, as likewiſe with the approbation of colonel *Shoppe* and admiral *Lichthart*, to prevent the enemies deſign by fortifying and maintaining the ſaid paſs, as being the only inlett we had left for the recovery of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, all the other paſſes being ſo ſtrongly fortified by the enemy, as not to be attempted without great hazard.

Accordingly the ſaid colonel *Shoppe* marched the ſame night with all the forces he could bring together, ordering the boats laden with materials for the intended fortifications, to follow him the next tide.

Colonel Shoppe marches to the Baretta.

1646. The colonel at his arrival having ſoon chaſed the enemy from thence, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the houſe of the *Baretta*, ſent for immediate orders to the council, to know whether he ſhould continue in that poſt all night; who, with the approbation of the new preſident *Schonenbergh*, diſpatcht Mr. *Bulleſtrate* thither immediately to take a view of it, and to make his report accordingly; he returned the 14th againſt night, and reported to the council, that he had found the work there very far advanced already, and the fortifications in ſuch a ſtate, that they would ſoon be in a poſture of defence againſt any attempts from the enemy.

The 13th of *Auguſt Rudolph Baro*, who, as we told you, was ſent with ſome preſents to *John Duwy* king of the *Tapoyers*, brought a letter from the ſaid king dated the firſt of *July*, to the council, wherein he thanked them for their preſents, and deſired they would be pleaſed to ſend him ſome iron weapons, he being then in war with the *Pojuku*'s, and that after he had humbled them, he would march with all his forces againſt the *Portugueſe*.

By this time the preſident *Walter Schonenbergh*, and the other members of the new great council being arrived at the *Receif*, and having delivered their commiſſions from their high and mightineſſes the ſtates-general, his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and the council of XIX. conſtituting them joint governours of the *Dutch Braſil*, the late members of the ſaid council, to wit, *Henry Hamel*, *Bulleſtrate*, and *Peter Bas*, ordered all the colleges and other perſons of note to be called together, to be preſent at the inſtallment of the future lords of the council.

Accordingly all the members of the court of juſtice, and of the finances, next the magiſtrates and commiſſaries of *Maurice's town*, then the miniſters and church council, together with the ſea and land officers, the heads of the *Jews*, and laſt of all the factors and book-keepers of the company, being aſſembled, Mr. *Walbeck* told them in the name of the council, that Mr. *Henry Hamel*, Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, and *Peter Bas*, had called them together, to lay down in their preſence the reins of the government, and to ſurrender the ſame to Mr. *Schonenburgh* and the reſt of the lords appointed by their high and mightineſſes, by his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and the council of XIX. for the ſupreme management of the government of the *Dutch Braſil*; returning them their hearty thanks for the ſervices each in his reſpective ſtation had done to the government, and for their conſtant fidelity during theſe inteſtine commotions, exhorting them to perſevere in the ſame obedience to the new council; whereupon the new preſident and other members, having received the congratulations, firſt of the old council, and then of the other colleges, they from thence forward tranſacted every thing by their own authority, tho' they in all affairs of moment took the advice of the ſaid members of the old council, during their ſtay in *Braſil*; for which purpoſe they deſired them the 20th of *Auguſt*, to appear every day at eight a-clock at their aſſembly, and to aſſiſt them with their counſel for the better management of the affairs of the company. The 19th of *Auguſt* Mr. *Trowens* died late at night. 1646.

The members of the old council ſurrender the government.

The 3d of *September* was appointed for a general muſter of all the forces in garriſon in the forts near the *Receif*. Mr. *Heck* and commiſſary *Zweers*, were ordered to take a review of thoſe in the fort *Erneſtus*, *Wardenburgh* and *Boaviſta*. Mr. *Beaumont* and *Moucheron* in the fort of *Anthony Vaez* and *Maurice's Town*, Mr. *Van Goch*, *Hamel*, and *Alrich* at the *Receif*, and of thoſe belonging to the artillery. Mr. *Raetsfield* and *Crowvanger* at the *Baretta* and adjacent quarters. Mr. *Volbergin* and commiſſary *Stricht* in the forts *William* and *Frederick Henry*. Mr. *Bulleſtrate* and *de Witt* in the fort *Bruin* and the land and ſea fort. *A general review.*

The 4th of *September*, a pardon being agreed upon by joint conſent of the old and new council, the ſame was the 6th day ſent by a drummer to the enemy, with a letter to the *Portugueſe* commanders from the *Bahia*, deſiring them to withdraw their forces.

The 10th of *September* being appointed for a review of the militia of the *Receif* and *Maurice's Town*, the ſame was found to conſiſt of 700 men; they received the thanks of the old council for their faithful ſervices during the preſent inteſtine war, and then returned their thanks to them for their prudent management of the government.

The 13th of *September* the letters written by the *Portugueſe* colonel the 11th of *September*, in anſwer to ours of the 6th, were read in the great council, filled with untruths and fictions of their own invention. They pretended that they were prevented by the inhabitants from retiring to the *Bahia*, beſides that they wanted tranſport veſſels, their ſhips being detained in the bay of *Tamandare*, and that they muſt expect the king's orders for that purpoſe.

They took alſo a great deal of pains to magnify their ſtrength. The 12th and 13th of *September* ſeveral letters were diſperſed abroad by the *Portugueſe*, directed to juſtice *Daems*, to *Matthew Bek*, *Balthaſar de Fonſeca*, *Duarte Sarayva*, *Caſpar Francis da Coſta*,

1646. *ſta*, being all merchants, and written by *John Fernand Vieira*; in which they again exaggerated their own number, and ſpoke very deſpiſably of ours, threatening, that in caſe they ſhould be forced to quit the countrey, they would deſtroy all with fire and ſword, as they had already done in ſome parts of *Parayba*. The contents of theſe letters were as follows. 1645.

A letter from Vieira *to ſome merchants in the* Dutch-Braſil.

EXperience has without queſtion convinced you ſufficiently of the reaſons that moved us to undertake this war, and the ſucceſs we have met with is an ample teſtimony that God was pleaſed to inflict this puniſhment upon our enemies, for the many outrages committed againſt the inhabitants of this countrey. This is however in a great meaſure to be attributed to the general conſent of the ſaid inhabitants, who having now forced themſelves from the tyrannical yoke of their oppreſſors, ought to expect from me, who, tho' unworthy, am appointed the chief manager of this war, to be back'd in ſo brave a reſolution. I would not have you be ignorant of our ſtrength, which, in compariſon of yours, exceeds all that can be ſaid upon that head; I will only tell you that as by our quitting the captainſhips of Parayba *and* Goyana, *we are conſiderably encreaſed in number, ſo it is moſt evident from thence, that the inhabitants choſe rather to loſe their poſſeſſions, than to endure any longer the indignities that were put upon them, which was the true cauſe of their inſurrection, and not (as it is given out among you) becauſe they were unable to ſatisfy their creditors; becauſe they left more than what would have paid their debts. But if it ſhould happen ſo, that the ſaid inhabitants ſhould not be able to maintain themſelves by force of arms, they are reſolved to lay all the other captainſhips deſolate in the ſame manner.*

Having therefore well weighed the reaſons which ſeem to promiſe us a good iſſue of this war, I thought myſelf obliged as a friend, to adviſe you that that party is back'd by reaſon and the unanimous reſolution of many thouſands; for, I can aſſure you, we are at leaſt 14000 *ſtrong beſides the negroes and* Tapoyers, *diſperſed in ſeveral places from* Rio Grande *as far as* Rio St. Franciſco. Kamaron *commands* 600 *muſqueteers*, Henry Dias 800 *negroes*, 200 Minos *and* 700 Tapoyers; *and thoſe of the* Sertan *are at our devotion, whenever we are pleaſed to call for them; but above all the reſt we have God on our ſide. We are not ignorant, that before the arrival of Mr.* Sigiſmund Shoppe *your whole force conſiſted not in above* 600 *men, and that the ſuccours come along with him do not amount to above* 1200 *more; moſt of which are boys, and the reſt either dead or ſick. You ſee I am well acquainted with your ſtrength, having kill'd and taken priſoners about* 2600 *of your beſt ſoldiers, and* 500 Braſilians, *beſides the wounded that were carried to the* Receif; *when our troops had no other arms than pointed ſticks and clubs. Theſe are bleſſings from heaven, for if we were able to perform theſe things without powder and ball, what may not be expected from our forces, now they are ſtrengthened with good troops, and provided with ſufficient arms and ammunition? All which I confirm to you upon my word, to be nothing but the real truth, and had it not been in reſpect of thoſe colonels ſent from the* Bahia, *and of his majeſty of* Portugal, *I had by this time been maſter of the* Receif, *or ſome of the forts, or at leaſt I might have done much greater miſchief:* But if matters are not brought to a happy concluſion, I am reſolved to act like a deſperate man, and not to leave any ſugar-mills, cattle or negroes in the countrey, but will rather turn all to ruin and deſtruction, before we will be compelled to ſubmit again to your obedience.

As theſe preſents may ſerve as a warning to you, ſo, I hope you, and the reſt of the merchants will not delay to enter with us into ſuch articles of agreement, as may be moſt conducing to the preſervation of your Poſſeſſions; for I would have you call to mind that there are many ingenios (mills) *reduced at preſent to ſuch a ſtate, as not to be likely to be in a condition to be uſed theſe ten years next to come. The* Vargea *is in no better condition than* Parayba *and* Goyana, *and the cattle (without which the mills cannot ſubſiſt) deſtroy'd in moſt places.*

Colonel Sigiſmund Shoppe, *I ſuppoſe, pretends to keep the field againſt us, as he did in the laſt war, but he will find himſelf egregiouſly miſtaken, becauſe the inhabitants will not be of his ſide, for if I ſhould hear of one that was, I would cauſe him to be hanged immediately. You alledge that we are vaſſals of the company, but when was ever any conquered nation treated thus as we were, worſe than the vileſt ſlaves, of which you are ſenſible as well as we; ſo that being forced to break our chains, we don't owe you any further obedience. If we had not been in hopes of this opportunity, we would long before have implored the aſſiſtance of the king of* Spain *or* France; *and if thoſe had fail'd us, to have had recourſe to the* Turks *and* Moors. *I deſire you not to throw away this letter, becauſe experience will convince you of the truth of it; and that we ſhall purſue the ſame methods here, as we have done in other places; wherefore I would have you not give credit to any body, except to thoſe that come in perſon from thoſe places; having told them nothing but the bare truth, which*

you

1646. *you will find in effect thus: In the profecution of this war, I hope you will conſider, what is moſt for your intereſt, in which I am ready to ſerve you; for tho' your governors don't direct their letters to me, 'tis I that have the chief management of this war, and under my command the power of the colonels came from the* Bahia, *extending no further, than over thoſe troops they have brought along with them.* A Reyal de bon Jeſus September 11 1646.

On the 10th *of this Month, the before-mentioned colonels having ſent an anſwer to a letter directed to them from your council, by one of our captains; ſeveral enſnaring queſtions were ask'd him concerning the preſent war, which he perhaps not anſwering according to their expectation, they replied more like drunken cowards than ſoldiers; if they will be pleaſed to come out and tell me theſe things, I will try whether their ſwords are as nimble as their tongues are, and teach them what reſpect is due to the meſſengers of thoſe perſons who have the ſupreme command here. This I write to you at preſent, but ſhall not fail in due time to make my words good by the ſword, of which your people feel the daily effects as often as they dare to come out of their forts. Pray be not deceived, for* Braſil *is not allotted to you; not queſtoning but that God will bleſs our arms, and if we happen to die, we ſhall loſe our lives in the defence of our holy religion and liberty; and all thoſe that have refuſed to accept of our offers, will pay for it with the loſs of their lives, poſſeſſions and debts.*

A Reyal, Sept. 12, 1646.

Signed,

John Fernand Vieira.

The 14th of *September* a man of war, call'd the *Ter Veer*, equipped by the chamber of *Zealand*, (aboard of which was colonel *Hinderſon*) arrived before the *Receif*, after a voyage of 14 weeks. The 24th of *September* the enemy cauſed ſome pamphlets to be diſperſed, promiſing in very haughty terms a general pardon, and a compoſition of their debts, in caſe we would leave the iſland. The 27th of *September* colonel *Shoppe* returned with ſome troops from *Goyana*, by the way of *Itamarika*; I had not met with any enemy, but had found all the ſugar-mills burnt in the firſt place, but the ſugar-reed and farinha fields in a pretty good condition; we received afterwards further information, that the ſugar-mills of *Goyana*, were not quite burnt down. The 27th of *October* a conference was held betwixt the old council and Mr. *Van Goch*, unto whom they imparted their advice concerning ſeveral matters relating to the ſtate of the *Dutch-Braſil*, and eſpecially to the planting of the *mandioka* or *farinha* roots,

Colonel Shoppe *returns from* Goyana.

A conference betwixt the old council and Mr. Goch.

and the killing of cattle, which they adviſed to be done with great circumſpection, *Braſil* being not able to ſubſiſt without a conſiderable number of oxen, which were continually employed in carrying of ſugar-reeds, wood and other neceſſaries to the mills. 1646.

For the planting of *farinha* roots they propoſed *Itamarika*, *Rio Grande* and *Parayba*, which countries were thought ſufficient to ſupply their preſent occaſions; provided it were done before the ſeaſon was elapſed.

In the mean while colonel *Shoppe* having made ſeveral, but for the moſt part, unſucceſsful attempts upon the enemy; our forces were thereby ſo diminiſhed, that we were not in condition to made head againſt the *Portugueſe* near the *Receif*; which made our council take a reſolution to endeavour the recovery of *Rio St. Franciſco*, the execution of which being committed to the management of colonel *Hinderſon*, proved more fortunate for us, he meeting with little reſiſtance thereabouts.

Accordingly the 24th of *October* the following ſhips; count *Eano* admiral, *Loanda* vice-admiral, the *Arms of Dort* rear-admiral, the *Bluecock*, the *Watchful-Dog*, the *Greyhound*, *Eagle*, the *Star*, *Heemſtede* and the *Flight*, with eight barks, ſet ſail under the command of admiral *Lichthart*, and colonel *Hinderſon* to the ſouth. The 17th of *November* the council received advice, that our troops under colonel *Hinderſon* were ſafely landed at *Koraſippa*, and marching from thence to *Rio St. Franciſco* and the fort *St. Maurice* had met with no oppoſition from the enemy, who had begun to raiſe the ſaid fort. That they had been ſeconded by the ſmall veſſels, which had followed them up the river, which our forces had paſſed, and were marched to *Seregippe del Rey*, having left ſome behind to repair the fort; and that four *Portugueſe* had requeſted their pardon, which was promiſed them. Whilſt our forces were employed thereabouts, I was ordered thither to take care of the neceſſary proviſions (of which there was great plenty) for our troops; having accordingly cauſed my cargo to be embarked aboard a ſhip call'd the *Brownfiſh*, *Francis Frantz* maſter.

The Dutch *attempt the recovery of* Rio St. Franciſco.

I ſet ſail the 24th of *November*. We were carried with a brisk gale as far as the mountains call'd by our people the *Saddle-hills* from their ſhape, the coaſt all thereabouts being white ſand downs. About half an hour after ſun-ſet we ſaw our ſelves off of the Bay of *Tamandare*, and from thence continued our courſe with a fair wind, which in two days after brought us happily to the entrance of that great river, which

Mr. Nieuhoff *ordered hither.*

1646. is ſo broad at the beginning that a ſix-pounder can ſcarce reach croſs it; it falls with a very ſoft current into the ſea, its waters being low in the winter, but encreaſe in the ſummer, perhaps by reaſon of the ſnows that are melted by the heat of the ſun. About 50 leagues from its mouth is a great cataract or water-fall, ſurrounded by a great many iſlands; the ſea at its entrance meeting in tempeſtuous weather with the current, are ſo boiſtrous, that they ſtrike terror into the ſtouteſt mariners, and carry away great pieces of the continent along with them. We entered the ſaid river, but were forced to caſt anchor immediately after ſun-ſet, for want of an eaſt wind to carry us higher up, which commonly begins to blow thereabouts at three in the morning. The countrey appeared very pleaſant on both ſides, and we ſaw abundance of wild beaſts near the river-ſide, and ſeveral huts made of ſtraw. We were detained near 24 hours upon a ſand-bank, which after we had paſſed, we came at laſt to the village called *Penedos*, ſituate upon a high hill; here we landed with our boats, and found a few houſes which were rebuilt by our people, the reſt being burnt by the enemy before their flight. In the fort was formerly (in the time of the *Portugueſe*) a church, which we turn'd into a magazine; it was ſurrounded with a goodly wall, the river paſſing by it on the north-ſide, where the hill is very ſteep.

Admiral Lichthart *dies.*

The 30th of *November* admiral *Lichthart* was ſeized with a ſudden and violent illneſs, occaſion'd by his drinking too much cold water, after he had over-heated himſelf before; he was carried into a boat with three ſoldiers under the command of an officer, lower down the river, but ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and in my preſence expired. The next day his corps being put in a coffin was carried aboard the *Golden-Star*, being conducted by the chief officers there preſent, and four companies of ſoldiers to the river-ſide, who gave three ſalvo's with their muſquets, as did the cannon from the fort and ſhips, in order to his interment at the *Receif*.

Mr. Nieuhoff *in danger of being drowned.*

Towards evening as I was going aboard our ſhip the boat overturned by the ſwiftneſs of the current, and had I not been a good ſwimmer, I had infallibly been drowned; the maſter threw out a great cable over-board, by the help of which, and God's mercy I got ſafely into the ſhip. The ſoldiers in the mean while ſcower'd the countrey, and brought 700 oxen, (of which there was great plenty) and 300 calves into our quarters, having been at paſture in one of the adjacent Iſlands of the river, under the guard of ſome ſoldiers; they were not extraordinary fat, but tolerable good meat.

The ſoldiers huts were for the moſt part planted on the north-ſide of the hill, which being compoſed of branches and leaves of trees took fire accidentally the 3d of *December*, with ſuch fury, that in a quarter of an hour the whole quarter was in a flame; notwithſtanding that the alarum was given immediately, by the beating of drums and the ſounding of trumpets; ſome ſoldiers that were then ſwimming in the river, loſt all their cloaths by this accident. It was well it happened by day; for if it had been in the night it would have put us under a great conſternation, it being generally reported, that it had been done by treachery. 1646. *A fire in the ſoldiers quarters.*

There was at that time a plentiful crop of tobacco upon the circumjacent fields, but was not quite fit for reaping, which muſt be done at a certain ſeaſon, before the low grounds overflow'd. The colonel deſired me to provide thoſe who had loſt all, with new cloaths, and to deduct it out of their pay; but I told him, that I being only a factor, could not do it without ſpecial order from the council, ſome having but little pay due to them. The 25th of *December* we received intelligence that the enemy began to appear in a conſiderable body, whereupon the companies of captain *Couſin*, *Schut*, *Gyſeling*, *la Montayne*, and of a *Braſilian* captain, call'd *Tomee*, were ſent in queſt of them, with orders to ſet their ſtables on fire, and bring the cattle to our quarters. The next following *Monday* word was brought us, that our troops were ſo narrowly encloſed by the enemy, that it was feared ſcarce one of them would eſcape with life. Whilſt we were in a great conſternation, not knowing what reſolution to take, a *Braſilian* brought us the unwelcome news, that our whole body was routed and diſperſed, and captain *Schut*, *Couſin* and *La Montayne*, kill'd upon the ſpot. He had ſcarce finiſh'd his doleful relation before a *German* ſoldier, who had eſcaped the fight, by his bleeding wounds and his words gave us a confirmation of what had been told us before, with this addition, that captain *Gyſeling*'s lieutenant, *La Montayne*'s enſign, and one *Kilmet*, belonging to captain *Schut*, had fought their way through the enemy, with about 30 ſoldiers, and would ſoon be here. This miſhap was chiefly attributed to the fool-hardineſs of our troops, who contrary to colonel *Hinderſon*'s command, having at once diſcharged all their muſquets againſt the enemy, fell in pell-mell, without any regular order, with ſword in hand upon the enemy, which the enemy perceiving, retreated back and drew them into an ambuſh. Towards night we ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers miſerably wounded with darts come to our quarters, ſome who had

1646. *The* Dutch *defeated in* Rio St. Franciſco.

thrown away their arms, were forced to caſt lots for their lives, the misfortune of which fell upon a *Dutchman* and a *Braſilian*, who being tied to a ſtake to be ſhot to death, were however pardon'd by the colonel. Captain *Gyſeling*'s lieutenant, who came without his arms to the fort, was ſent immediately to the *Receif*, where his ſword was broke over his head, and he declared incapable of ſerving the company for the future, notwithſtanding he had done them faithful ſervice for ſeven years laſt paſt.

By this time I was ſent for to the *Receif*, ſo that after having taken my leave of the colonel and Mr. *Dames*, I embarked on board the *Bat* the 16th of *December*, and we were the ſame evening with a fair wind and ſtream carried to the mouth of the river. It being a fine moon-light night we catch'd abundance of *Zaggers* as we call them, a fiſh of a very good taſte, and continued our courſe with a briſk gale: Not far from the rivers mouth we met with four of our ſhips, who told us they were to fetch proviſions, but in caſe they could not, were to return forthwith to the *Receif*. The 18th we advanced but little, the ſhips being not out of ſight of us, near the rivers mouth, but did catch more fiſh than we were able to eat. The 20th we were likewiſe becalmed, and we perceived the moon to be half eclipſed for the ſpace of two hours. The next following day we ſailed ſo near to *St. Antonio*, that we could ſee them walking along the ſea-ſhore. Towards night we diſcovered *Porto Calvo*, about 30 leagues from *Rio St. Franciſco*. We were often becalmed, but catched abundance of *King's-fiſh* and *Codds*, and ſaw fires in many places along the coaſt. The 24th of *December* we came ſo near to the cape of *St. Auſtin* that we diſcovered five ſhips and ſeven row-barges in the harbour; we might have reached ſome of thoſe that went aſhore with our ſhot, had it not been for the ſand-bank which hindred our nearer approach. About noon we came before the *Receif*, but it was ſo foggy that we could ſcarce diſcover the water fort, nevertheleſs we ventured in, and I got aſhore immediately, with an intention to give an account of the ſtate of affairs in *Rio St. Franciſco* to Mr. *Schonenburgh*, being conducted thither by colonel *Shoppe*, who happened to meet me immediately after my landing.

Mr. Nieuhoff's *return to the* Receif.

The enemy lay an ambuſh.

The 27th of *October* the enemy had laid two ambuſhes in the way to the fort *Prince William*, beyond the redoubt *Kiik*. They did not ſtir till towards noon, when perceiving a company of our ſoldiers marching along the dike, they fired ſo briſkly upon them, that they killed 11, wounded 12, and took three priſoners; yet not without the loſs of ſome on their ſide.

1646. *The* Tapoyers *leave our party.*

In the mean while the *Tapoyers* being much exaſperated at the murder of the before-mentioned *Jacob Rabbi* their commander, had left our party; the council did what they could to appeaſe them, impriſoned and baniſhed *Garſman* the author of it, and confiſcated his eſtate, notwithſtanding which, the *Tapoyers* could not be prevailed upon to join with us as before.

Debate concerning an enterpriſe againſt the enemy.

The 18th of *November* Mr. *Van Goch* entred into a conference with the members of the old council, whether it might not be feaſible to embark what forces we were able to ſpare on board our great ſhips, and to attempt to make a powerful diverſion to the enemy by attacking them in ſome place or other. But thoſe of the old council having repreſented to him the danger of this enterprize if it ſhould miſcarry, whilſt they were blockt up in the *Receif*, the further debate thereof was deferred till the next day. It was then propoſed, upon ſecond thoughts, that in caſe we could bring all our forces together, ſomething of moment might be undertaken without manifeſt hazard, whereby to oblige the enemy to withdraw his forces from the *Receif*; but Mr. *Van Goch* apprehending no ſmall danger in caſe we miſcarried, they came to no reſolution for that time.

Another about refuſing of quarter.

It being found by experience that all our promiſes of pardon had proved ineffectual, it was propoſed by Mr. *Van Goch* the firſt of *December*, whether it were not moſt expedient to give no quarter for the future; unto which it was anſwered, that very ſeldom quarter had been given by us, and few priſoners were taken, and that the enemy had likewiſe killed moſt of our people that were fallen into their hands, but they judged it not convenient to refuſe quarter to all without diſtinction, which would induce ſuch of the inhabitants as had remained quiet hitherto, to betake themſelves likewiſe to their arms.

The 23d of *November* we laid an ambuſh for the enemy near the fort of *Affagados*, who being by ſome few ſent out for that purpoſe, engaged in a ſkirmiſh, and purſuing our men with great eagerneſs under the cannon of the fort, were ſet upon by thoſe lying in ambuſh, who killed and wounded many of them.

The 12th of *December* the corps of the late admiral *Lichthart* was interr'd, one company of the city militia, and two of ſoldiers appearing in arms upon that occaſion, gave him three ſalvoes with their muſquets.

News from Rio St. Franciſco.

The 30th of *December* the *Eagle* yacht brought letters to the council, dated in *Rio St. Franciſco* the 4th of *December*, intimating, that in an iſland a little above the fort

1646. fort, one colonel *Rebellia* was arrived with 200 men from the *Bahia*; and that they expected another reinforcement; as well from thence as from the *Vargea*; that our people being sent higher up the river, had attackt some of the enemies troops, but they made their escape to the other side, leaving their arms and clothes behind them.

1647. The 2d of *January* 1647, colonel *Shoppe* who had been with 300 fusileers in *Goiana*, returned to the *Receif*, giving an account that he had taken a view of all the rivers thereabouts, but met with noenemy.

Shoppe returns from Goiana.

The 5th of *January* the council received an account of the beforementioned action in *Rio St. Francisco, viz.* Five companies of our forces being sent to *Orambou*, to beat up the enemies quarters, they met with a body of 100 men, whom they attackt and put to flight; but soon after our forces were attackt by a much stronger body, who put them to the rout, with the loss of 150 men; of our officers one captain was killed, and five taken prisoners, *viz.* captain *Samuel Lambart*, *La Montagne*, *Gerrit Schut*, *Kilian Taylor*, *Daniel Koin*, and three lieutenants, *Joost Koyman*, *Anthony Baliart*, *Jeronymus Hellemen*, and one ensign.

The 8th of *January* Mr. *Van Goch*, in the name of the new council, advised with those of the old, that it being resolved among them to send for a considerable number of their forces out of *Parayba*, in order to gather a body of troops for some important design, they desired to be informed concerning the present condition of the said captainship; and whether the city of *Parayba* and *St. Andrew* might be defended by a small garrison; whereupon those of the old council replied, that the town of *Fredericia* had no fresh water but what they must fetch at a miles distance, and consequently might be cut off by the enemy; the same thing might be done at the passage leading to the river-side; besides, that there was no fortifications belonging to the place but the monastery, which was of no great consequence, and the *Guarte Domaiges* church, which had been fortified by the enemy in this war. As to *St. Andrew* it was no more than a sugar-mill about four hours distant from the city of *Parayba*, situate upon the bank of the river; that the communication of this place with the fort of *St. Margaret* might easily be cut off by the enemy, as being likewise about four leagues from thence, but it might be relieved from the water-side, and yet not without great difficulty. Mr. *Van Goch* told them he would make his report thereof to the council.

Consultations concerning the state of Parayba.

The 12th of *January* the council received advice, that the enemy were with a strong body of troops entred *Parayba*, and advancing very near to the sugar-mill of *St. Andrews*, had in the night time surprised some *Dutch* and *Brasilians*, to the number of 50 men, women and children, of which they had killed some; and ript up the womens bellies. 1647.

The 13th of *January* some pamphlets were again dispersed by the enemy, containing in substance, that since the inhabitants of the *Receif* were now beyond all hopes of further relief, it would be their surest way to come to an accommodation; for they resolved to venture all before they would lay aside their design; but if all failed they would destroy the whole countrey, and so leave it: They exhorted them not to be deceived by the insinuations of those who belonged to the company, and called them rebels; they being no more to be stiled so than the *Dutch* themselves, who had asserted their liberty against *Spain*.

Advice from Parayba.

The 17th of *January* four negroes belonging to one *Isaac de Rassier*, who had been taken prisoners some days before in *Parayba*, came over to us into the *Receif*, and brought advice, that the enemy, after having tarried but a little time in that captainship, where they had killed five *Dutch* men and some *Brasilians*, were retired from thence.

The wooden fort battered.

The 22d of *January* early in the morning, the enemy began to batter the wooden fort near the *Baretta*, from a battery on the bank of the south side of the river which he continued the whole day, but desisted at night; the garrison having been reinforced about noon with five companies of soldiers, and some provisions; because Mr. *Hamel*, one of the members of the old council, did represent to Mr. *Van Goch*, that tho' the fort itself was so inconsiderable, as scarce to be worth the trouble of defending it by a good garrison, yet at this juncture, when the enemy had made his first attempt upon it, it would not be adviseable to desert it, for fear of giving encouragement to the enemy to attack the other forts; but that on the contrary, as long as they did meet with a brave resistance here, they would not be so forward to attempt others; especially since we had the conveniency of relieving them with boats at high-water, with low-tide by land by the way of the sandridge; and that we might annoy the enemy with the cannon from our yachts in his trenches, as we had done that day. About the same time a map was ordered to be made, shewing the true situation of the *Receif*, with the turnings and windings of the adjacent rivers and marshes, as far as the *Baretta*, for the better instruction of the council.

Raise the siege.

The 24th of *January* in the morning, news was brought that the enemy had raised the siege

1647. siege of the fort of the *Baretta* the night before, and carried off all their cannon, being ſenſible that as long as they could be annoyed from the ſea-ſide, and we be able to reinforce them daily with freſh troops, they could promiſe themſelves but ſlender ſucceſs: But beſides that our people were to ſtruggle againſt the enemy and famine, they were frequently troubled with deſertions, many of our ſoldiers, nay even to the ſergeants and other officers, who begun to deſpair of our caſe, running over to the enemy, even at that time when the beforementioned ſhips the *Faulcon* and *Elizabeth* were in ſight of the *Receif*.

Now the members of the old council began to prepare in good earneſt for their return to *Holland*, they had already in *December* 1646, ſollicited Mr. *Schonenburgh* preſident of the new council, to order ſome ſhips to be got ready to tranſport them thither, and the *Vlyſſingen* had been appointed for that purpoſe; but the ſame being not as yet returned from cruſing, they applied themſelves the 25th of *January* 1647, to Mr. *Van Goch*, and told him, that whereas according to their commiſſion, one of them ſhould return after the expiration of three years, they had continued in *Braſil* theſe ſix years, Mr. *Kodde* having indeed been ordered to return about that time, but his place not being ſupplied by another, he died before his departure: That they had for theſe three years laſt paſt, ſollicited their return, and had two years ago received promiſes of being relieved by others; which had not been performed till within theſe few months, to the great prejudice of themſelves and their families: Mr. *Van Goch* promiſed them to take effectual care to have the ſhips got ready, and to ſend for the ſhip the *Vlyſſingen*, in order to their return home. At the time of the acceſſion of the new council to the government, and the departure of *Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Bulleſtrate*, and *Peter Bas*, late members of the great council, the following forts remained ſtill in the poſſeſſion of our *Weſt-India* company.

The members of the old council ſollicit their return.

The fort *Keulen* at the mouth of *Rio Grande*, provided with 28 braſs and one iron cannon.

A catalogue of the forts in the hands of the Dutch.

The redoubt of *St. Antonio*, on the north-ſide of the river of *Parayba*, with ſix iron pieces of cannon.

The fort *Reſtangues* in an iſland of the ſame name within the river *Parayba*, with four braſs and five iron pieces of cannon.

The fort *Margaret* on the ſouth ſide of the river *Parayba*, with 14 braſs and 24 iron pieces of cannon.

The fort *Orange* in the iſle of *Itamarika*, with 6 braſs and 7 iron pieces of cannon.

Noſſa Senhora de Conceptiano, an old battery upon the hill of *Itamarika*, with two braſs and eight iron pieces of cannon. 1647.

The redoubt called *Madame de Bruin*, three iron pieces of cannon.

The fort *Wardenburgh*, alias the *Triangular Fort*, betwixt the *Bruin* and the *Receif*; the firſt provided with four braſs and five iron pieces of cannon; the laſt with 14 braſs guns.

The *Land Fort*, alias *St. John's*, with 11 iron guns.

The *Water Fort*, at the mouth of the river of the *Receif*, with ſeven braſs guns.

The fort *Erneſtus*, with 5 braſs and 3 iron pieces of cannon, and the battery with five braſs and two iron pieces of cannon.

The *Receif*.

Maurice's Town upon the iſland of *Anthony Vaez*.

The fort *Frederick Henry*, alias the *Quinquangular Fort*.

The redoubt of ſtone near this fort.

The redoubt *Kiik*, betwixt the fort *Frederick Henry* and the fort *Prince William*.

The fort *Prince William* upon the river *Affagados*.

The forts then in poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, and taken by them from the *Dutch*, are theſe;

Seregippo del Rey, *Rio St. Franciſco*, and *Porto Calvo*, being reduced by famine, were raſed by the *Portugueſe*, being ſenſible that our people could not maintain themſelves there without erecting of new ones, which was not to be done without a vaſt charge. Near the point of *Tamandare*, the place where the *Portugueſe* from the *Bahia* firſt of all landed their men; and where afterwards their fleet was beaten by ours, the enemy laid the foundation of a fort for the ſecurity of that harbour, where ſhips of great burden might ſafely ride at anchor.

Forts in the hands of the Portugueſe.

The 23d of *January*, Mr. *Beaumont* was ſent by the new council to confer with the late members concerning the preſent condition of *Rio St. Franciſco*, and what was beſt to be done there: They anſwered him as before, that the fort as it was now, could do but little ſervice, and that therefore it would be worth our conſideration, whether the propoſals made by them in writing, might not now be put in practice. The ſaid Mr. *Beaumont* further propoſed, whether it would not be requiſite to erect an earthen redoubt for the defence of the *Baretta*; unto which thoſe of the old council replied, that conſidering the vaſt charge and the ſmall benefit which could be expected from it, the ſame might be more conveniently built in ſome place or other, to facilitate our paſſage into the open countrey. *Beaumont* was of opinion, that thereby

A conference about Rio. St. Franciſco.

And the Baretta.

1647. by the enemy would be prevented from advancing to the fort *Frederick Henry*; but the old members told him, that notwithstanding we had now a fort on the *Baretta*, we could not hinder the enemies coming upon that island near the fort, unless we would keep a considerable force there for that purpose; that we need not fear their transporting any cannon thither, because their retreat might be cut off at high tide; neither could they from thence do any mischief to the *Receif*, it being evident, that the shot of our biggest cannon in the fort *Frederick William* could not reach the said island. The same evening Mr. *Van Goch* and *Hack*, came to tell the members of the old council, that the *Hollandia* and *Ulyssingen* would be ready in a little time, in order to conduct them to *Holland*, the *Ulyssingen* being ordered forthwith to return from the *Bahia*, whither she was sent a cruizing.

The Receif *closely blockt up.*

By this time the enemy had block'd us up so closely in the *Receif*, that on the land side we durst scarce look without the gates; and a certain *Portuguese* had prepared us a worse entertainment, having invited all our chief commanders abroad to his daughters wedding, during which time the enemy were to have surprized the city; but this design being timely discovered by some *Portuguese* and *Jews*, miscarried.

The Portuguese *rebuild a fort.*

About the 15th of *October*, the *Portuguese* began to rebuild the fort *Bon Jesus*, as it is call'd by them, but by us *Altena*, on the other side of the river. We had some notice of it by deserters, but could not discover the truth of it, because they kept us from advancing that way by their cannon, and the place was surrounded on all sides with woods; but as soon as they had caused them to be cut down, we discovered it both by sight and the roaring of their cannon, which thundring incessantly against the city, caused such a consternation, as is not easy to be express'd, most people sheltring themselves in vaults, to avoid the fury of the enemies cannon. Of this I saw

A miserable spectacle.

a most miserable spectacle in a certain young lady, a niece of the late admiral *Lichthart*, who being come to visit one of her acquaintance, lately married, had both her legs shot off by a cannon bullet, which at the same time kill'd the new married woman upon the spot. At the outcry of these miserable wretches, I ran thither instantly, my house being just by, where I was an eye-witness of their misery, the poor young lady grasping my legs with such an agony, that she could scarce be pull'd off with all the strength I had; it being a most doleful spectacle for me to see the floor covered with the legs and arms of these miserable wretches; the poor young lady died likewise within three days after. It was not long after that I narrowly escaped the same misfortune; for whilst I was talking with some of the inhabitants of the city, as I was going the rounds, two of them were kill'd by a cannon bullet, and another had both his hands shot off as he was lighting his pipe. Nay we were forced to remove all the ships out of the harbour for fear of being sunk. Colonel *Shoppe*, in the mean while, had made himself master of and destroyed *Taperika*, 2000 *Portuguese* only having saved themselves by flight; but by the many unsuccessful encounters we had with the *Portuguese*, our forces decreasing daily, whereas theirs encreased, colonel *Shoppe* was ordered to command colonel *Hinderson* to leave *Rio St. Francisco*, and to join him in *Taperika*; but this stood us but in little stead, being not long after obliged to leave likewise *Taperika* for the relief of the *Receif*. All our force consisting of about 1800 men, being now come to the *Receif*, (where they had not provisions for above seven months left) it was several times taken into consideration, what was best to be done at this juncture. Colonel *Shoppe*, with some other officers, were of opinion not to hazard an engagement, our forces being so much inferior to the enemy, but to stay for a more favourable opportunity; but it was carried by the majority to venture a general salley for the relief of the *Receif*, the chief command thereof being given to colonel *Brink*, because colonel *Shoppe* was not as yet cured of his wounds he had received in a late encounter. Our forces marched towards evening as far as *Guerapes*, a place fatal to us the year before by the defeat of our people, the fields thereabouts being as yet covered with their bones. The *Portuguese* no sooner perceived us to be upon the march, but they left the fort *Altena*, of which we having got notice, possess'd ourselves of it immediately, and thus drew the thorn out of our foot. But the 16th of *May* prov'd the most fatal of all we had seen for many years before in *Brasil*. For though our forces attack'd the enemy with bravery, and maintained the fight with great obstinacy for some time, yet the enemy, flush'd with their number and late success, with 2500 of their best men, at last forced our men to give way, and afterwards to fly, being pursued by 150 *Portuguese* horse; so that both in the fight and flight, we lost above 1100 men, among whom were colonel *Brink*, and almost all the rest of our commanders: We lost also 19 colours, and all our cannon and ammunition we had carried along with us. It was not till five days after before leave could be obtained to bury our dead,

A general salley made by the Dutch.

Are routed.

1647. which began to corrupt and ſtink moſt nauſeouſly, by reaſon of the burning heat of the ſun. This was the laſt effort we were likely to make in the field; all our future care being for the preſervation and defence of the *Receif*, unleſs we ſhould be ſupplied with freſh ſuccours from *Holland*; but the ſame arriving but ſlowly, moſt people began to fear, that in caſe God Almighty did not ſend us ſome unexpected relief, we ſhould be at laſt forced to leave that place likewiſe to the mercy of the enemy: The great council laying the fault of our late misfortunes upon the council of war, and theſe again upon them, alledging, that the ſoldiers were ill provided for, and wanted their pay. As for myſelf, being ſenſible 1647. that things would be worſe and worſe every day, I thought it the ſafeſt way for me alſo, to deſire a paſſport for my return to *Holland*, which at laſt, with much ado I obtained, and ſo prepared every thing for my voyage. But before I leave *Braſil*, I ought to give you a ſhort account of the products of the ſaid country.

The captainſhip of *Pernambuko* and *Braſil* in general, being not only well ſtored with cattle, but alſo with ſeveral ſorts of herbs, trees and fruits, we will give you a ſhort view of them, and begin with the *Mandiiba*, and its root, call'd *Mandioka*, unto which the *Braſilians* ſtand chiefly in- Mandioka root.

debted for their ſuſtenance. The moſt parts of *America* are ignorant hitherto of wheat or any other grain, inſtead of which nature has furniſhed them with a certain ſhrub, the root of which dried and powdered, and afterwards boil'd and bak'd as we do our bread, is the common food of the inhabitants of *America*. This ſhrub grows in vaſt plenty every where, being by the *Braſilians* called *Maniiba* and *Mandiiba*, and its root *Mandioka*. There are divers kinds of it, diſtinguiſhed by the *Braſilians* by different names, but the root is in general called *Mandioka*. Their leaves are ſmall, green and long, pointed at the end, which grow upon large ſtalks or branches, each of which has five, ſix, or ſeven leaves, growing in a cluſter, reſembling a ſtar, call'd by the *Braſilians Manikoba*. The ſtock or ſtem is diſtinguiſhed by certain knots, not above an inch thick, but generally ſix, ſometimes ſeven foot high, from whence ſprout forth ſeveral branches, which producing again leſſer ſtalks, bear the before-mentioned leaves: It bears a ſmall flower of a pale yellow colour, and of five leaves only, with ſmall ſtalks within, which at laſt turn to ſeed. The root *Mandioka* reſembles our parſnip in ſhape, being two or three foot long, and about a man's arm thick, but grows thinner towards the bottom. Its outward rind reſembles that of a haſel-tree,

but

1647. but its ſubſtance is white, affording a milky ſharp juice, which is pernicious to beaſts. This ſhrub grows in dry, barren and ſandy ground, its nature being ſo averſe to moiſture, that they are obliged to plant it only in the ſummer months, where it is moſt expoſed to the ſun. For this purpoſe it is, that the inhabitants cut down the woods on the hills and in the plains, which they burn, and ſo prepare the ground for the production of this root: Theſe fields are by the *Braſilians* called *Ko*, by the *Portugueſe Roza*, or *Chokas*, and by our people *Roſſen*. Theſe fields are turn'd up into ſmall round hills like mole-hills; the *Portugueſe* call them *Montes de Terra Cavada*, or *Hollowed Hills*; the *Braſilians Kujo*. Theſe hills they make about two foot and a half aſunder, each being about three foot in circumference, and half a foot high, that the rain-water may be carried off with the more eaſe. In each of theſe hills they commonly plant three ſmall taks of this ſhrub, of about nine, ten inches, or a foot long, without leaves, notwithſtanding which they grow and ſoon bear freſh leaves, and in time produce new roots, which cannot be tranſplanted, becauſe no ſooner are they taken out of the ground, but they begin to putrify and ſtink. After theſe taks have been about ten days in the ground, they begin to bud and produce as many freſh taks as they have knots; each of theſe taks is about a finger long, from whence ſprout forth many leſſer ones of a purple colour. The fields muſt be three or four times a year cleared of the weeds, which grow in great plenty amongſt it, and choak it up before it comes to its full growth. The ſmall taks and leaves of theſe ſhrubs are mightily infeſted by the *Piſmires*, and likewiſe coveted by the wild-goats, oxen, horſes and ſheep, for which reaſon they are very careful to fence theſe plantations with ſtalks and branches of trees: The bees, coneys, and ſome other *Braſilian* creatures are mighty fond of the root, which takes no harm, tho' the ſhrub be ſtript of all the leaves, provided the root itſelf be not touch'd. This root does not come to its full perfection till a year after the planting of the taks, tho' in caſe of neceſſity they may be drawn in ſix months, but afford but little *Farinha*. Each ſhrub produces two, three, four, nay ſometimes twenty roots, according to the goodneſs of the ground, and after they are come to full maturity, will keep two or three years under ground; but it is much more ſafe to take them up at the years end, for elſe many of them will rot; nay, if the ſeaſon happens to prove very wet, they muſt of neceſſity be drawn tho' they are but half ripe. The root, after it is taken out of the ground, will not keep above three days, but ſtinks, take what care you can; for which reaſon they ſeldom draw more at a time than they can make immediately into *Farinha* or meal. That kind of *Mandioka*, commonly called *Mandibuka*, grows faſter and ripens ſooner than any other, and affords the beſt *Farinha*; it thrives beſt in ſandy and hot grounds. But that kind which is moſt generally uſed is called *Mandiikparata*, and grows indifferently in all grounds. The *Farinha* is prepared thus: The root after it is taken out of the ground is purged from its outward rind by a knife, and waſh'd in fair water: Then the end of the root is held cloſe to a wheel of about four or five foot diameter, which being covered round the edges with a copper or tin plate full of ſharp ſmall holes, not unlike a nutmeg-grater, and the wheel being turn'd round continually, grates the ſaid root into ſmall particles, which fall into a trough underneath. The wheel is by the *Braſilians* called *Ibecem Babaca*, and by the *Portugueſe Roda de Farinha*, or the flower wheel; the trough the *Braſilians* call *Mukaba*, and the *Portugueſe Koche de rater Mandihoka*. But the poorer ſort are fain to be contented with a hand-grater, called *Tapiti*. The root thus grated is put into a bag, made of the rinds of trees, about four inches wide, called by the *Portugueſe Eſpremendouro de Mandihoka*. This bag with the root is put into a preſs, and all the juice preſt out, (it having a venomous quality) which is by the *Braſilians* called *Maipoera*, or *Munipuera*, and by the *Portugueſe Agoa de Mandioka*, i. e. *The water of Mandioka*. The next thing to be done is to beat the root through a ſieve, called by the *Braſilians Urupema*; and then to lay it upon a copper plate, or earthen pan, over the fire, and to ſtir it continually with a wooden ſpoon or ſpattle till it be quite dry. This pan or veſſel the *Braſilians* call *Vimovipaba*, and the ſlice *Vipucuitaba*. The *Farinha*, before it is quite dry, is called by the *Braſilians Vitinga*, and by the *Portugueſe Farinha Relada*; but when it is compleatly dried and fit for keeping, the *Braſilians* call it *Viata* or *Viccia*, and the *Portugueſe Farinha Seca*, or dry meal; or *Farinha de Guerra*, war-meal, becauſe it is moſt uſed in time of war. For the more it is dried the better it keeps, but never keeps good above a year, the leaſt moiſture being apt to taint it; which is the reaſon, that both the *Portugueſe* and we, in imitation of the *Braſilians*, bake biſkets of it upon a grate iron, with hot coals underneath, for the magazines.

How the Farinha *is prepared.*

The juice *Manipuera*, which is preſs'd out

1647. out of the root *Mandioka*, put into a veſſel, gets in two hours time a white ſettlement at the bottom, call'd by the *Braſilians Tipioja*, *Tipiaka*, and *Tipiabika*: This dried, affords a very white meal, called *Tipiocui*, which bak'd into cakes as before, call'd by them *Tipiacika*, taſte as well as wheaten bread. This juice is alſo boil'd to pap, and eaten, and ſerves likewiſe inſtead of ſtarch or paſte. The *Portugueſe* take this pap, mix it with ſugar, rice, and orange flower-water, which they make into a conſerve of a delicious taſte; they call it *Marmelada de Mandiboka*. The juice *Mandiga* or *Manipuera*, is of a ſweetiſh taſte, which is the reaſon the beaſts covet it, but commonly die ſoon after they have drunk of it, it being pernicious, nay mortal, both to man and beaſt. If the juice be kept twice 24 hours it produces worms, called by the *Braſilians Tapucu*; yet it has been found by experience, that this juice loſes its pernicious quality after it has ſtood 24 hours, there being many of *Braſilians* who boil and drink it without any harm. The root *Mandioka* is likewiſe immediately after it is taken out of the ground, ſliced in pieces, and laid in freſh water for four or five days, when it begins to be ſoft, it is called *Puba*, or *Mandiopuba* and *Mandiopubo*. This the wild *Braſilians*, inhabiting the deſerts and woods, roaſt in the aſhes and eat; becauſe it is done without much trouble. The ſame *Mandiopuba*, toaſted before the fire, is called *Kaarima*, which being afterwards beat to powder with a wooden peſtel in a mortar, they call *Kaarimaciu*; of this they make a pap with boiling water, which ſeaſoned with ſome *Braſilian* pepper, or *Nhambi* flowers, affords a very good diſh, eſpecially with the addition of ſome fiſh or meat, when it is called *Minguipitinga* by the *Braſilians*, who look upon it as one of their beſt dainties. It is alſo very wholſome, for this *Kaarima*, and the flower *Tipiaka*, boil'd in orange-flower-water, and ſugar, to the conſiſtency of a ſyrup, affords a very good antidote. They make alſo a kind of ſtarch of the flower called *Kaarima*, which they call *Minguapomonga*; as likewiſe very fine cakes, by mixing it with water, butter, and ſugar. There is a kind of meal prepared from the dregs of the *Mandioka*, or *Mandiopubo* root, thus ſteept in water, call'd by the *Braſilians Vipuba*, and *Viabiruru*, and by the *Portugueſe Farinha Freſca*, or freſh flower, and *Farinha d'Agoa*, or water flower. It is very well taſted, but will not keep above 24 hours. But if you make it up with water into balls or rolls, and let them dry in the ſun, they will keep good for a conſiderable time: Theſe they call *Viapua* and *Miapetika*. The *Tapoyers*, and almoſt all the other *Braſilians* prepare it thus, and afterwards mix it with another meal, called *Viata*, which affords it a more agreeable taſte. 1647.

The *Mandioka* root is likewiſe prepared thus: After it has been cleanſed and cut in thin ſlices, they beat it with a wooden peſtel, and ſqueeze the juice of it out with their hands only, which being dried, they call *Tina* and *Mixakuruba*; another way of preparing the *Mandioka* root is, to cut it into pieces, of about two fingers long, and two inches thick, which without being ſqueezed, is expoſed to the ſun, and afterwards beat to powder in a wooden mortar, call'd by the *Braſilians Tipirati*, by the *Portugueſe Farinha de Mandioka crua*, or the flower of raw *Mandioka*: The pieces before they are beaten to powder are very white, and may be uſed inſtead of chalk. Out of this flower they make very good white bread and biſkets, call'd *Miapeta*, the laſt of which are chiefly uſed in the camp, becauſe they will keep a great while.

Out of the root *Aipimakaxera*, the *Braſilians* boil a certain pleaſant liquor not unlike our whey, call'd by them *Kavimakaxera*. The ſame root, chaw'd and mixed with water, furniſhes them with another liquor they call *Kaon Karazu*. The cakes made from the flower of this root, laid in a caſk with water, till it ferments together, affords them likewiſe a ſort of ſtrong and very good beer.

All theſe different kinds of *Mandioka* roots, if they be eaten freſh prove mortal to mankind, except that call'd *Aipiamakaxera*, which roaſted, may be eaten without danger, and is of a good taſte. But all ſorts of beaſts, both wild and tame ones, don't only feed upon the ſaid roots and leaves, without the leaſt hurt, but alſo grow fat with them, notwithſtanding that the juice of both is mortiferous as well to men as beaſts. The Negroes and *Braſilians* bruiſe the leaves of the *Mandiiba* in a wooden mortar, which being boil'd, they put oil or butter over it, and eat it like as we do our ſpinage; this is ſometimes done by the *Portugueſe*, likewiſe and the *Dutch*, who make a kind of ſallet of the ſame leaves. The *Braſilians* prefer the bread made of the *Mandioka* root before ours, but it is not ſo natural to the *Europeans*, it being, if uſed in a great quantity, pernicious to the nerves and ſtomach, and corrupts the blood. About three buſhels of this meal, (at the rate of two gilders *per* buſhel) will ſuffice a ſtrong labouring man for a whole month, and a piece of ground planted with this root, produces four times the quantity, as if it had been ſown with wheat. There is a certain kind of *Mandioka* root call'd *Pi-*

Betwixt Page 129. 130.

1647. *linga* by the *Braſilians*, the flower of which cleanſes and heals old ulcers. This root is likewiſe found in the iſle of *St. Thomas*, and in thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, and others thereabouts, and in moſt parts of the continent of *America*; the inhabitants of which call it *Yuka* and *Kaſſave*, and thoſe of *Mexico Quauhkamoth*, and the bread which is made of the flower, *Kazabis*, *Kazabi*, or *Kakavi*. The *Mandioka* root is originally the natural product of *Braſil*, and from thence tranſplanted into other parts of *America* and *Africk*. Its flower furniſhes all the inhabitants of *Braſil*, as well the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, as the natives and negroes with bread, which next to wheat is the beſt of all, ſo that our ſoldiers would rather chuſe to have their allowance in *Farinha*, than wheaten bread out of the magazines. Since the war in 1645, the price of the *Farinha* was riſen to three or four gilders *per* buſhel, which, as it tended to the utter deſtruction of the ſugar-mills, ſo by ſpecial orders from the great council of the *Dutch Braſil*, all the inhabitants of the open country were enjoined, under a ſevere penalty, to plant a certain quantity of *Mandioka* yearly, in proportion to their abilities, by which means the price of the *Farinha* was ſo conſiderably abated, that three buſhels were ſold for two ſhillings ready money, at the *Receif*, and for leſs in the country.

Kaaeo *or* Herba viva. *Braſil* produces a certain herb call'd *Kaaeo* by the *Braſilians*, by the *Europeans* in *Latin*, *Herba viva*, becauſe it ſeems to ſhrink when you touch it, and ſo it does likewiſe about ſun-ſet; its ſeed has been tranſmitted into *Europe*, where it grows to its full perfection.

Kalabaſſes. The *Kalabaſſes* are a kind of pompions, their rind, if dried, being ſo thick and ſtrong, as to ſerve for materials for cups, porringers, and ſuch like utenſils. But what is moſt ſurprizing is, that they always grow of a different ſhape, ſome being long, others round, others oval, ſome thick before, others at the end. They bloſſom and bear fruit once a month, the bloſſom being yellow, mix'd with green; the pulp is white at firſt, but turns to a violet colour; they are of a tolerable pleaſant taſte, but very unwholeſome by reaſon they are too aſtringent.

The tree Imaraku. The tree call'd *Imaraku* by the *Braſilians*, is of a middle ſize, its trunk round, and its bark grey, covered with ſmall thiſtles of the ſame colour. Its branches ſprout forth on the top, with broad leaves of an oval figure, edged likewiſe with ſmall thiſtles or thorns. There is alſo another kind of *Imaraku*, much larger than the former, call'd *Kakabu* by the *Braſilians*, and *Kardon* by the *Portugueſe*. This ſprouts forth 1647. firſt of all in the form of a large octangular leaf, upon which grow croſswiſe many thorns; this produces other leaves of the ſame kind, each being three, nay ſometimes ſix foot long, and of the thickneſs of a man's arm. By degrees the firſt leaf turns into a woody ſubſtance, of a greeniſh colour, but ſomewhat ſpungy; thoſe leaves that grow next to this ſtem are inſtead of branches, which produce other leaves. The ſtem bears only one large white flower, the fruit of which is of an oval figure, and of about twice the bigneſs of a hens-egg, of a dark brown colour, and fit for uſe. This tree grows to a great height. There is alſo another kind of *Imaraku*, being altogether the ſame with the former in reſpect of its largeneſs, bloſſom and fruit, except that its leaves are of a triangular figure.

Pako Kaatinga. What the *Braſilians* call *Pako Kaatinga*, the *Portugueſe* commonly call *Canodo Mato*, or wild reed or canes. The ſtem or ſtalk is like that of other canes, about an inch thick, containing a white marrow or pith, of a ſweetiſh taſte, on which grow leaves of eight or nine inches long, and three inches broad, ſhaped like a tongue, ſmooth and pale green on one, and covered with a white woolly ſubſtance on the other ſide. The fruit of which is not unlike a pine-apple, about ten inches long, growing on the top of the ſtem; it is divided into ſeveral partitions, which opening by degrees, a pale grey flower appears betwixt each, containing underneath twenty or more grains of a black ſhining ſeed. The ſtalk chew'd draws the rheum from the head, and breaks the ſtone in the bladder. It is look'd upon as an excellent remedy againſt the involuntary emiſſion of the ſeed throughout *Braſil*, and cures it in eight days time.

The tree and fruit Kasjou. All over *Braſil*, but eſpecially in the iſle of *Itamarika*, grows a certain tree call'd *Kasjui* or *Kasjou*, bearing a fruit of the ſame name. Its leaves are dark green, broad and round, interſperſed with many ſmall veins. It bears two different bloſſoms and fruits. The white bloſſom which appears in the lower branches, produces a juicy ſpungy fruit like an apple, of a very cooling and aſtringent quality: But the red bloſſom on the top a kind of cheſnut. The *Braſilians* draw no ſmall advantage from this tree; out of the apples they make a very good cyder, call'd by them *Kasjou wy*, which is ſouriſh, but if mix'd with ſugar, makes it as pleaſant as *Rheniſh* wine, and has this excellency, that tho' it ſoon ſeizes the head, yet it paſſes off without any harm. The other fruit they eat like as we do our cheſnuts.

Among the products of the *Weſt* and

1647. *East-Indies* is a tree call'd *Papay*, by the *Javaneſes* and *Dutch*, and *Pinoguacu* or *Mamoeira* by the *Americans*; and ſometimes intitled with the name of the *Melontree* by our people, by reaſon of the reſemblance of its fruit to our melons. This tree is of two different kinds, to wit, the male and female. It grows and periſhes again in a ſhort time; its trunk being ſo ſpungy that it may be cut as eaſy as a cabbage ſtalk; the leaves it bears are very large and broad, not unlike our vine leaves, growing on long ſtalks round the top of the tree, and covering the fruit, which hangs in a knot, and is green at the firſt, but turns yellow at laſt, reſembling in ſhape a pear, but of the bigneſs of our ſmall melons, unto which its pulp reſembles both in colour and taſte, when come to maturity, but whilſt they are green, they are boil'd with meat, and give it a tart taſte.

Pinoguacu or Papay.

Chili Lada or Braſil pepper.

The red pepper, known by the name of *Braſil pepper*, and call'd *Chili Lada* by the *Braſilians*, grows on knotty ſtalks of about five or ſix foot high; the rind being a dark green, diſtinguiſhed with white rings, from whence ſhoot forth ſmall crooked branches of a hands breadth in length, bearing a ſmall white flower, which produces a green huſk, and turns red by degrees as it ripens, with a certain ſeed within it, being as hot and biting upon the tongue as the common brown pepper, and ſo does the huſk. In the *East-Indies* they preſerve it, and call it *Aetzar*, and uſe it raw in their fiſh ſauces. In *Braſil* they cut two or three of theſe huſks whilſt they are green in ſlices, and mix them with oil and vinegar, or ſome limon juice, to acuate their appetite, but it is too hot for thoſe that are not uſed to it, which is allayed by a good quantity of ſalt. This kind of pepper grows likewiſe in the *East-Indies*, in the iſland of *Java*, in *Bengala*, and ſeveral other places. I have ſeen it alſo in ſome of our gardens in *Holland*. There is another ſhrub which grows frequently in the *East-Indies*, not unlike this in ſhape and bigneſs, which bears a yellow flower; it is call'd *Halika Kabus* by the *Arabians* or *Alkekengi*, and ſufficiently known in theſe parts. The flower produces a ſmall bladder which contains the fruit and ſeed, they are not ſo big as ours. The *Indians* and *Chineſe* mix it with a certain fruit call'd by them *Poma d'Oro*, *Tamatas* by the *Portugueſe*, and *Melanſana* by the *Italians*; they alſo eat it with *Chili Lada* or *Braſilian* pepper. The *Portugueſe* cut the *Poma d'Oro* and the huſk of the *Braſilian* pepper in thin ſlices, which being mix'd with oil and vinegar, they eat as a ſallat, and look upon it as a proper remedy to cut the rough flegm of the ſtomach, a diſtemper very common in thoſe parts. The *Braſilians*, as well as the *Dutch*, chaw this pepper for the ſame purpoſe, but it is very burning upon the tongue. 1647.

Sugar-canes or reeds.

The ſugar canes or reeds, call'd by the *Braſilians Viba*, are the product both of the *Weſt* and *East-Indies*, but grow in great plenty throughout all *Braſil*, but eſpecially in the captainſhip of *Pernambuko*. They are of two different kinds, one bearing ſmall, the other larger leaves. The laſt, which is accounted the beſt, ſprouts up into a long ſtem of the thickneſs of a child's arm, the leaves growing all on the top in a cluſter, being of an oval figure, and a dark blue colour. The rind is diſtinguiſhed by certain joints or knots; the other kind bears ſmall leaves from the top to the bottom. The ſugar-canes are propagated from their ſmall ſprouts, which being put in the ground like our vines, grow up to the height of twelve foot, if they are planted in good ſoil, and are kept free from weeds. Six months after they have been planted, a brown ſeed appears on the top, then it is fit to be cut; for if they ſtand longer in the ground their juice diminiſhes, dries up, and turns ſour. The juice, if taken immediately after it is drawn, cauſes a looſeneſs. The low grounds are much more convenient for the planting of ſugar-reeds than the hills, eſpecially near the river ſide, where the banks are often over-flown by the ſtream. There are a certain kind of winged worms, call'd *Guirapeakoka* by the *Braſilians*, and *Pao de Galinha* by the *Portugueſe*, which are great enemies to the ſugar-canes, eſpecially in moiſt grounds, where they gnaw and conſume the roots. The ſugar, which is the product of theſe canes, is not procured without a great deal of toil and labour, in which for the moſt part are employed ſlaves, under the tuition of certain overſeers, appointed by the maſters of the ſugar-mills, who were for the moſt part *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch* being hitherto not arrived to the utmoſt perfection in that art. In the captainſhip of *Pernambuko*, many fine *Ingenho's* or ſugar-mills, with their adjacent plantations were erected for this purpoſe, amounting in all to above 100 in number, and the labourers, negroes, and other *African* ſlaves thereunto belonging, to near 40000. The whole yearly product of ſugar of the *Dutch Braſil*, is computed to be betwixt 200000 and 250000 cheſts.

Indigo.

In the year 1642, one *Gillin Venant* brought ſome indigo ſeed from the *American* iſlands into *Braſil*, who having certain lands aſſigned him near the ſmall river *Mercera*, and being provided with all other conveniencies by the ſpecial command of the

1647. the great council, erected ſeveral plantations for the producing of *Aniel* or *Indigo*: but it being found by experience, that the piſmires conſumed moſt of the leaves, the ſaid Mr. *Venant*, by employing many labourers and negroes, to deſtroy theſe piſmires with burning and digging, at laſt ſo well cleared the ground, that the *Indigo* came to its full perfection, ſeveral patterns of which were ſent into *Holland*. Mr. *Venant* having made an agreement with Mr. *Chriſtopher Eyerſhettel* to inſtruct him in the moſt neceſſary points relating to the coagulating the indigo, he was treating with the great council concerning certain grounds for the planting of indigo, ſo that there was a fair proſpect of bringing this deſign to a conſiderable perfection here, if the ſame had not been prevented by the inteſtine war.

The wild *Aniel*, which grows in *Braſil* in great plenty, has a great reſemblance to the true indigo in outward appearance, but affords no good colours. Some pretend to have ſeen alſo a kind of wild cochenille in *Braſil*, and the ground would produce good ſtore of cotton, but that the inhabitants draw much more profit from the ſugar-plantations.

Drugs. Some ginger is likewiſe planted in *Braſil*, but not in ſuch quantities as to be tranſported into other parts, no more than the *Mechoacanna*, *China* and ſome other medicinal roots; and the *Herba de Cubra* or *Herba de Noſſa Senhora*, which is look'd upon as an infallible remedy againſt the gravel; and the root called *Paquoquanha*, which is the univerſal medicine of the *Braſilians*. There are alſo many tranſplanted hither from other parts, as ginger, tobacco, rice, cotton, turkey-wheat, *Aniel*, or indigo, and the ſugar-reeds were firſt of all tranſported by the *Portugueſe* from the *Canary Iſlands*. The fruits in daily uſe among the inhabitants, are *Ananas*, *Bananas*, *Mangaba*, *Akaju*, *Arakou* great and ſmall, *Guajaba*, divers kinds of *Murukuja*, *Ibapiranga*, *Mazaxanduba*, *Akaja*, *Araſiku*, *Guitakori*, *Biringela*, *Mamaon*, *Coco-nuts*, and ſeveral ſorts of *Indian* figs. The roots chiefly in uſe, are the *Batatas*, *Nhambi* and *Umbi*, and the *Indian* acorns, call'd *Tembi*, which are of a delicious taſte.

Fertility of Braſil. The whole country of *Braſil* is extremely fertile and pleaſant, being watered by many rivers and ſtanding waters, moſt of which ariſe from the hills, and paſs through ſpacious plains, the laſt of which are clayey and marſhy grounds, (call'd *Vargea's* by the *Portugueſe*) which produce all ſorts of fruit: but eſpecially ſugar-canes in great plenty. Their meadows and paſture grounds do not appear ſo pleaſant in the ſummer as in the rainy ſeaſon, when they are very green; wheat and rye grow ſoon rank here, which is occaſion'd partly by the nature of the ſoil, partly by the heat of the ſun; to prevent which they never let their grounds lie fallow, and manure them with ſand indead of dung. The ſame muſt be obſerved with all other foreign ſeeds here, that require to be kept a conſiderable time under ground. In *February* and *March* (which is the rainy and winter-ſeaſon of this climate) they ſow their ſeeds, and that towards evening, not by day time, or about midnight. They take great care not to plant any thing too deep under ground; for whatever is planted beyond the ſun-beams, ſeldom produces any fruit, which our people have learned to their coſt. There is a remarkable difference betwixt the ſeeds and fruits which are produced on the hills, and thoſe of the marſhy grounds, as to their time of ripening; tho' the coco and palm-trees are tranſplanted here without the leaſt regard to their age, bigneſs, or the ſeaſon, and grow very well. Moſt of their own trees and ſhrubs bear flowers and fruits throughout the whole year, ſo that at one and the ſame time, you enjoy the benefit of the ſpring, ſummer and winter; the like is obſervable in the vines, citron, limon, and other trees, brought by the *Portugueſe* from *Angola* into *Braſil*, and in ſeveral roots pot-herbs, and other fruits, tranſplanted thither by the *Dutch*. Thoſe who covet ripe-grapes throughout the whole year, do only prune their vines at divers times, which produce a fine grape, and a wine as ſweet as moleſſes. The worſt is, that they are much infeſted by the piſmires, which ſuck all the juice, and leave nothing but the husks to the owners; ſeveral other ſorts of trees have been tranſplanted thither from *Holland*, which thrive extremely, and bear very good fruit.

The ſtanding waters of *Braſil* are for the moſt part covered on the ſurface with green ſhrubs and herbs, that they appear rather like land than water, and feed both land and water fowl. At the entrance of moſt of their rivers, (where you meet with vaſt quantities of oiſters and crabs) the countrey is ſo overſtock'd with a certain kind of a tree call'd *Guaparaba* or *Mangle* by the *Braſilians*, that they render it impaſſable for travellers. In ſhort, the whole *Braſil* is well ſtored with trees, ſhrubs and uſeful woods, there being ſcarce a place, either in the vallies or riſing grounds, which are clayey, or among the hills, which don't produce ſomething that is uſeful, and that in ſuch plenty, that the *Portugueſe* after their firſt arrival here, were forced to cut their way through theſe trees with incredi-

1647. ble pains and charge. The hills furniſh alſo great ſtore of wood, which is of a very good ſcent, and is uſed by dyers; as for inſtance the *Braſil* wood, which is from hence tranſported into *Europe*.

Braſil wood.

The ſtem or trunk of this tree is knotty, of a very agreeable ſcent, and ſometimes two or three fathoms thick: Its leaves are dark-green, and ſmall, thorny at the end, and grow on ſmall ſtalks; the bark, which is about three inches thick, is generally taken from the trunk, before it is fitted for ſale: It ſprouts from its own root, and produces neither bloſſom nor fruit. Moſt of theſe trees grow about 10 or 12 leagues from the ſea-ſide, where they cut them down, take off the bark, and carry them upon waggons to the ſea-ſhore, from whence they are tranſported into *Europe* for the uſe of the dyers chiefly; the *Braſilians* call this tree for its excellency's ſake, *Ibirapitanga*. After the *Dutch* had conquered part of *Braſil*, they found great ſtore of this wood ready cut and fitted for uſe by the *Portugueſe*, who ſold it to the *Dutch* company; ſince which time it was cut down promiſcuouſly by the *Portugueſe* as well as the *Dutch*, and ſuch vaſt quantities of it were tranſported in 1646, and 1647, that the members of the great council of the *Dutch-Braſil*, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, *Bulleſtrate* and *Codd*, being made ſenſible of the deſtructive methods that were made uſe of in cutting this wood, which muſt in time have tended to the utter extirpation of theſe trees, did by their proclamation regulate theſe abuſes. They have another kind of very fine wood in *Braſil*, called by the *Portugueſe*, *Pao Santo*, as likewiſe thoſe call'd *Gitayba*, *Vio Wood*, *Maſſaranduba*, cedar, and divers others woods fit for cabinet-work. The tree call'd *Tataiba* by the *Portugueſe*, the wood of which the *Portugueſe* call *Pao Amaretto*, affords a yellow colour for the Dyers. The bark of the tree *Araiba* is of an aſh-colour, but boil'd in water gives a red tincture. The tree *Jakauranda*, or *Jaturiba*, or the white-cedar, as well as ſeveral other Trees, furniſh the inhabitants with materials for building, being very hard and durable. The *Braſilians* make alſo matches and a kind of hemp out of the bark of ſome trees.

The Timbo *or* Tipo.

The moſt barren places of *Braſil* do produce a certain kind of trees without leaves, which they call *Timbo* or *Tibo*; out of theſe they make hoops, by reaſon of their flexibility, and the bark ſerves the ſhip-carpenters inſtead of hemp.

Their fuel.

The *Braſilians* light their fires by ſtriking two pieces of wood, of the trees *Karaguata Guacu* and *Imbaiba* together, as we do with our flint-ſtones and iron. The firſt is a tree of an admirable nature: Its ſtem grows 14 or 15 foot high, which being come to its full perfection, bears yellow flowers on the top, and abundance of large long and thick leaves. Out of the ſtem they make ſticks to hang their mattreſſes on, the leaves afford the fiſhermen ſtuff for yarn to make nets of; and out of the leaves iſſues a certain unctuous liquor, which ſerves inſtead of ſoap. The trees and woods of *Braſil* are never ſeen to be covered all over with leaves at a time; but whilſt ſome caſt their leaves, you ſee others bring forth new ones; nay, ſometimes one tree is half covered with leaves, and bare on the other ſide. *Braſil* likewiſe abounds in ſhrubs and reeds, ſome of which creep along the grounds, whilſt others twiſt themſelves up to the top of the higheſt trees, which affords a very agreeable ſpectacle at a diſtance, and a pleaſing ſhadow to men and beaſts, tired with the heat, hunting, or any other exerciſe. 1647.

Oranges.

Among other fruits, *Braſil* produces very fine oranges of divers kinds; the other vegetables, which beſides the *Mandioka* root, ſerve for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants, are rice, millet, *Patatas*, *Ananas*, *Bananas*, melons, pompions, water-melons, cucumbers, beans, figs, *Bakovas*, *Marakuja*, *Mangavas*, *Arataku*, *Ape*, cabbages, radiſh, lettuce, purſlain, parſley, chervel, carrots, *&c.*

The Akaju.

Nothing is ſo much in requeſt among the *Braſilians*, as the *Akaju*, a kind of wild apple, which furniſhes them both with food and drink, being very juicy; ſo that this tree ſeems by kind nature to have been planted here for the peculiar comfort of the inhabitants: It ſpreads its branches round about in a great compaſs, but does not grow to that height as many other trees in this countrey: Its wood, which is very ſolid, is very fit for the building of ſhips, from whence iſſues a very clear gum in the ſummer-ſeaſon. Its leaves, which are red, reſemble thoſe of our walnut-trees, eſpecially when they firſt ſprout forth in the ſpring, but are of a much finer ſcent, which they never loſe but by being diſtill'd. The bloſſom is a flower conſiſting of five ſmall leaves, which grow to the number of about a hundred in one cluſter; each of theſe flowers has a ſtalk, with a ſmall head in the middle. At their firſt coming out, which is in *September*, they are very white, but turn ſoon after to a roſe colour; they are very odoriferous, and fill all the circumjacent grounds with their agreeable ſmell. This tree bears a double fruit, *viz.* an apple, and a cheſnut: The apple is of an oval figure, very juicy; its pulp ſpungy, full of kernels, and of a tartiſh taſte. The juice taints linen with a

1674. certain colour, ſuch as we call iron-molds, which is never to be taken out, but returns as often as theſe trees ſtand in bloſſoms; it is of a whitiſh colour after it is firſt preſt out, and tartiſh, but changes both its colour and taſte by fermentation, and becomes very ſtrong. The rind of the apple, which is very thin, is white mixt with red. The cheſnut, which grows on the top of the apple in the ſhape of a lambs kidney, is covered with a thin ſkin, over which grows a thick aſh-colour'd ſhell, full of a hot, ſharp and burning oil, which bites the tongue; To correct which, they roaſt the cheſnut in the aſhes, break the ſhell with a hammer, and eat the pith or kernel, which taſtes better than a common cheſnut, and will keep good for ſeveral years. The *Braſilians* are ſo fond of this fruit, that they often fight for it; then they encamp among theſe trees, and remove not 'till they have conſumed all thereabouts, unleſs they are forced thereunto by the enemy. They number the years of their ages by this tree, becauſe it bears fruit but once a year, which ripens towards the latter end of *December* or in *January*, there being none to be found on the trees after *February* in *Pernambubo*. About the time the ſun returns back from the tropick of *Capricorn*, it commonly rains in *Braſil*, which the inhabitants call the *rains of Akaju*, for, if the ſame happens to be moderate, they promiſe themſelves great plenty of this fruit. The cheſnuts are hot in the ſecond degree; if eaten raw with wine and ſalt, they taſte like walnuts, but if roaſted or preſerved with ſugar, they are of a delicious taſte. The oil which is taken out of the ſhell, is an excellent remedy againſt the hair-worm; it is hot in the third and fourth degree, and frequently applied to cancers and other malignant ulcers. The gum, powdered and taken in a convenient vehicle, opens the obſtructions of the womb. The juice of the apple furniſhes them with good cyder.

Palm-trees. There are many ſorts of palm-trees to be met with in *Braſil*, ſome of which grow wild, ſome are planted and cultivated by the inhabitants. Among the firſt the palm-tree call'd *Pindava* by the *Braſilians*, which grows very tall, claims the preference, of which there are whole woods to be ſeen in the open Countrey. In the more remote and unfrequented places, grows a certain palm-tree called *Karanatham* and *Anachekairi* by the *Braſilians*, and by an *Arabick* word among the *Portugueſe*, *Tamar*, or date, which this fruit reſembles. The tree grows as high as a common date-tree, its wood is red and very ſolid, but of no great uſe. The bark is grey, which from the ground upwards to a certain part of the tree is diſtinguiſh'd by many ſcales, which are largeſt at the bottom, and ſmall by degrees, 'till about the middle of the tree they quite diſappear; theſe ſcales being nothing elſe but the remnants of the branches, which fall off by degrees, as the tree grows higher; and continue only towards the top, ſpread round about the ſtem, like the *African* date-tree, but much finer. Each of theſe branches is about two or three foot long, flat on two ſides, and cover'd with ſmall thorns, they grow to a vaſt thickneſs: At the end of each branch grows one ſingle leaf, which is very large and green, pleated like a fan, and about the middle divided into ſeveral other leaves, like thoſe of the common date tree; each of theſe laſt is about two foot long. Betwixt thoſe branches, on which grow the leaves, ſpring forth other branches of four or five foot in length, and theſe again are full of other white ſprouts, which bear flowers, with three pale yellow leaves; theſe produce a fruit of the bigneſs of an olive, which is green, bitter and not eatable, but turn black when they ripen, which is in *February*. The *Braſilians* call this fruit *Tirade*, and eat it raw; but our people never took any fancy to it. With the leaves they cover their huts, and make baskets of them. The palm-tree call'd *Pindava* by the *Braſilians*, has inſtead of the bark a white and rough wooden ſubſtance, which contains a ſpungy ſulphurous ſubſtance, out of which the *Braſilians* prepare a ſtrong lee. This tree is for the reſt but of ſmall uſe, being rather eſteemed for ornaments ſake, by reaſon of its height and fine ſpreading branches, which however furniſh the inhabitants with leaves to cover their hutts, and to make baskets of; the *Portugueſe* plant them near their walks and arbours, and round their churches. The leaves of this tree do not hang downwards like thoſe of the coco-tree, but ſtand upright. Juſt by theſe leaves ſprout forth certain branches, on which hang bunches of flowers, which produce the fruit, reſembling in ſhape and bigneſs one of our largeſt hen-eggs, being ſharp at the end, and faſten'd to the bunch on the other like the pine-apple. The outſide is of a green yellow colour, inclining to a cheſnut; being compoſed of a hairy ſubſtance like that of the coco-nuts, but not near ſo thick, ſcarce exceeding in thickneſs two egg-ſhells. Under this ſhell is an inſipid ſaffron yellow pulp, which however is uſed by the negroes, who eat it with *Farinha*. Within this pulp is a hard nut, of an oval figure, not unlike the coco-nut, of the ſame thickneſs, but without holes; it contains a pith or kernel, as white and big as a walnut, but is not near ſo ſweet as the coco-nut; they are eaten both by the natives and ſtrangers, who are furniſhed with

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1647. with them throughout the whole year, and call'd by the *Braſilians Inajamira*, *i. e.* the ſmall coco-nut. The kernels of theſe nuts furniſh them likewiſe with a white cooling oil, which is uſed inſtead of our oil of roſes, and when freſh drawn mix'd among their ſallets, but when decay'd, in their lamps. The ſhell affords an oil of the ſame nature, but not altogether ſo cooling. Out of the top of the tree flows a fine and odoriferous gum, uſed here inſtead of *Gum Arabick*; they alſo pick a certain pith or marrow out of the top, which has a taſte like our walnuts, and when eaten with bread and ſalt is accounted very nouriſhing.

Coco-trees.

There alſo grow coco-trees in *Braſil*, call'd by the natives *Inajaguacuiba*, and the fruit *Inajaguacu*. They are very different from the juſt now mentioned *Pindava* tree, their trunk or ſtem being ſeldom ſtraight, but commonly crooked, ſometimes from 7 to 14 foot thick, and 50 foot high; it is without branches, having only 15 or 20 leaves round the top, each of 15 foot long. They have alſo good ſtore of the common date-trees both male and female. The vaſt quantity of piſmires wherewith *Braſil* abounds, are great enemies to all the products of their grounds, which they endeavour to deſtroy by fire and water; it is farther to be obſerved, that ſome fruits as well as creatures, which are accounted venomous in *Europe*, are commonly eaten in *Braſil*, as on the other hand certain things are poiſonous there, which are not in *Europe*. For they have a kind of froggs and ſome fiſhes which are extremely poiſonous; whereas a certain ſort of great piſmires and adders, toads, worms and wild rats are eaten by the natives, without any harm.

The food of the Braſilians.

The moſt univerſal food of the *Braſilians*, is the flour made of the *Mandioka* root, called by them *Vi*, and *Farinha de Mandioka* by the *Portugueſe*, as has been ſhewn more at large before. They feed alſo upon the fleſh of ſeveral wild beaſts and birds, crabs, craw-fiſhes, fruits, herbage; their meat whether boiled or roaſted they eat half raw. They boil in earthen pots called *Kamu*, which they make themſelves. Their fleſh they roaſt thus; they dig a hole in the ground, the bottom of which they cover with leaves of trees, and upon them lay the meat to be roaſted, which being covered with the ſame leaves, they throw ſand or earth upon them. Upon this they light a good fire, which they continue till they think it ſufficiently roaſted. If they hit it right it eats very well, exceeding in goodneſs all other roaſted meats, they call it *Biaribi*. Their fiſhes whether roaſted or boiled they eat with *Inquitaya*, that is, ſalt and pepper. They boil their crabs or craw-fiſhes without ſalt, and eat them with *Inquitaya*. Small fiſhes they wrap in leaves, and roaſt them in the aſhes. They take the flour of the *Mandioka* root with their 3 hindermoſt fingers of the right hand, and ſo throw it into the mouth; in the ſame manner they do with beans and ſuch like things; they eat often both day and night, they having no ſet times for their meals, without the leaſt noiſe, or any drink, which they reſerve till after they have done. They ſeldom uſe any ſpoons, but inſtead of that their fingers, or ſome oyſter-ſhell or other ſerves their turn. The fleſh of ſeveral wild beaſts is much in eſteem among the *Braſilians*; as for inſtance, that of the greater and leſſer wild-boars; they have a bunch like a camel on their backs, and are very good food, as well as the fleſh of the river pigs, called *Kapiverres* by the *Portugueſe*, which is of a very agreeable taſte,

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Their drink.

The moſt general and moſt wholeſome liquor uſed among the *Braſilians*, is their river or fountain water, which by reaſon of its coolneſs is a great refreſhment to ſuch as are tired by the heat, or the fatigues of other exerciſes; this is chiefly to be underſtood of their ſpring-water, which, though uſed here in great quantities, never cauſes any griping in the guts, or other inconveniencies in the bowels, but on the contrary occaſions a good appetite, and is ſoon evacuated by ſweating.

The waters of the rivers *Paray* and *Paratybi*, are accounted a good remedy againſt the ſtone and gout, which is the reaſon that many arrive to the age of above 100 years, who drink nothing but thoſe waters, and are never troubled with any of thoſe diſtempers; for thoſe who are advanced in age are as nice in the different taſtes of thoſe waters, as the *Europeans* in their wines; and they look upon thoſe as indiſcreet who uſe the waters without diſtinction. For, ſince moſt of their ſprings ariſe among the high eaſtern hills, they receive no addition either from the ſnows or any metallic bodies, and being well digeſted and purged from their dregs by the heat of the ſun-beams, they are very clear and wholſome; tho' it muſt be confeſs'd that *in the* winter months ſome waters, by reaſon of the rains, are not fine and cool as during the ſummer-ſeaſon. The negroes make ſometimes a naſty mixture of black ſugar and water only, without the leaſt fermentation, which they call *Garapa*; this as it is very cheap, ſo both men and women ſit at it for 24 hours together, ſpending their time in drinking, ſinging and dancing, but ſeldom quarrel, unleſs they have conceived ſome jealouſy of one another. Sometimes they add to it ſome leaves of the *Akaju*-tree, which by rea-

1647. ſon of their hot quality make it the more heady. The *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* frequently made a kind of ſorbette of water, ſugar and lemons. Others pour water upon certain herbs, others put a lemon only in water. But beſides theſe, the *Braſilians* know how to make wines or cyder out of ſeveral roots and fruits, which they drink at their merry meetings; eſpecially of the *Bakovas*, *Ananas*, *Mangaba*, *Janipaba*, *Karaguata*, &c. For tho' the vines here bear grapes 3 times a year, nevertheleſs are they not ſufficient to furniſh them with wine. They make a kind of cyder, called by them *Kooi*, of the apple *Akaju*; theſe they ſtamp in a wooden mortar and ſqueeze the juice out with their hands, which after it is ſettled they ſtrain; it appears at firſt like milk, but turns to a pale colour in a few days; its taſte is tartiſh, and apt to ſeiſe the head if drunk in any quantity; after ſome time it turns ſour, and makes very good vinegar. The wine or liquor called by the *Braſilians* *Apy*, is made two different ways: Firſt, the ſlices of the root *Aipimakakara*, a kind of *Mandioka*, are chewed by old women till they are as fluid as a pap, which they call *Karaku*; this they put into a pot, and boil it with a good quantity of water, ſtirring it continually till they think it fit for expreſſion, which done, they call it *Kaviaraku*, and drink it luke-warm. Or elſe they take the ſame root purged and ſliced in thin pieces, which they ſtamp and boil with water as before, which produces a whitiſh liquor, not unlike our butter-milk or whey; they drink it likewiſe warm, its taſte being agreeable enough; they call it *Kacimakaxera*, tho' both kinds are generally comprehended under the name of *Aipy*. The liquor called *Pakoby* is made out of the fruit of the tree *Pakobete*. What the *Portugueſe* call *Vinho da Millo*, is a liquor called *Abaty* by the *Braſilians*, and made of barley or *Turkey* wheat, called *Maiz* by the *Indians*; the liquor *Nandi* has alſo derived its name from that excellent fruit called *Nana* of *Ananas*, being the ſtrongeſt of all their wines or cyders. There is another ſort of liquor called *Vinho da Batatas* by the *Portugueſe* becauſe it is made of the root *Batatas*: The natives call it *Jetici*. Thus the liquors called *Beeutingui* and *Tipiaci* are both made out of the *Farinha* of the *Mandioka* root, *viz.* of the *Beju* and *Tepioja*.

The *Braſilians* are alſo great admirers of *French* or *Rheniſh* brandy, called by them *Kacitata*, and ſwallow it very greedily as often as they can come at it. They are no leſs fond of tobacco, the herb of which they call *Petima*, and the leaves *Petimaoba*. After they have dried the leaves in the air, they lay them before the fire, to render them the more fit for cutting. They ſmoke in pipes made of the ſhell of the nut *Pindoba*, or of the *Urukuruiba*, *Jocara*, *Aqua*, or ſuch like; to wit, they cut a hole in one end of the ſhell, take out the kernel, and after they have poliſhed them, put a wooden pipe or a piece of reed in the hole. The *Tapoyers* uſe very large pipes made of ſtone, wood or clay, the holes of which are ſo big that they contain a handful of tobacco at a time. Sometimes the *Braſilians* make uſe of our *European* pipes, called by them *Amrupetunbuaba*, and *Broken Katunbaba* by the *Portugueſe*, and *Katgebouw* by the *Dutch*. Whenever the *Tapoyers*, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the villages, deſcended from the *Tapoyers* called *Kariri*, prepare the liquors *Akavi* and *Aipy*, it is done at the ſame time; then a day being appointed for a general merry meeting, they meet early in the morning at the firſt houſe in the village they belong to, where they conſume moſt of the liquor, and make themſelves merry with dancing; this done they go to the next houſe, where they play the ſame game, and ſo from houſe to houſe, till nothing be left or they can drink no longer. When they find themſelves overcharged with liquor, they ſpew and fall to drinking again, and thus he who can ſpew and drink moſt, is accounted the braveſt fellow of the company. 1647.

On the coaſt of *Braſil*.

Salt-pits.

On the north-weſt coaſt of *Braſil* are ſeveral conſiderable ſalt-pits: That near the houſe called the *Deſert*, is about three or four leagues diſtant from the river *Aguarama*, of which one branch extends to the eaſt, and diſcharges its water in this ſalt-pit with a ſpring-tide, which is here commonly with the new-moon. It is about 550 paces from the ſea-ſhore, and receives no other water but from the river *Aguarama*. There is no bay or harbour near it, but only a flat ſandy bottom for about half a league diſtance from the ſhore, where you may anchor at three fathom deep. The land-wind which conſtantly blows on this coaſt, commonly ceaſes towards evening, ſo that the veſſels take the opportunity of the night to load ſalt. This ſalt-pit produces every month a certain quantity of ſalt, provided they be careful to ſhut their ſluices as ſoon as the ſame is filled with water, for elſe they are in danger of loſing what they had got before, by the next high-tide. To the eaſt of this ſalt-pit are the famous rocks called *Baxos*, which at low-water may be ſeen from thence; they extend about three leagues deep in the ſea, but don't begin till about a league from the ſhore, betwixt which and the rocks there is a paſſage, where you have ten foot depth at low-water. It ebbs here with the loweſt tide about eight foot, and

a weſt-

1647. a weſt-ſouth-weſt-wind raiſes the water to the higheſt.

About five or ſix leagues to the weſt of the houſe called the *Deſert*, is the great ſalt-pit *Karwaratama*, which receiving its water from the ſea, and being detained by ſluices, produces very good ſalt in three weeks time. Five leagues further to the weſt is the river *Maritouva*, the ſecond in rank in thoſe weſtern parts, but has not above twelve foot water at high-tide. On its eaſt point, not above half a league within the mouth, is a very convenient ſalt-pit: Theſe ſalt-pits are computed to be manageable with the aſſiſtance only of 10 or 12 negroes, 10 chriſtians, and about 30 *Braſilians*, and to afford 2000 tuns of ſalt *per annum*, which may be tranſported from thence into the other parts of the *Dutch Braſil* in ſmall barks, during the ſummer ſeaſon. About half way betwixt *Rio Grande* and *Siara*, as likewiſe in *Siara*, near the river *Wapanien*, are likewiſe ſeveral *Salina*'s or ſalt-pits.

Traffick of Braſil. The chief traffick of *Braſil* conſiſts in ſugar, braſil-wood, and ſuch like; as alſo in tobacco, hides, preſerves, ginger, and cotton, which grows wild here, ſome indigo was likewiſe planted there before my departure; but among theſe, the ſugar and braſil-wood are ſtaple commodities. For ſince the tobacco began to be tranſported into *Holland* from the *American* iſlands, the planting of it was neglected in *Braſil*, where labourers wages being exceſſive high, they could draw much more profit from the ſugar, of which, according to computation, betwixt 20000 and 25000 cheſts were yearly made only in the ſugar-mills of the *Dutch Braſil*, if the harveſt proves very good.

The peopling of Braſil. The inhabitants of *Braſil* may at preſent be divided into free-born ſubjects and ſlaves; and theſe again conſiſt of divers nations, both natives and foreigners. The free inhabitants of *Braſil* were the *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, and *Braſilians*, the laſt the natives of the countrey. But the *Portugueſe* did not only ſurpaſs all the reſt, at leaſt ten to one in number, during my abode in *Braſil*, but alſo were in poſſeſſion of all the ſugar-mills and lands, except what was poſſeſs'd by a very few *Dutch*, who had applied themſelves to ſugar-planting, but were for the moſt part ruined by the inteſtine war, being forced to leave all behind them in the country: Beſides thoſe of the free inhabitants, who made it their buſineſs to manure the grounds, there were many merchants, factors, and handicrafts men: The merchants ſold their commodities generally with vaſt profit, and would have queſtionleſs been rich men, had they not vented their goods upon credit to the *Portugueſe*, who were reſolved never to pay them, as the event has 1647. ſufficiently ſhewn. The handicrafts men were able to get three, four, five, nay ſix gilders a day, ſo that many returned very rich to *Holland*. Thoſe that kept publick houſes and chandlers ſhops were likewiſe great gainers here, and carried off abundance of ready money. The officers in the company's ſervice whether civil or military, were likewiſe punctually paid, which made many who had lived in the countrey before the beginning of the civil war, and had ſerved the company before, take ſervice again, who were all entertained according to their reſpective qualities and former ſtations.

Free inhabitants of Braſil.

The Jews. Among the free inhabitants of *Braſil* that were not in the company's ſervice, the *Jews* were the moſt conſiderable in number, who had tranſplanted themſelves thither from *Holland*. They had a vaſt traffick beyond all the reſt, they purchaſed ſugar-mills and built ſtately houſes in the *Receif*. They were all traders, which would have been of great conſequence to the *Dutch Braſil*, had they kept themſelves within the due bounds of traffick,

The ſlaves of Braſil. The ſlaves of *Dutch Braſil* were either negroes or natives of the countrey; the laſt of which were either bought in *Maranhaon* being priſoners of war, or from the *Tapoyers*, who likewiſe had made them captives, and otherwiſe, according to their cuſtom, would have put them to death. For it being reſolved immediately, at the firſt entrance of the *Dutch* in *Braſil*, that none of the natives ſhould be made ſlaves (except they were either bought from the *Tapoyers* or brought from *Maranhaon*) the *Braſilians* were ſettled in certain villages to enjoy their own liberty under certain limitations, and permiſſion was given them to aſſiſt the *Portugueſe* in the management of their mills and grounds, for certain wages appointed for that purpoſe; by which means many *Alicas* or villages were filled with *Braſilians* in *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, who during the time of our government enjoyed the ſweets of a perfect liberty.

Negroes. Vaſt numbers of negroes of divers nations were entertained in the *Receif*, and the open countrey, for the manureing of the ground, and working in the ſugar-mills of the *Portugueſe*, which could not be done without them, by reaſon of the extremity of the heat of the climate, and the incredible toils they are fain to undergo; ſo that in my time near 40000 negroes were employed in the ſugar-mills betwixt *Rio Grande* and *St. Franciſco*. Moſt of theſe negroes are brought hither from the kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; a black ſhining ſkin, flat noſe, thick lips, and ſhort curled hair, is their chief beauty. The luſtieſt and moſt

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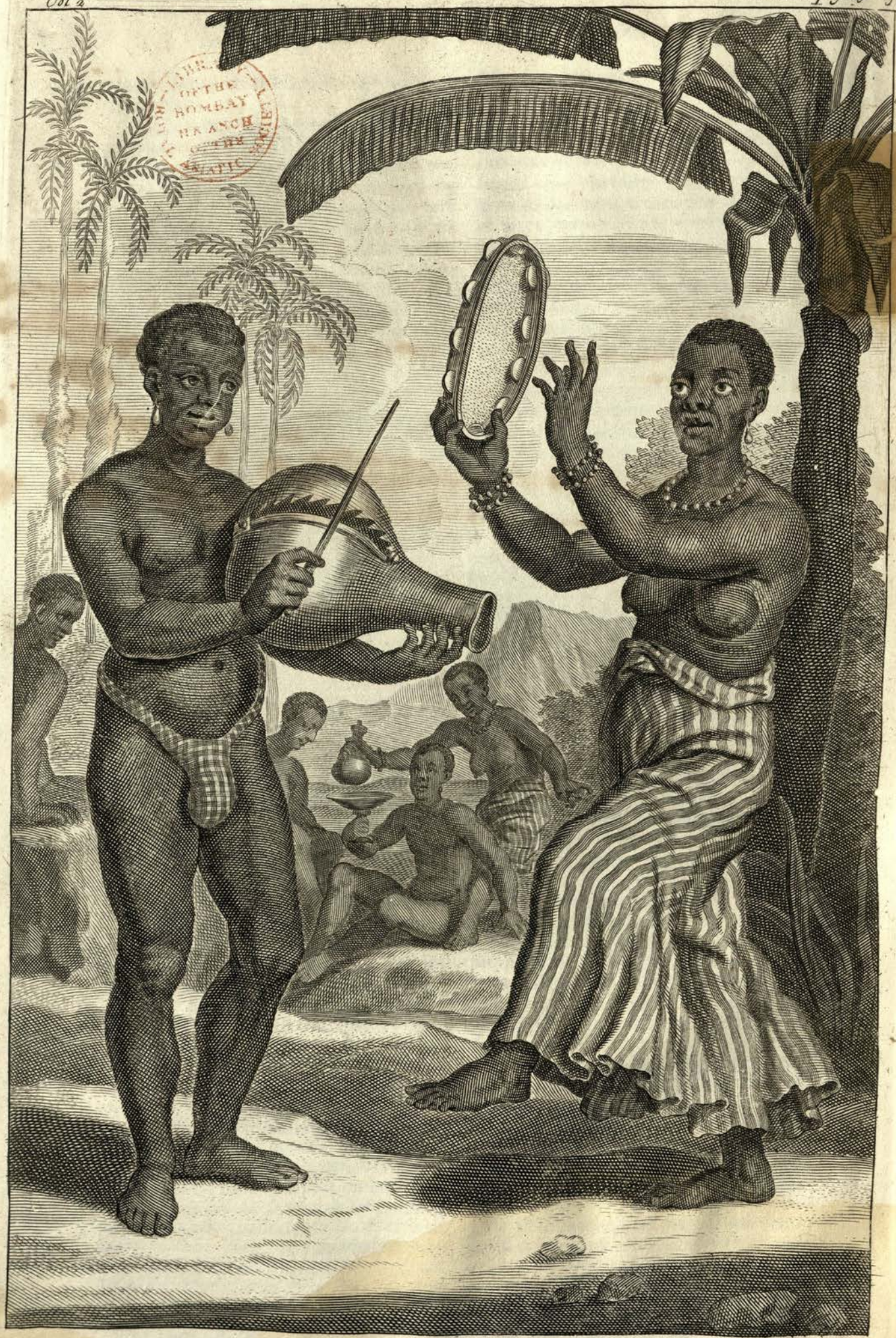

Negros Playing upon Kalabasses.

1647. moſt laborious uſed in time of good trade, to be ſold in *Braſil* for 70, 80, or 100 pieces of eight, nay ſometimes for 1400 or 1500 gilders, but theſe underſtood ſomething more than ordinary: But when trade began to decay, they were ſold for 40 pieces of eight. There was ſcarce a *Hollander* of any ſubſtance but what had ſeveral of theſe ſlaves. They are moſt miſerably and beaſtly treated by the *Portugueſe*, though at the ſame time it muſt be confeſs'd that it is abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould be kept under a ſtrict diſcipline; for they are full of rogueries, ſuperſtitious to the higheſt degree, and ſorcerers: They would often pretend to tell us what ſhips were at ſea from *Holland* for *Braſil*, tho' they were yet on the other ſide of the line, and how to recover ſtolen goods. I remember I happened once to be at a friend's houſe of mine, when I ſaw an old negro enter the kitchen, who came thither to cure a negro ſlave of his illneſs, which he told us was occaſioned by witchcraft. He made the patient riſe from his chair, and taking a piece of wood from the fire-hearth, he ordered him to lick three times with his tongue that end which was burning hot with the glowing coals. The ſame end of the wood he afterwards extinguiſh'd in a baſon of water, and rubb'd the coals in it, till it turn'd as black as ink. This he ordered the ſick negro to drink off at a draught, which he did accordingly, and was immediately ſeized with a ſlight griping in the guts. This done he rubbed both his ſides, and taking hold with his hand of a piece of fleſh and fat above the hip, he made an inciſion there with a knife he pull'd out of his pocket, of two inches deep, out of which he drew a bundle of hair and rags, with a little of the black water that was left he waſhed the wound, which ſoon after was healed, and the patient cured. They are very dextrous at ſwimming and diving, and will fetch a ſingle piece of eight from the bottom of the ſea, where it is very deep. They are alſo excellent fiſhermen, and get a great deal of money by it. They tie three or four great pieces of wood together, this they manage with one oar, and upon it go a good way into the ſea, where they catch great quantities of fiſh with their hooks, and ſo return. It happened in my time, that a certain negro, who was very expert in fiſhing, was ſold three times in a little while; this he took ſo much to heart, that the next time he went thus out a fiſhing, he tied a ſtone to his leg and drowned himſelf. Another negro having conceived a hatred againſt his maſter cut his throat, cut out his tongue, and made a houſe-of-office of his mouth, according to his own confeſſion; he was broke alive upon the wheel, 1647. which he endured with an incredible obſtinacy. A negro woman was brought to bed in my time of a child, the hair and ſkin of which were not black, but red. I ſaw alſo a young lad born from negro parents, whoſe ſkin was white, and his hair and eye-brows the like, but curl'd, with a flat noſe like the other negroes. Sometimes I have ſeen old negroes with long grey beards and hair, which looks very fine.

The Braſilians. The natives of *Braſil* conſiſt of divers nations, diſtinguiſhed by their proper names, to wit, the *Tubinambos*, *Tobajaras*, *Petiguaras* and *Tapuijas*, or *Tapuyers*, or *Tapoyers*. The three firſt uſe one and the ſame language, and differ only in the dialect; but the laſt are ſubdivided into ſeveral nations, differing both in manners and tongue. The *Braſilian* men, which lived among us and the *Portugueſe*, are middle-ſized, ſtrong and well made, with broad ſhoulders. They have black eyes, a wide mouth, with black curl'd hair, and a flat noſe; the laſt of which is not natural to them, but the parents, looking upon it as a great beauty, ſqueeze their childrens noſes flat, whilſt they are very young. They paint their bodies, and ſome likewiſe their faces with divers colours; they have generally no hair about the mouth, tho' ſome have black beards. Their women are likewiſe of a middle ſtature, well limb'd, and not ill-featur'd; they have likewiſe a black hair, but are not born black, but by the heat of the ſun-beams, acquire by degrees a yellow brown colour. The *Braſilians* come ſoon to maturity, and arrive to a great age, and that without diſtempers; they alſo ſeldom become grey, which is likewiſe obſervable in many *European* inhabitants here, who come to the age of 100 or 120 years. This muſt be chiefly attributed to the temperature of the climate, which is ſuch, that in former times many *Spaniards* that laboured under ſome lingring diſtemper, whether in *Spain* or the *Eaſt-Indies*, uſed to come to *Braſil* to partake of the benefit of that excellent air and water; 'tis true, moſt of the children of foreigners are troubled with lingring ſickneſſes, ſo that ſcarce one in three arrives to a ſtate of manhood; but this muſt not be attributed to the air, but rather to the bad nouriſhment. Few cripples or crooked people are to be met with among the *Braſilians*, they being generally very ſtrait and nimble, which is the more admirable, becauſe they never do their children up in ſwathing cloths, except their feet, looking upon it as unwholſome.

Before the *Dutch* got footing in *Braſil*, the *Portugueſe* had made all the natives their ſlaves, and look'd upon it as the greateſt

1647. piece of policy quite to extirpate them, which they did ſo effectually, that where is about 100 years ago, the captainſhips of *Rio Grande* alone could raiſe 100000 fighting men, ſcarce 300 were to be met with in 1645 and 1646, which had created a mortal hatred in the *Braſilians* againſt the *Portugueſe*; tho' it muſt alſo be confeſs'd, that the late war and ſome epidemical diſtempers did ſweep away many of the natives. The remainders of them liv'd in certain *Aldens* or villages aſſigned them for that purpoſe, where they had their plantations; beſides which they ſerved the *Portugueſe* in their ſugar-mills for a certain monthly pay, which furniſhed them with clothes and other neceſſaries. Their huts are made only of wooden ſtalks, covered with palm-tree leaves. They can't endure the yoke of ſlavery, nor any toil, eſpecially the *Tapoyers*; they live very quietly among one another, unleſs they get drunk, when they ſometimes ſing and dance day and night. Drunkenneſs is a vice belonging to both ſexes here, of which they are ſo fond, as to be paſt remedy, tho' this occaſions often quarrels and other enormous vices among them. They are likewiſe much addicted to dancing, which they call *Guau*; they have ſeveral ways of dancing, one of which is call'd *Urukapi*; they commonly ſing whilſt they are dancing. The children divert themſelves with divers ſorts of games, one is call'd *Kurupirara*, another *Gualbipaie*, and a third *Guaibiquaibibuku*. They will ſleep ſometimes a whole day and night, and would not ſtir then if they did not want victuals. Near their hammocks they keep a fire day and night, in the day to dreſs their victuals, in the night to allay the rawneſs of the air, which here is colder than in moſt parts of *Europe*, becauſe day and night is almoſt of an equal length here throughout the year. 1647.

The inland *Braſilians* of both ſexes, go quite naked without the leaſt covering. But thoſe inhabiting nearer to the ſea-ſhore, who converſe with the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*, wear only a ſhirt of linnen or callicoe; tho' in my time, ſome of the chiefeſt among them began to take a pride to cloth themſelves after the *European* manner. The wife *Their clothing.*

conſtantly follows her huſband whereever he goes, even in the war. He carries nothing but his arms, but the poor woman is loaden like a mule or ſumpter-horſe. For beſides a great baſket which is tied to her back, (call'd by them *Patigua*) ſhe has another upon her head, with all the houſhold ſtuff in it, or a great baſket with flower; beſides which ſeveral other ſmaller veſſels hang on both ſides, wherewith they take up water for their drinking. The child is carried in a piece of callicoe, which is faſtned

1647. to her, and hangs down from her right shoulder. It lies there with its legs wide open, one being stretch'd cross the mother's belly, the other over her shoulder. After all this, she carries a parrot or ape in one hand, and leads a dog in a string with the other. Thus they proceed on their journey, without any farther provision except a small quantity of *Farinha*; the hedge or open fields serve instead of inns, which furnish them with necessary food, as the rivers and springs with drink; and so does the tree call'd *Karageata*, which contains always some rain-water within the hollowness of its leaves, to the great relief of travellers, who in some barren places, do often not meet with a river or spring for 12 leagues together. Towards night they hang their hammocks on trees, or else fasten them to stalks neatly; they make a fire to dress their victuals, and against the rain defend themselves with palm-tree leaves. When they are at home, the husband goes commonly in the morning abroad with his bow and arrow, to shoot some wild beast, or catch birds, or else to the sea-side, or next river a fishing, whilst the women are employed in the plantations; some women go abroad with their husbands and carry home the prey. The wild beasts are caught by them in a different manner; some they kill with arrows, others they catch in pits dug for that purpose, and covered with the leaves of trees, under which is hidden some carrion, the scent of which draws them to the pit; this they call *Petaku*. They make also certain wooden traps, and use divers other ways of catching the wild beasts, each of which they distinguish by their proper names. To catch birds they use three sorts of snares or nets, call'd by them *Jukana*; the first sort catches the birds by the feet, this they call *Jukanabiprara*; the second entangles them by the neck, which they call *Jukanajuprara*; the third ensnares their bodies, call'd by them *Jukanapitereba*. They kill the fishes with arrows, or catch them with fishing hooks, their baits being commonly worms, crabs, or some small fishes. They bait the water where they intend to fish, with the leaves of *Japikai*, or with *Timpotiana*, *Tinguy*, or with *Tinguiri*; sometimes with the fruit call'd *Kururuape*, the root *Magui*, or the bark of the tree *Anda*, which make the fish swim on the surface of the water like dead, when they take them with a kind of a sieve, call'd by them *Urupema*, made of cane or reed, which they call *Uruguiboandipia*. Their sea-fish they catch with iron hooks, the bait being some carrion; they go a good way into the sea, only upon three pieces of wood fastened together, which they call *Igapeda*, and the *Portuguese Jangada*; the wood is commonly of the tree *Apiba*. 1647.

Their houshold stuff.

The *Brasilians* are not burthened with much houshold-stuff, their hammocks being their chiefest care in this kind; they call them *Ini*, are wrought of cotton like net-work, of about six or seven foot long, and four broad. When they are going to sleep, they fasten them either to two beams of their huts, or else in the open air to two trees, and some distance from the ground, for fear of some obnoxious creatures, and to avoid the pestiferous exhalations of the earth. The *Tapoyers*, call'd *Kariri*, have very large hammocks, of 12 or 14 foot long, which contain four persons at a time. The *Portuguese* women make some very fine hammocks, wrought with divers figures in them. In lieu of dishes and cups they use the *Kalabasses*, cut in the middle, which are painted without with a certain red colour, call'd *Uruku*, and within with black. Their cans, cups and mugs, are likewise *Kalabasses* of divers kinds, call'd *Kuite*, *Jaroba*, and *Kribuka*. One of the biggest of these *Kalabasses* hold 30 or 35 quarts; this the *Brasilians* call *Kuyaba*, but when cut thro' the middle it is called *Kuipeba*. The poorer sort make certain knives they call *Ituque*, of stone, as also of cane, which they call *Taquoaquia*, but the better sort use *Dutch* knives. Their baskets they make of palm-tree leaves, they call them *Patigua*; they have also some made of reed or cane, these are with one general name call'd *Karamemoa*. They make also large broad baskets of reeds and branches twisted together: These they call *Panaku*, and are chiefly used for the carrying of the *Mandioka* root. In their journeys they always make use of the *Patigua*, but the *Panaku* is used by the slaves and negroes in the *Receif* for the conveniency of carriage.

Their weapons.

The arms of the *Brasilians* are only bows, arrows, and wooden clubs. Their bows, which they call *Guirapara* and *Virapara*, are made of very hard wood, called *Guirapariba* and *Viraparіba*: The bow-strings are made of cotton twisted, and by them call'd *Guirapakuma*; the darts they call *Uba*, and are made of wild cane. The points of these darts are either of wood hardned, or of fish teeth call'd *Jacru*, or of bones or cane well sharpned; some have several points, others but one.

Their way of accounting their age.

Being not in the least acquainted with arithmetick, they compute the number of their years and age by the chesnuts which grow on the fruit *Akaju*, which chesnuts they call *Akaguakaya*, as likewise *Akajuti* and *Itamabara*, of which they lay one by every year, this tree producing fruit but once each season, *viz.* in *December* and *January*.

1647. *nuary.* They begin the computation of their years with the riſe of a certain ſtar, call'd by them *Taku*, or the *Rain-ſtar*, which is always there in *May*; they alſo call the year by the ſame name.

Their religion. The moſt barbarous of the *Braſilians* inhabiting the inland countries, ſcarce know any thing of religion, or an almighty being. They have ſome knowledge remaining of a general deluge, it being their opinion, that the whole race of mankind were extirpated by a general deluge, except one man and his own ſiſter, who being with child before, they by degrees re-peopled the world. They know not what God is, nay, they have no word expreſſing the ſame, unleſs it be *Tuba*, which ſignifies as much as ſomething moſt excellent above the reſt; thus they call the thunder *Tubakununga*, *i. e.* a noiſe made by the ſupreme excellency, for *Akununga* implies as much as a noiſe. They are unacquainted with heaven or hell, tho' they have a tradition among them, that the ſouls don't die with the bodies, but that they are either tranſplanted into devils or ſpirits, or elſe enjoy a great deal of pleaſure with dancing and ſinging in ſome pleaſant fields, which they ſay are behind the mountains. Theſe fields are enjoyed by all the brave men and women, who have kill'd and eaten many of their enemies; but ſuch as have been idle, and never did any thing of moment, are tortured by the devil, unto whom they give many names, *viz. Anhanga, Jurupari, Kurupari, Taguaiba, Temoti, Taubimama.* They have however ſome ſort of prieſts among them whoſe buſineſs is to ſacrifice, and to foretel things to come; theſe are eſpecially conſulted when they are to undertake a war or journey; they call them *Paye* and *Pey.* They dread ſpirits to the higheſt degree; they call them *Kuripira, Taguai, Macachara, Anhanga, Jurupari*, and *Marangigona*, tho' under different ſignifications: For *Kuripari* implies as much as the God of the mind or heart. *Macachara* the God or patron of travellers; *Jurupari* and *Anhanga* ſignify the devil; *Marangigona* implies as much as the *Manes* or remainders of the ſoul after death, which are ſo much dreaded by the *Braſilians*, that ſome of them upon an imaginary apparition of them, have been ſtruck with ſudden death. They don't perform any worſhip or ceremony to thoſe ſpirits, except that ſome pretend to appeaſe their wrath by certain preſents they faſten to certain ſtakes fix'd in the ground for that purpoſe. Some of the *Braſilians* acknowledge the thunder for the ſupreme being, others the *Leſſer Bear* in the firmament, others ſome other ſtars. The *Potiguaras*, a nation among the *Braſilians*, are accounted ſuch ſorcerers, that they bewitch their enemies even to death: They call this manner of witchcraft *Anbamombikoab.* The *Braſilians* that lived among the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, did in ſome meaſure follow the chriſtian doctrine, but ſo coldly, that few, when they come to an advanced age, ſhew much zeal for it; becauſe the fundamental articles of our faith are not eaſily imprinted in them, unleſs in their tender years, and when they are remote from their parents. However ſeveral of the *Dutch* miniſters, *viz.* Mr. *Doreſlaer*, and after him Mr. *Thomas Kemp*, have had good ſucceſs in converting many of the *Braſilians* in the *Aldeas* or villages where they preached, the laſt of theſe two being well verſed in the *Braſilian* tongue. Neither were *Dionyſius Biſcareta*, an honeſt old *Caſtilian*, and *Johannes Apricius*, leſs remiſs in performing their duty to inſtruct theſe infidels. There were likewiſe three *Dutch* ſchoolmaſters among them, who taught their young people to read and to write, but theſe were forced to leave their *Aldeas* or villages during the laſt inteſtine commotions raiſed by the *Portugueſe.* 1647.

Their diſtempers and remedies. Many diſtempers which are common in *Europe* are unknown in *Braſil:* They uſe nothing but ſimple remedies, and laugh at our compoſitions. They are very dextrous in applying their remedies, eſpecially their antidotes: They draw blood by ſuction with horn cups, by ſcarification, or opening a vein; inſtead of a lancet they uſe the tooth of a lamprey, call'd by them *Kakaon*, without which no body ſtirs abroad. So ſoon as any one of their acquaintance is fallen ill, they all meet, each offering his remedy, which he has found good by his own experience: Then they begin to cut and ſlice the moſt muſculous parts of the body, either with the thorns of the tree *Karnaiba*, or with fiſhes teeth, till they have drawn as much blood as they think fit, and for that purpoſe ſuck the wounds with their mouths, by which means they pretend to draw all ill humours from the affected part. Vomiting they procure by means of the leaves *Karnaiba*, which being twiſted together, they force down the patients throat. When all theſe pretended remedies prove ineffectual, they proceed to no others; but after ſome conſultation, quite deſpairing of his recovery, knock him on the head with their clubs, looking upon it more glorious to be thus bravely delivered from their miſery, than to expect death till their laſt gaſp. They exerciſe as much barbarity upon the dead carcaſſes of their friends as of their enemies; upon the firſt out of love, againſt the laſt out of revenge; for they tear them to pieces with

1647. their teeth, and eat the fleſh like a dainty bit.

Their child-bearing. The *Braſilian* women are extremely fruitful, have very eaſy labours, and rarely miſcarry: For no ſooner is a woman delivered, but up ſhe gets to the next river, and without any farther help waſhes herſelf there: In the mean while the huſband keeps the bed for the firſt 24 hours, and is made as much of as if he had been lately brought to bed. The mothers lament the death of their infants with howling and crying for three or four days.

How they welcome their friends. They receive their friends after a long journey with open arms and tears, and beating their foreheads againſt their breaſts, in remembrance of the misfortunes they have undergone during their abſence. Tho' the *Braſilians* were always ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the race of men-eaters, yet by their converſation with us and other nations, many of them have laid aſide their barbarity, and are become as affable and civilized as moſt of the *European* nations.

The Tapoyers. The *Tapoyers* inhabit the inland country of *Braſil* to the weſt of theſe countries in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, betwixt *Rio Grande* and the river *Siara*, as far as *Rio St. Franciſco*. They are divided into ſeveral nations, diſtinguiſhed both by their language and names: For the *Tapoyers* bordering upon the utmoſt confines of *Pernambuko*, are called *Kariri*, under their king *Cerioukejou*; the next to them the *Kaririva'u*, whoſe king was *Karapoto*; then the *Kariryou*, and ſo farther the *Tararyou*; the laſt of which were beſt known unto us, *Janduy* or *John Duwy* being their king; tho' ſome of them lived under the juriſdiction of one *Karakara*. Divers were govern'd by other kings, *viz. Prityaba*, *Arigpaygn*, *Wahaſewajug*, *Tſering*, and *Dremenge*. Thoſe under king *John Duwy* inhabit to the weſt beyond *Rio Grande*, but change their habitations pretty often: About *November*, *December*, and *January*, when the fruit *Kajou* begins to ripen, they come towards the ſea-ſide, becauſe little of it is to be met with in the inland countries. The *Tapoyers* are very tall and ſtrong of body, exceeding both the *Braſilians* and *Dutch* both in ſtrength and tallneſs by the head and ſhoulders. They are of a dark brown colour, black hair, which hangs all over their ſhoulders, they only ſhaving it on the forehead as far as to the ears. Some are ſhaved according to the *European* faſhion; the reſt of their bodies they keep without hair, even without eye-brows. Their kings and great men are diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar by the hair of their heads and their nails; the firſt their kings wear ſhaved in the ſhape of a crown, and have very long nails on their thumbs; but the king's relations or other officers of note, wear long nails on all their fingers, except their thumbs; for long nails is accounted a peculiar ornament among them. The *Tapoyers* are very ſtrong; prince *Maurice* being one time in a humour to try their ſtrength and ſkill in fighting with a wild bull, cauſed one to be brought within his outward court, which was ſurrounded with palliſadoes, in order to engage two *Tapoyers* appointed for that purpoſe. There was a great concourſe of people to ſee this ſpectacle, when on a ſudden two *Tapoyers* (the reſt with their wives being only ſpectators) came in ſtark naked, without any other arms but their bows and arrows. The bull ſaw them no ſooner enter, but he made towards them, who being extremely nimble, avoided the ſtrokes he made at them with great dexterity, and in the mean while ſo gall'd his flanks with their arrows, that the beaſt roar'd moſt terribly, and being all in a foam, ſet upon them with all his vigour, which they avoided by retiring every foot behind a tree that ſtood in the middle of the court, and from thence continued to pierce his ſides with their darts, till finding the beaſt begin to languiſh by the loſs of blood, one of the *Tapoyers* got upon his back, and laying hold of his horns, threw him upon the ground, and being ſeconded by his comrade, they both kill'd the bull, roaſted him under ground, with a fire above it, according to their cuſtom, and feaſted upon the meat, with the other *Tapoyers* there preſent.

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Their clothing. The *Tapoyers* of both ſexes, from the king to the common fellow, go quite naked, only that the men hide their privities, by tying the yard in a little bag or net made of the bark of trees; this they cloſe up with a ſmall ribbon call'd *Takoaynhaa*; when they want to piſs they unty it, and are more cautious in expoſing their privities, than ſome of the *Europeans:* In the ſame manner do the reſt of the *Braſilians* inhabiting the inland countries. The women of the *Tapoyers* cover their privities only with a handful of herbs, or a ſmall branch of a tree, with the leaves on them: This they thruſt barely under a ſmall cord or rope which is faſtned round their middle like girdles: In the ſame manner they cover their backſides, but ſo careleſly, that both before and behind, great part of both is expoſed to view; they change it every day. The men wear alſo a kind of garland made of the feathers of the bird *Guara* or *Kaninde*, upon their heads, from which certain feathers of the tail of the bird *Arara*, or *Kamud*, hang down behind upon the back; ſome only

1647. *The habit of ye Tapoyars* 1647.

tie a cotton ſtring round their hands, in which ſome red or blue feathers are faſtned behind; this they call *Akanbuaçaba.* They have alſo cloaks made of cotton-thread, and woven like a net; in each of the holes they ſtick a red feather of the bird *Guara*, and intermix them with black, green, and yellow feathers of the birds *Aakukaru*, *Kazinda*, and *Arara*, which lie as cloſe together as fiſh ſcales: There is a kind of cap on the inſide of this cloak, which with the reſt covers the head, ſhoulders, and the body, ſomewhat below the middle, ſo that it is worn both for ornament and conveniencies ſake, it being proof againſt the rain; they call theſe cloaks in their tongue *Guara Abuku.* They alſo faſten certain combs of birds with wild honey to their foreheads, theſe they call *Aguana.*

If their fathers or mothers die, they pull every hair out of their heads; they have holes in their ears ſo big, that you may thruſt a finger into them; in this they wear either a bone of an ape call'd *Nambipaya*, or elſe a piece of wood, wrapt up in cotton-thread. The men have holes in their under lips, in which they wear either a cryſtal, ſmaragd or jaſper, of the bigneſs of a haſel-nut: This ſtone they call *Metara*, and if it be green or blue, *Metayobi*; but they are moſt fond of the green ones: They have alſo holes in their cheeks on each ſide of the mouth; in theſe the married men wear a piece of wood of the bigneſs and thickneſs of a good gooſe-quill: Sometimes they wear a ſtone in it call'd *Tembekoareta:* In the holes of their noſtrils, ſome have alſo ſuch like ſticks of wood, which they call *Apiyati:* Their bodies are all over painted with a certain juice of brown colour, ſqueezed out of the apple *Janipapa*; this is even uſed among the women and children. Beſides this, they ſtick feathers of divers colours with wild-honey or maſtick to the ſkin of their bodies, which make them appear at a diſtance like large birds; this they call *Akamongui.* Thus they adorn their arms with garlands made of red and yellow feathers of ſeveral birds, call'd *Aguamiranga*; ſometimes they mix corals among them, which they call *Arakoaya.* They make alſo a kind of bracelets of the rind of the fruit *Aguay*; theſe they wear round their legs, and make a noiſe when they are dancing. Their ſhoes are made of the bark *Kuragua*, and call them *Miapakabas.* Some nations of the *Tapoyers* uſe no bows or arrows, but throw their darts with their hands, but the *Kariri* have bows. Their clubs are made of very hard wood, are broad on the top, and full of teeth or bones, well ſharpned at

1647. at the end. Round the handle they wind a piece of callicoe, or ſome other ſtuff, and at the end a buſh of feathers of the tail of the bird *Arara*; ſuch another buſh is faſtned round the middle; they call them *Atirabebe* and *Jatirabebe*. Their trumpets which they call *Kanguenka*, are made of mens bones; but thoſe called *Nhumbugaku*, which are much larger, are of horn; they have alſo another ſort made of cane, called *Meumbrapara*. The *Tapoyers* are not ſo good ſoldiers as the reſt of the *Braſilians*, for upon any ſmart encounter they truſt to their feet, and run away with incredible ſwiftneſs. They neither ſow nor plant, not as much as the *Mandioka* root, their common food being fruits, roots, herbs, and wild beaſts, and ſometimes wild honey, which they take out of the hollow trees. Among all other roots they are extremely fond of a certain kind of wild *Mandioka* root, which riſes up to the height of a ſmall tree. Its ſtem and leaves reſemble the other *Mandioka* root, but it is not near ſo good; the inland *Braſilians* call it *Cuguaçuremia*, but thoſe inhabiting near the ſea-ſhore *Cuaçumandiiba*.

They eat alſo mens fleſh; for if a woman happens to miſcarry they eat the child immediately, alledging, that they cannot beſtow a better grave upon it than the belly, from whence it came. The *Tapoyers* lead a kind of vagabond life, like ſome of the *Arabians*, though they always remain within their certain bounds, within the compaſs of which they change their habitations according to the different ſeaſons of the year; they dwell for the moſt part among the woods, and live upon hunting, in which perhaps they excel all other nations; for they will ſhoot a bird flying with their arrows. So ſoon as a woman has conceived, ſhe abſtains from her husband; after ſhe is brought to bed, ſhe goes into the next wood, where ſhe cuts the child's navel-ſtring, with a ſhell, boils it afterwards with the after-burthen, and eats them both. She waſhes her ſelf and the child every morning and evening, neither does her huſband keep her company, as long as ſhe gives ſuck, unleſs he has but one wife. If a woman be diſcovered to have had an unlawful commerce with another man, her huſband turns her away, but if they are catch'd in the act, he may kill them both. The mothers take extraordinary care that the nuptials of their daughters are not conſummated 'till after they have had their monthly times, which they give notice of to their phyſicians, and theſe to the king, who then gives them licenſe to go to bed with the bridegroom, who pays his acknowledgment to her mother, for the care ſhe has taken of her daughter. If a young maiden be marriageable, and yet not courted by any, the mother paints her with ſome red colour about the eyes, and thus carries her to the king, who orders her to ſit down near him upon a carpet, and blows the ſmoak of tobacco in her face. After which he thruſts his yard into the woman's privities, and if any blood comes forth, he licks it up, which is eſteem'd a ſingular honour among them. For the reſt of the *Tapoyers*, are the worſt of all the other *Braſilians*, being ignorant of any thing that relates to God or religion; neither will they receive any inſtruction of that kind. They have certain prieſts or rather ſoreerers, who pretend to foretel things to come, and to raiſe ſpirits, which they ſay appear to them in the ſhape of a fly, or any ſuch like inſect: When theſe ſpirits diſappear, the women make moſt horrible cries and lamentations, in which conſiſts the main point of their devotion. They avoid night journies, for fear of ſerpents and other venomous creatures, neither will they ſet on a journey 'till the dew be dried up by the ſun-beams. Several nations of the *Tapoyers*, eſpecially thoſe under king *John Duwy*, liv'd always in a good correſpondence with the *Dutch*, unto whom they afforded at divers times conſiderable aſſiſtance; tho' they did not ſubmit to their juriſdiction, but were governed by their own kings. King *John Duwy* had 60 children by 50 wives, tho' ſometimes he had not above 14 wives at a time; theſe *Tapoyers* having a mortal hatred to the *Portugueſe*, uſed to kill them wherever they could meet with them. And thus much may ſuffice concerning the manners, way of living, cloaths, *&c.* of the natives of *Braſil*; I will now proceed to give you an account of my voyage back into *Holland*.

1649. *The author's return to* Holland.

Being ſenſible, as I told you before, that things grew worſe and worſe every day with us here, I with much ado got leave to depart, and accordingly the 23[d] of *July* 1649 I went aboard the ſhip call'd the *Union*, mann'd with 80 ſailors, under the command of captain *Albert Jants*, a native of *Groningen*. We ſet ſail the ſame day in company of the *Blue-Eagle*, and a yacht call'd the *Braſilian*. We left the city of *Olinda* to the ſouth-weſt in the evening; the 25th we were under 3 degrees 6 min. with a north-north-eaſt courſe, we ſail'd that day about 28 leagues. The next day we paſs'd the line, with very fair weather and wind; we continued our courſe without any remarkable accident 'till the 1[ſt] of *Auguſt*, when about noon we found our ſelves under 9 deg. 46 min. having ſail'd 29 Leagues in the laſt 24 hours. The ſame evening

we

1649. we ſaw the firſt time the north-pole ſtar, after we had paſs'd the line. The 2d of *Auguſt* we ſail'd 23 leagues with a freſh gale, and found our ſelves under the 11th deg. 13 min. We continued this our courſe with a fair wind, 'till the 16th of *Auguſt* when we were becalmed, we did not advance above 60 leagues that day, being under the 26 deg. we found it exceeding hot. The 20th of *Auguſt* we had but a ſlender ſouth-eaſt wind, we found our ſelves under 29 deg. 45 min. we were much troubled with heat, for want of the cool winds, that the knives in the cabin were ſo hot, that nobody could hold them in his bare hands, nor any one could touch the deck of the ſhip with his hands or feet. We continued our courſe thus 'till the 29th, when being under 38 deg. 46 min. we made about eight leagues that day. The 3d of *September* being under the 40th deg. 18 min. we eſpied a ſail which we found to be a veſſel bound for *Virginia*. Towards evening we were forced to ſtay ſometime for the *Braſilian* yacht, ſhe having loſt one of her maſts. The next following day in the morning we diſcover'd the iſland of *Corfu*, whither we directed our courſe.

The Flemming *iſlands.*

Corfu and *Floris* are two of the nine iſlands, the *Dutch* commonly call the *Flemming Iſlands*. The biggeſt is *Tercera*, being about 16 leagues in compaſs. It is very rocky, but fruitful, producing a conſiderable quantity of oxen, and abounding in canary and other birds. Here is a ſpring that turns wood into ſtone, and ſeveral hot-ſprings, in which you may boil an egg. The ground ſeems to be full of concavities, which is the reaſon of the many earthquakes here, which over-turn and deſtroy houſes, men and beaſts. The iſland call'd the *Peake* has a rock which reaches to the very clouds, and which as ſome ſuppoſe, may be parallel'd for its height to the peake of the *Canary Iſland* itſelf. Betwixt the coaſt of *Braſil* and the ſaid Iſlands, the compaſs bears due ſouth and north. We were gone eight degrees farther to the weſt, than we intended. About noon we found our ſelves under 40 deg. and 34 min. We continu'd our courſe without any remarkable accident, 'till the 16th of *Sept.* when we ſuppoſed our ſelves to be not far from land, which we diſcovered the ſame evening to the north north-eaſt of us. The 17th we were becalm'd, and catch'd more fiſh than we were able to eat. The 18th we diſcover'd the *Iſle of White* to the north of us, whereabouts one of our ſhips was ſeparated from us; not long after we ſaw the point of *Dover*. The 19th we paſs'd by *Dunkirk* and *Oſtend* with a brisk gale, and about noon ſafely arrived in the road of *Fluſſingen*. I got immediately aſhore, and after having refreſhed my ſelf for five days, I went to *Middleburgh*, where I likewiſe continued five days. From thence I continued my journey over *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft* and *Harlem* to the famous city of *Amſterdam*, from whence I undertook this *Weſt-India* voyage 1640. From *Amſterdam* I went to *Zwell*, the birth-place of my father *John Nieuhoff*, and ſo to *Benthem*, my native countrey, where I met with my parents in good health, after ſo many fatigues of a tedious voyage; whilſt I was at *Benthem* my father died 1651, the 15th of *May*, in the 85th year of his age, being lamented by all, by reaſon of his good qualifications.

The author arrives at Fluſſingen.

1649.

He arrives at Benthem.

Some troubleſome people laid the loſs of the *Dutch-Braſil* at the door of the members of the great council, *viz. Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Bulleſtrate* and *Peter Jande Baſs*, who left *Braſil* 1647. It was alledged that the before-mentioned contracts made with the *Portugueſe* had given them great opportunity of a revolt; for which it was ſaid the ſaid members had received great ſums of money; but it being evident that the ſucceeding members of the great council having taken cogniſance of that affair before their departure, *Nov.* 6, 1646, and in *March* 1647, they were fully cleared of theſe accuſations, the ſame having been tranſacted by ſpecial orders of the council of XIX. in *Holland*; beſides, that the revolts which were about the ſame time in agitation in *Angola*, *Africa*, and the iſland of *Ceylon* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where no ſuch contracts were made, do ſufficiently teſtify that the foundation of this inteſtine war was laid in *Portugal*, long before the contracts were ſet on foot. What is more ſurpriſing is, how the *Portugueſe*, conſidering we were pretty well provided with forts and garriſons, durſt think of ſuch an attempt; but the reaſon is plain, for what they wanted in ſtrenghth or otherwiſe, they were ſupplied with from the *Bahia*.

What induced the Portugueſe *to rebel.*

The motives that induced the *Portugueſe* to this revolt, were the recovery of their liberty, the difference of their language and manners from ours; but eſpecially of religion, which our people endeavoured to eſtabliſh in *Braſil*; theſe with ſome other concurring circumſtances, ſuch as our preſent weakneſs and the diſpoſition the ſtates were in at that time, to be fairly rid of *Braſil*, gave them ſufficient encouragement for this attempt. It has been the opinion of ſome, that the firſt ſparks of this rebellion might ſoon have been quench'd by ſeiſing ſome of the heads of the *Portugueſe* faction; but it being apparent from the records, that nothing was left unattempted upon that account, tho' without

1649. any conſiderable ſucceſs, the ſame cannot be imputed to the neglect of the government; the true reaſons of the loſs of *Braſil* were the ſlender garriſon, and the inconſiderable number of *Dutch* inhabiting there; nothing being more obvious, than that a conquered country muſt be maintained, either by a ſufficient military force, or ſtrong colonies; the laſt of which was the conſtant practice of the ancient *Romans*, who beſides this back'd them with good armies to keep the conquered nations in obedience. Another way of eſtabliſhing themſelves in a conquered country, tho' a very barbarous one, was introduced by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* in *America*, who by deſtroying the ancient inhabitants, and planting colonies of their own, ſaved themſelves the charge of keeping many forts and garriſons for their defence. Neither of theſe was ſufficiently obſerved by the *Dutch*, after their conqueſt of the *Dutch-Braſil*; for according to their agreement made with the *Portugueſe*, the laſt were left in the entire and quiet poſſeſſion of all the ſugar-mills, plantations, and grounds thereunto belonging, whereby the *Dutch* ſubjects were in a manner excluded from getting any conſiderable footing in the open countrey, eſpecially, ſince ſuch of the ſugar-mills as happened to fall into the companies hands, by forfeiture or otherwiſe, were ſold promiſcuouſly to both nations, and commonly at ſuch exceſſive rates, that the *Dutch* durſt ſeldom venture upon them; the taxes laid upon every thing belonging to the ſugar-mills, and upon the ſugar itſelf, being ſo great, that little profit was to be reap'd from thence, unleſs the ſugar ſold at a very dear rate; whereas on the contrary, we ought after the example of the *Spaniards*, to have endeavoured to draw our ſubjects into *Braſil*, by the granting of conſiderable immunities of honour and other advantages. The military force of the *Dutch* in *Braſil*, was likewiſe not duely regarded; for whereas according to a juſt eſtimate made in 1641, by count *Maurice*, 7076 men were abſolutely requiſite to maintain the *Dutch* garriſons there, the ſtates of *Holland* inſtead of following his directions, did after the concluſion of the ten years truce with *Portugal*, order the great council of the *Dutch-Braſil*, to reduce their forces there to 18 companies of 150 men each, and tho' ſeveral remonſtrances were made upon that head to the contrary, the truth of which was verified by the event; yet the ſuccours ſent from *Holland* arrived ſo ſlowly, that after my departute things grew worſe and worſe every day, and the *Dutch* had loſt all their ſtrong holds 1654. For the *Portugueſe* began to blow up the *Receif* by ſea, with 16 ſhips, and to beſiege it by land 1653, in *December*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that our people being conſtrain'd by hunger, and the garriſon refuſing to fight, were forced to ſurrender the place with all its circumjacent forts to the enemy; ſince which time the *Portugueſe* have remained in the entire poſſeſſion of *Braſil*; the ſame being confirmed to them by the peace made the 6th of *Aug.* 1660, betwixt *Portugal* and the ſtates of the united provinces, in which, among others theſe following points were agreed upon.

Reaſons why Braſil *was not ſufficiently peopled by the* Dutch.

Their want of forces.

Loſe all Braſil.

That the crown of *Portugal* ſhall be obliged to pay to the ſtates the ſum of 80 tuns of gold, either in ready money or ſugar, tobacco or ſalt, or elſe aſſign the ſaid money upon the *Portugueſe* cuſtoms.

That the places taken on each ſide ſhould remain to thoſe, who were then in poſſeſſion of them.

And that a free trade ſhould be allowed to the *Dutch* in *Portugal*, *Africa* and *Braſil*; without paying any more cuſtoms than the native *Portugueſe*.

Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF's*

REMARKABLE

VOYAGES

AND

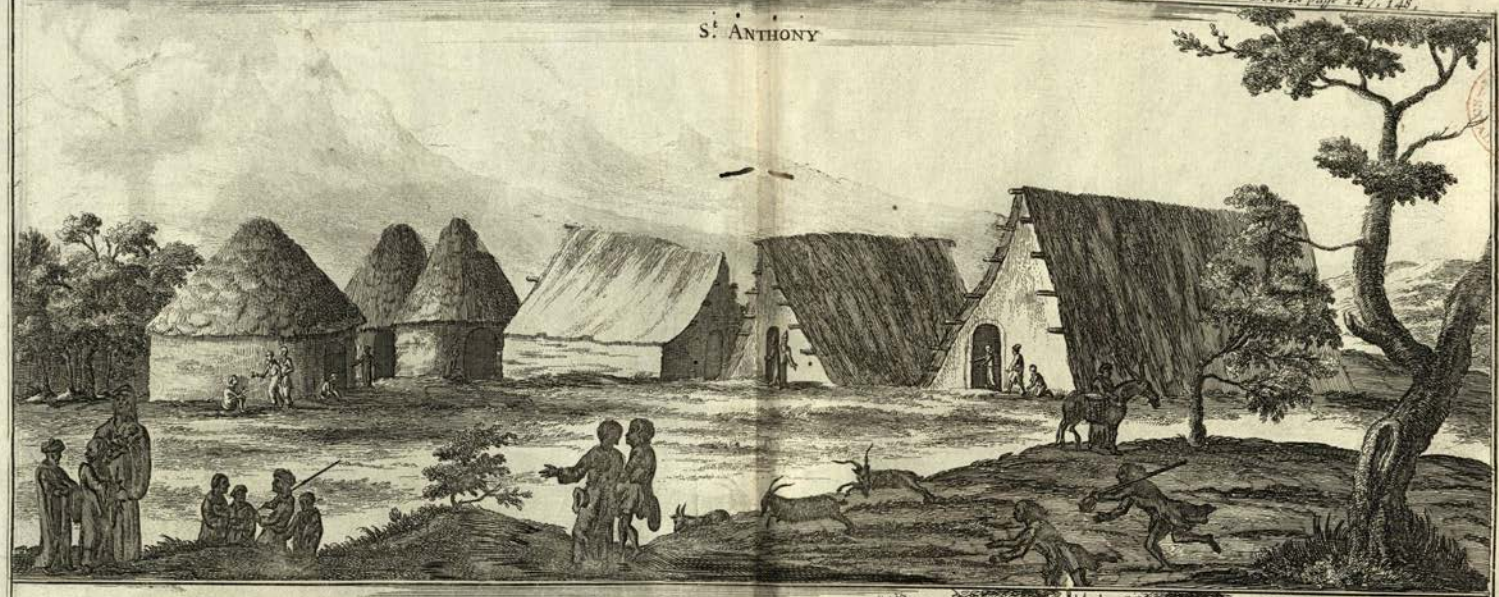
TRAVELS

TO THE

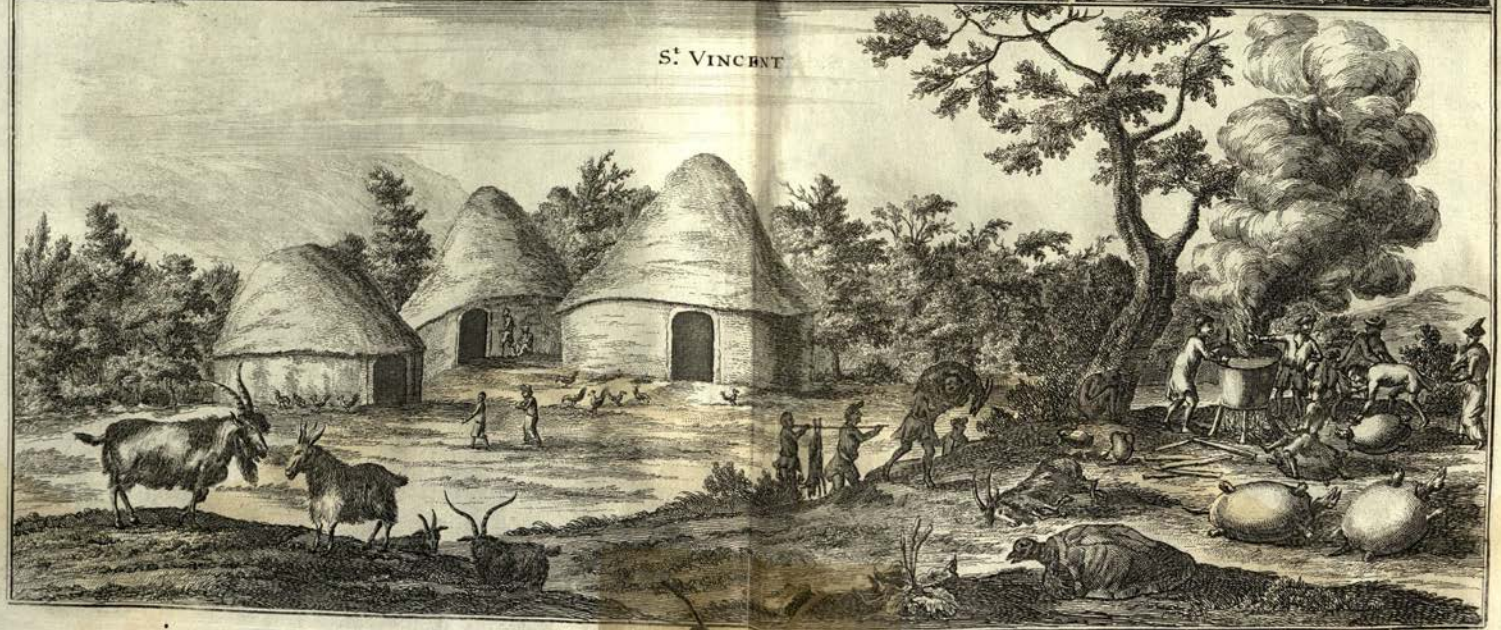
EAST-INDIES.

1653. AFTER a ſhort ſtay in my native country, I reſolved to take a view of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and accordingly embarked at *Amſterdam*, on board the ſhip call'd the *Calf*, carrying 24 guns, under the command of *Cornelius Juſt*. The 23d of *Auguſt* 1653, we ſet ſail from the *Texel*, in company of four ſhips more, *viz.* the *Peace*, the *Lamb*, the *Golden Drake*, and the *Naerden*, ſteering our courſe towards the north of *Ireland*, not thinking it ſafe to paſs thro' the channel of *England*. *The author's departure to the* Eaſt-Indies. The 24th we ſteer'd our courſe north by weſt, under 54 deg. 46 min. toward evening we caſt anchor at 13, and in the night found 17 fathom water. We continued the ſame courſe the 25th, under 55 deg. 59 min. 23 fathoms water, and from thence farther till the 29th, under 28 deg. 24 min. Then we took a north-eaſt courſe with a briſk gale. The 30th, with break of day we diſcovered at about 6 leagues diſtance *Hetland*, lying at the northern point of *Scotland*, and found ourſelves about noon under 60 deg. 3 min. latitude, and 18 deg. 49 min. longitude. The 1ſt of *September* we were under the latitude of 62 deg. 40 min. and 19 deg. 2 min. longitude: We ſteer'd our courſe with a briſk gale to ſouth-weſt by weſt, betwixt the *Fairo* iſlands and *Hetland*. The 4th, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, we loſt ſight of one of our ſhips call'd the *Lamb*, under 60 deg. 11 min. We continued the ſame courſe till next day, when about noon we diſcovered the iſle of *Kilda*, under 59 deg. at 6 leagues diſtance to the ſouth-weſt of us, the iſland lying to the weſt of *Scotland*. Thus we purſued our voyage for the moſt part with ſtormy weather till the 13th, when we loſt our ſmall ſail at the prow of the ſhip: We found ourſelves about noon under 50 deg. 1 min. the weather continuing very ſtormy, but on the 17th, under 46 deg. 27 min. all our rigging was torn to pieces by a violent ſtorm, in which we got out of ſight of all our company. The 19th we deſcried two ſail which we gueſs'd to be our own, as one of them prov'd afterwards to be the *Lamb*. The 20th we continued our courſe with a briſk wind to the ſouth-weſt, and under 43 deg. 25 min. diſcovered the *Cabo Finis terræ*, or the point of the lands end of *Spain*, at about 5 leagues diſtance as we ſuppoſed. The ſame evening we met with the ſhip the *Lamb*, which as the maſter informs us, had loſt ſight of the ſhip the *Peace*, in the laſt ſtorm, and had her main-maſt and all her ſails brought by the board. Thus we ſailed forward with a ſtrong gale till the 30th, when we found ourſelves under the 30 deg. 20 min. and diſcovered the *African* coaſt about five leagues to the ſouth-weſt of us, with a variable wind. The 2d 1653. *The iſle of* Kilda.

St ANTHONY



St VINCENT



1653. of *October*, we continued the ſame courſe under the 28 deg. 51 min. of latitude, and 57 deg. of longitude; all along the iſle of *Lancerotta*, one of the canary iſlands, we deſcried a ſhip, but were not near enough to ſee what ſhe was. The next day we found ourſelves about 40 leagues to the north north-eaſt of the iſlands *Fretevanture* or *Forterentum*, under 27 deg. 45 min. and ſail'd thus in 24 hours, 40 leagues among the *Canary* iſlands. The 7th a briſk north wind carried us near 20 leagues forwards to the 19 deg. 14 min. In the evening we found but 14 fathoms water, and a ſmall bird ſettled upon our ſhip, tho' we judged our ſelves above 100 leagues from land. The 9th we were under 17 deg. 41 min. and towards evening ſaw land to the ſouth-weſt of us. The 10th with break of day we diſcover'd the iſle of *St. Vincent*, one of the ſalt iſlands, about five leagues to the ſouth-weſt; we ſteering our courſe ſouth-weſt, betwixt this iſland and that of *St. Anthony*. About noon we caſt anchor in the bay of *St. Vincent* at four fathom water, in a ſandy bottom, and provided ourſelves the ſame day with a whole boat full of freſh water and ſeven goats; I went in another boat to the iſle of *St. Anthony*, to fetch ſome freſh proviſions, but could get none. The 15th our ſhips crew catch'd 10 tortoiſes, and thoſe of the *Drake* as many. The 18th I was ſent aſhore to complement the governor of *St. Vincent*, who received us very kindly, and furniſh'd us with an aſs to carry us back to the harbour. All this while we catch'd abundance of fiſh; and the 20th ſent ſome on ſhoar with ſome toys, which they exchanged with the inhabitants of *St. Vincent*, for oranges, limons, bekoras and pompions. The ſame day the ſhip the *Roſe*, bound for *Braſil*, came to an anchor in the ſame bay. Mr. *Wiltſchut* the elder, commander in chief of the land-forces, came on board us, being much ſurpriſed to meet with me there. Being by this time provided with as many neceſſaries as we were able to get, we were ready to ſet ſail, but were detained by contrary winds 'till the 25th. The iſle of *St. Vincent* is a rocky and barren iſland, affording nothing but a little graſs for the ſuſtenance of wild goats. It is about five leagues in circuit, under the command of a *Portugueſe* governor, who was then a *Mulat*, one born of a chriſtian father and a negro mother. 1653.

The iſle of St Vincent.

The inhabitants here are negroes, tranſplanted hither from ſeveral parts to catch wild goats, the ſkins of which they ſend to *Portugal*, and the fleſh they can't conſume they

1653. they throw away. They lead a wretched life without women. All their water is brakiſh, and of a taſte like ſalt-peter, except what they gather at the foot of the higheſt rock in bags of goat-ſkins, which being always covered with clouds on the top, ſends a conſiderable quantity of rain water down to the bottom by ſmall natural channels. The governor's reſidence is on the other ſide of the great rock, not far from the ſea-ſhore, near 3 leagues from the harbour. His officers live in hutts cover'd with tortoiſe-ſhells, among trees, the ſhadow of which defends them againſt the exceſſive heat of the ſun-beams: I went in company of ſome belonging to our ſhip, up to the top of the higheſt rock to take a view of the countrey; my companions ſtay'd about half way, but I with much a-do got to the top, where I had a full proſpect of the iſland, but loſt my hat by the violence of the wind, and was forced to lay upon my belly, for fear of tumbling down the precipice. The inhabitants relate a ridiculous ſtory of a king's daughter turn'd into a ſerpent here. As I was coming down and met with the reſt of my companions in the place where I left them, we ſaw at ſome diſtance a great number of crows, which made us haſten thither, and found them buſy in picking the fleſh of a living tortoiſe which was turn'd upon her back; we found above 300 eggs within her, which one of our company kept for his own uſe, but the fleſh was carried on board for the uſe of the ſick.

The iſland of St. Anthony.

The iſland of *St. Antony* lies at about 3 leagues diſtance, juſt oppoſite to *St. Vincent*. On the foot of the eaſt-point of this iſland, is a ſmall ſandy bay, fit for ſmall veſſels only, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Et Pracaden Siniao*, whereabouts are about 30 hutts inhabited by *Portugueſe* and negroes, who ſuſtain themſelves moſt by fruit; of which they had no great ſtore formerly, but of late years they have great plenty, which were tranſplanted thither by the induſtry of the *Portugueſe*; the iſle being full of high barren rocks. The vines bear here twice a year, as well as moſt other fruit-trees; they abound in wild-fowl of all ſorts, but eſpecially in wild-goats. We found the heat ſo exceſſive about noon, that it was inſupportable: At our firſt arrival, they refuſed to ſupply us with refreſhments, but after ſome time they began to be more pliable, and furniſh'd us with what fruits we wanted.

The ſalt iſlands.

Theſe iſlands commonly call'd the *Salt Iſlands*, being ten in number, are thus call'd from the great quantity of ſalt they produce, and lies about 160 leagues from the *African* coaſt, being firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſe* 1572, who inhabit there to this day.

We ſet ſail again the 26th with a moderate north-north eaſt wind, and paſs'd by the *Ilha Blanco* or *White-iſland*; ſo call'd from its *white colour*, being the laſt of the ten, under 15 deg. 11 min. At firſt we had a briſk gale, but were ſoon becalm'd, and advanced very little that day and night. The next following day we had a more proſperous wind, and diſcovered land the next morning, at about 10 leagues diſtance, under 14 deg. 16 min. The 3d of *November*, we advanc'd no more than 3 leagues, becauſe the wind ſlacken'd under the 8 deg. 11 min. Thus we continued our courſe, but very ſlowly till the 18th, when we found our ſelves under 5 deg. being forced much farther to the eaſt than we expected: We were continually afflicted with calms till the 1ſt of *December*; ſo that oftentimes we did not make above 3, 4 or 6 leagues a day, and without meeting with any thing remarkable, found our ſelves under 2 deg. 15 min. The 8th in the morning we paſs'd the line, and the next day were under 50 min. ſouthern latitude, and under 353 deg. 10 min. longitude: Here we were overtaken by a violent *Travado* from the eaſt, with violent ſtorms and rains, which much endamaged ſome of our ſmall ſails, being about noon under 1 deg. 37 min. We often ſaw ſmall black clouds, which in an inſtant increaſed prodigiouſly, and were the certain fore-runners of tempeſts. For the reſt we had favourable wind and weather all this month, and found our ſelves under 33 deg. 52 min. of ſouthern latitude, and under 358 deg. 36 min. longitude, the ſun ſetting 14 deg. 3 min. north-eaſt; in the mean while our ſhip's crew began to be much afflicted with the ſcurvy for want of freſh water. The 1ſt of *January* we ſail'd with a moderate gale under 34 deg. 58. min. about 39 leagues in 24 hours. The 3d we purſued our courſe eaſt to the north, under 35 deg. 38 min. latitude, and 6 deg. 29 min. longitude: The 6th we continued the ſame courſe with a very briſk gale under 35 deg. 4 min. till the 22d, with ſtrong winds and tempeſtuous weather; when in the morning under 31 deg. 36 min. we diſcovered land at about 3 leagues diſtance, to our no ſmall ſatisfaction; we found 58 fathoms water and a rocky bottom; and in the afternoon 55 fathom ſandy ground; we were forced to return deeper in ſea, and in the afternoon approached nearer the ſhoar, but were forc'd to turn back again into the main. The next day about 7 or 8 leagues from the continent, we found a ſandy bottom at 80 fathoms depth, and ſaw abundance of birds; we had very miſty weather for ſome time, during which we loſt the *Drake*. The 25th towards evening we got ſight again of the

Drake

Betwixt paije 149 & 150.

MARE ÆTHIOPICUM.

Table Bay
A Rock
Table Mt.
Wind Mt.
Lyon Mt.
Leopards Mt.
Saddle Mt.
Robben Isle
Dassen Isle
Zout-Pan
Barren Grounds
Very Good Grounds
Good Pasture ground in this Valley
A Ridge of Stony Rocks
Inaccessable Mountains
Ground not fit for Tillage
the Line where they intended to have cut through the ground
Downs
A Road where our People took through ye Countrys
A Road where our People took through ye Countrys
A Mapp of the Cape of GOODHOPE With its true Situation.
Duytsche mylen 15 in een graet.
Engs & Fren. Leag. 20 in one degr.

1653. *Drake* about 7 or 8 leagues from the ſhore, under 32 deg. 38 min. without being able to fathom the bottom of the ſea. We continued this ſailing to and from the ſhoar till the 28th, but could not make the *Cape of good Hope*, tho' we advanced within a league of the land among the rocks, not without great danger, being then under 32 deg. 58 min. we were therefore oblig'd to chooſe the main again, to our great diſſatisfaction, being ſo diſabled by ſickneſs, and eſpecially the ſcurvy, that we had ſcarce hands enough left to manage our ſhip: Our ſurgeon was a *German* by birth, a very able perſon, but never uſed to the ſea before, was ſo much ſurpriſed at it, that he confeſs'd he never had ſeen the like, and that few of them would recover; but I told him, that in caſe we could make the cape, he would find a remarkable alteration in a weeks time, as ſoon as they touch'd the land, and receiv'd ſuitable refreſhment, which accordingly proved true. The 29th and 30th it was very tempeſtuous weather, when we loſt ſight again of the *Drake*; we were forced to keep the open ſea 'till the 2d of *February*, when we found our ſelves under 34 deg. 39 min. ſouthern latitude, and 36 deg. 32 min. longitude. The 3d being overtaken by a ſtorm from the ſouth-eaſt, we were forced to leave the ſhore again, which continued the next day with ſuch violence that we loſt our main-ſail. The 4th we purſued our courſe with a briſk gale under 33 deg. 40 min. when we again diſcovered land at about 6 or 7 leagues diſtance. Towards evening we came within a league of *Daſſen (Doe Iſland)* at 60 fathoms depth, but were forced to put to ſea again, the ſhore being all along very rocky here: Thus we made to and from the ſhore 'till the 8th, when we ſaw the *Table Mountain* about 9 leagues to the ſouth-weſt of us, and the iſle of *Daſſen* 2 or 3 leagues to the N. W. we found hereabouts 30, 36 and 40 fathoms water, about half a league from the ſhore in a ſandy bottom; we did all we could to make the *Robben Iſland (Rabbet Iſland)* but being becalm'd, were fain to put to ſea again. The 9th we were not above 2 or 3 leagues from the *Table Mountain*, and about noon being favour'd with a briſk S. W. wind got happily into the *Table Bay*, where we caſt anchor at five fathoms depth in a ſandy bottom. Here we met with the galliot the *Fox*, *John Zymentz* maſter. Mr. *Rietbeck*, *Dutch* governor of the *Cape of good Hope*, ſent us immediately a chaloop with fiſh on board, and a pilot to conduct us into the harbour. We had loſt 8 of our ſhips crew in this voyage, and had about 40 ſick, beſides which the reſt were ſo much afflicted with the ſcurvy, that unleſs we had received ſome ſeaſonable refreſhments, we could ſcarce have held it out much longer. I went immediately a-ſhore in company of the captain *Cornelius Juſt*, and brought back good ſtore of muſtard-leaves which were dreſs'd for the ſhip's crew. Much about the ſame time the fiſcal came a-board us, to forbid all commerce with the *Hottentotes* or natives, and to carry a ſhore, without ſpecial leave from the governor; we were alſo ſupply'd with more freſh water, which is very good and eaſy to be got thereabouts. The 12th we ſaw the ſhip the *Drake* making the bay, but was forced to caſt anchor behind the *Robben Iſland*, by reaſon of the violence of the wind; we were then buſy in fiſhing, but the wind blowing hard from the land ſide, could catch none. The 14th the tempeſt being ſomewhat allay'd, we approach'd as near the ſhore as we could; when we got ſight of the top of the *Table Mountain*, which is very often covered with ſmall clouds, a certain preſage of tempeſtuous weather. The ſame day we went to our former employment of fiſhing, and catch'd as much in one draught as the chaloop was able to carry, the governor having 14 wheelbarrows full for his ſhare. They were for the moſt part mullets, which ſwim in ſhoals along the ſhore of this bay. It was not 'till then the *Drake* came into the harbour, having loſt 20 of her crew and 50 ſick, and the reſt being ſo much diſabled by the ſcurvy, that according to their own confeſſion, if it had laſted thus 14 days longer, they muſt have left the ſhip to the mercy of the wind and ſea: We were all this while very buſy in fiſhing as often as the weather would permit; but the 19th it blew ſo hard, that we were forced to make uſe of all our Anchors. The 22d we ſpent in providing ourſelves with freſh water and fuel, the laſt of which our carpenters cut down near the banks of the *Salt-River*. The 23d I, in company of ſome others, went croſs the mountain as far as the *Freſh-River*, to ſee whether we could meet with ſome wild-fowl, we ſaw ſome negroes with about 300 head of cattle, but at the firſt ſight of us they retired. The fields hereabouts were all covered with white lilies and tulips; we ſaw alſo abundance of partridges. Being informed that a *Rhinoceros* was fallen into the boggs, the governor *Rietbeck* ſent ſome fuſileers thither to kill him, but the muſquet ball not being able to penetrate his thick hide, they were forced to cut a hole in it firſt, and ſo to ſhoot it to death; the horn is preſerved there to this day, and ſometimes uſed inſtead of a cup. The 1ſt of *March* we had very fair weather, notwithſtanding which, few of our ſhip's crew were fond to go on ſhoar,

Violent ſcurvy.

They arrive in the Table Bay.

The ſhip the Drake *enters the bay.*

They take a view of the country.

A Rhinoceros *kill'd.*

1653. every thing being there at an exceſſive rate; as for inſtance, a quartern of *Arack* was ſold for ſix-pence; of brandy for twelve-pence; a water-melon about the bigneſs of a cocoa-nut for half a ſtown. The next day being informed that a whale was got on ſhoar in the *Salt-River*, the governor and his lady, our maſter of the ſhip and I, went thither to ſee it, it was a very large one; we got upon the back of it, whilſt the trumpet ſounded merrily, and the negroes were buſied in cutting great pieces of the fleſh which they buried in the ſand in order to eat them. The 6th the governor ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to the *Hottentots*, to endeavour to exchange ſome of their cattle for copper, tobacco-pipes and ſuch like baubles, but they retired at firſt ſight. The 9th it was very calm and fair weather, which made moſt of our crew go on ſhore to waſh their linen, having received orders to be ready to ſail the next day; for which reaſon alſo good ſtore of cabbage and two ſheep were brought a board, a ſlender proviſion for ſuch a number of men, but it was impoſſible to get more for that time. During our ſtay here, we fetch'd daily two ſacks full of cabbage and muſtard-leaves, which being boiled with bacon, was ſerved twice a day, this being the beſt refreſhment we were able to get. The *Cape of Good Hope* is ſituate under 34 deg. 20 min. ſouthern latitude, which jetts out into the ſea like a demi-iſland being to the north joined to the continent by a ſtrait neck of land, with a bay on each ſide, very convenient for anchorage. The *Table Bay*, which has borrow'd its name from the *Table Mountain*, is about 4 leagues in compaſs, ſo that a whole fleet of ſhips may ſafely enter, or go out with any wind, except the north-weſt wind. Near the ſhore of this bay, upon the banks of the *Freſh-River*, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company has erected a quadrangular fort, call'd the *Good Hope*, well provided with artillery and a good garriſon, in which, at this time, Mr. *Rietbeck* was commander in chief; and had his habitation there, with a well-planted garden of about 15 acres round about it. Upon the banks of the *Salt-River* is likewiſe a ſmall redoubt. Behind the fort of *Good-Hope*, all along the banks of the river, are many fine plantations or gardens, which produce cabbages and ſuch-like herbages, being cultivated by certain *Hollanders* who have ſettled there, and pay only a ſmall annual acknowledgment to the governor for the uſe of their grounds, which are for the moſt part clay, and conſequently fruitful, tho' in ſome parts they are likewiſe rocky and ſandy. Near the ſea-ſhore is great ſtore of ſmall wood, tho' the natives aſſure us, that deeper in the countrey they have trees of a vaſt bigneſs. Their gardens produce likewiſe olives, oranges, apricocks and peaches; the fields graſs and ſome herbs and flowers; nay, they would bear very good wheat, rye, rice, and barly, were they manur'd as they ought to be. Their field herbs are great and ſmall, ſome with knotty roots, houſleek and ſome other pot-herbs, beſides tulips and white-lilies, *&c.* They have alſo here a certain root which the *Hottentots* roaſt and eat inſtead of bread, and ſometimes make flour of them; ſome taſte like our potatoes or cheſnuts, tho' they have others that are much ſweeter, not unlike our anniſeed. The *Dutch* have planted many thouſands of vines on a hill adjacent to the fort, they bear very plentifully, but the wine is of a crab-like taſt. The worſt of all is, that the winds which ariſe from the clouds in the mountains, blow in the ſummer, eſpecially about *July*, with ſuch violence, that they tear up all by the roots, at which time it is very dangerous landing at the cape. For the reſt the air is very wholeſome here, being always clear, and neither too hot nor too cold. Their winter is in *June* and *July*, when it freezes ſometimes, that you may ſee ice of the thickneſs of the back of a large knife. In *October*, *November*, and *December*, there blows always a ſouth wind, which produces a cool air, as the north wind does in *Holland*; and in this ſeaſon they are troubled with violent rains, which however render their ground very fruitful.

1653.

The Cape of Good Hope.

Table Bay.

The fort.

This countrey likewiſe abounds in all ſorts of wild and tame creatures: They have here birds they call *Pinguwyns*, *Flamingos*, *Antenayas*, *Alkatraces*, *Fayſons*, *Gavoytoyns*, *Garagians*, &c. The *Pinguwyns* are ſhort legged, and may ſoon be taken, but are not to be forced from their neſt without a good ſtick, becauſe they will bite and defend themſelves there to the utmoſt. They abound alſo in partridges and pheaſants, geeſe, quails, crows, ſparrows of divers kinds, rock-ducks with yellow necks, teal, wood and water ſnipes, and a kind of demi-ducks; there is alſo a ſort of black birds here of the bigneſs of a ſmall gooſe or large duck, call'd by us cormorants, wild peacocks, blue, white and black cranes. The white ones are indifferently large, the black ones of the bigneſs of our ſea-gulls, living for the moſt part in the marſhes; they have a kind of reed-birds with red necks and legs, monkeys, hawks of divers kinds, ravens, magpies and very large oſtriches, which can reach with their long necks a man on horſe-back. They are gray, and run with their wings ſpread as ſwift as a horſe; they live upon herbs, but ſometimes devour likewiſe ſtones, copper and iron. They

What creatures are at the Cape.

1653. have likewiſe certain birds not unlike our geeſe, which lay eggs without yolks, as big as a common gooſe egg. They are ſo full, and taſte ſo much like fiſh, that they are not eatable. Another kind of geeſe they have ſomewhat leſs than ours, tho' their legs are larger, with grey ſpots all over their bodies; they are not to be tam'd, becauſe they kill any other bird that comes within their reach.

The Pinguwyns. Formerly the ſea-ſhore uſed to abound with certain birds call'd *Pinguwyns*, both black and white; their ſkin is very hard, and are of the bigneſs of an ordinary gooſe. They live both upon land and in the water; they have a fin on each foot, which makes them ſwim very ſwiftly after their prey the ſmall fiſh, which is the reaſon their fleſh is of a rank taſte, and ſcarce eatable, unleſs it be ſeven times boil'd in freſh water, and afterwards fry'd with butter; they make their neſt, and lay their egs in hollow places in the ſand.

The Flamingos. The *Flamingos* is a very fine bird, reſembling a crane, but with a crooked bill. They are pale red, tho' ſome of their feathers are half white and half black, but the uppermoſt feathers which cover the reſt, are of a roſy colour.

Their oxen are very fat and thick ſet, with long crooked horns, tho' ſome have their horns bent back cloſe to the neck; others have no horns at all, they are generally a foot and a half taller than our oxen. Among other creatures they have here thoſe *Sea Cows.* they call *Sea Cows*, being much bulkier than an *European* ox. They are without horns, but have long ears and round eyes, with a ſhort tail, thick legs and feet like an elephant. They have no hair upon their bodies, but prodigious large teeth. They feed upon graſs, which they find in the marſhes near the lakes, where they duck under water as long as they pleaſe, ſo that they are ſeldom to be ſeen or catch'd. The fleſh is like other beef, but ſomewhat coarſer; when it is ſalted, it appears and keeps like the ordinary *Dutch* ſalted beef.

They have likewiſe here what they commonly call *Iron Pigs*, with long ſpikes, which by drawing the ſkin together, can ſhoot at thoſe that come too near them with ſuch force, as to wound them mortally. A dead lion was once found here, with ſuch a ſpike ſticking in the breaſt, which had queſtionleſs cauſed his death. The ſkin is hung up, and to be ſeen in the fort to this day. They abound alſo in hares, wild goats and rabbits; and deeper in the country they have tygers, lions, wolves, leopards, *Rhinoceros*'s, deer, cows, calves and rock-does. They have plenty of ſheep, which the inhabitants exchange for copper, tobacco, tobacco-pipes, and ſuch like baubles. They 1653. bear no wool, but hair like our goats; their legs are long, and the tail conſiſts of one long and thick piece of fat, which weighs ſometimes 20 pound and above.

On this cape is alſo a certain creature call'd a *Jackal*, being betwixt a fox and a *The Jackals.* dog, with grey hair; it roars frightfully in the night time, being very greedy after men's fleſh, ſo that it will dig ſometimes ten foot deep to come at a dead carcaſs: It is ſaid to be the moſt quick-ſcented of all creatures, and by its ſcent to diſcover any carrion that is near at hand to the lion. Among others, they have likewiſe a certain wild beaſt in ſhape and bigneſs like an elephant, but with two horns on the top of the noſe; its tail is likewiſe like that of an elephant, but has a buſh of black hair on the head where it joins to the neck, with two ſtrait and round horns, with ſhort mouſe-coloured hair all over the body. On the top of the *Lions Mountain*, (ſo call'd from its reſemblance to a ſleeping lion) are great numbers of baboons, which are ſo unlucky, that they will ſometimes with ſtones, force thoſe who aſcend the mountain to turn back. However, moſt of your ravenous beaſts, ſuch as lions, leopards, wolves, jackals and tigers, are but rarely to be met with near the ſea-ſhore, where they are almoſt rooted out by the inhabitants; a certain reward being ſet for every one that kills any of theſe beaſts, of which ſeveral ſkins hang up in a gallery of the fort. They have alſo ſea and land tortoiſes in great quantities, and the woods furniſh them with plenty of honey, which the bees hide in the deepeſt hollowneſs of the trees. Neither are they without dogs, which are commonly of a red colour, and have ſhort tails.

There is here a certain kind of fiſh call'd *The* Hot- by the *Dutch* the *Hottentots* fiſh, becauſe the tentots *fiſh.* *Hottentots* are very dextrous in taking them. They are very fine fiſhes, and taſte like our cods. Formerly they uſed to catch abundance of ſeals, but now moſt of their fiſhes are unknown to us. In the *Table Bay* are alſo whales in abundance, but they are too lean to afford any conſiderable quantity of oil. Near the ſea-ſhore you meet with the fiſh call'd by *Latines Torpedo*, by the *Greeks* *The fiſh* in the ſame ſenſe *Naroe*, by the *Spaniards* Torpedo. *Hugia*, and by the *Dutch Krack Fiſh* or *Lazy Fiſh*, not becauſe of its lazineſs in ſwimming, but of its hidden qualities, which as is reported, conſiſts in this, that when it finds itſelf in diſtreſs, it ſends forth a certain juice, which ſeizes the fiſhermen with a cramp in all their limbs. The inhabitants here are call'd *Hottentots* by the *Dutch*, *The* Hot- by reaſon of their ſtammering. tentots *and*

The men here appear for the moſt part *their habits.* naked,

1653. naked, having only a kind of a cloak made of doe, ſheep, or rabbit ſkins ſowed together, hanging from their ſhoulders down to their buttocks, faſtned under the chin with a ribband, with the rough ſide outward in the ſummer, and the ſame turn'd inſide in the winter. When they are travelling they wear over this another cloak with the rough ſide outwards. Their ſhoes are made of *Rhinoceros* ſkin without any heels, tied together on the middle of the feet with two leathern ſtraps. In the night time, or in rainy weather, they wear caps of lamb ſkins with the woolly ſide inwards. Their privities they cover with a piece of tiger's ſkin or ſuch like, which is tied behind with two leather ſtrings. In their hair, which is ſhaved in ſome places of the head, they twiſt ſmall copper plates, horns, and pieces of coral. The women wear cloaks of lamb ſkins like the men, with the rough ſide inwards, tho' ſomewhat longer; beſides which they cover their bellies and buttocks, as alſo their privities, with another four-ſquare ſkin. On their heads they wear caps of doe, ſheep, and rabbit ſkins, tied round about with a broad ſheep-ſkin ſtrap. Their ſhoes are the ſame with the men. Such men or women as are rich in cattle, greaſe not only their bodies and faces, but likewiſe their cloaks and caps with ſuet, but the poor wear no cloaks at all; ſo that greaſineſs is among them both an ornament and a token of riches. In both ears they wear ſtrings of coral, each weighing commonly four ounces; about their necks copper beads, round the arms they wear an ivory ring, and a ſtrait copper ring about their wriſts. When the women go abroad, they commonly have an empty leathern bag hanging down from their ſhoulders, in which are only ſome baubles, but if they have a young child it is carried in this bag. They wear ſtinking guts twiſted twice or thrice round their legs for an ornament, or elſe dried guts, which ſerve them as a defence againſt pricking of thorns, and make a rattling noiſe when they are dancing and merry making. The men wear them likewiſe about the neck, and hang their tobacco-pipes and other toys in them.

Their arms. The arms chiefly uſed among the *Hottentots* are javelins, being ſticks of 3, 4, or 5 foot long, pointed at the end with a ſharp broad piece of iron; theſe they make themſelves, and uſe them with great dexterity. They have alſo ſome bows and arrows, but are as yet quite ignorant of the uſe of fire arms. When they go abroad they carry this javelin, call'd by them *Aſſagaye* in one, and an oſtrich feather, or a ſmall ſtick with a wild cat's tail on the end, in the other hand, wherewith they defend themſelves againſt the gnats and other inſects.

1653. The *Hottentots* are very naſty and awkward in eating, for they are ignorant of any thing that relates to cookery, but devour raw pieces of fleſh or carrion, as greedy as dogs. The guts themſelves they ſwallow down without waſhing or dreſſing, after they have only ſqueezed them a little. For want of carrion they eat dead ſtinking fiſh, ſuch as they meet with near the ſea-ſide, muſſels and ſuch like. They kill no cattle except it be rendered uſeleſs by ſickneſs or age, except it be a ſheep againſt a wedding dinner. The fleſh of ſea-dogs or rabbits is a dainty with them, which they devour either quite raw without cleanſing, or ſometimes broil it a little upon coals. They cut and eat the bacon of dead whales which happen to be caſt aſhore with great eagerneſs; nay they drink the oil which is drawn from thence by the heat of the ſun, like water. Some bury pieces of this bacon in the ſand for their future uſe. However their beſt and daily food are certain roots, not unlike our large potatoes, which the women dig up near the rivers and in ſome other places, thoſe they eat either broil'd or boil'd. They are very eager after our wheat or rice bread which is baked there, and willingly exchange it for cattle. 1653. *Their food.*

Their drink. Their chief drink is water, or milk which their cattle affords them. 'Tis incredible how fond they are of brandy or *Spaniſh* wine, but a ſmall quantity makes them drunk, when they baul out fearfully, and are very unruly.

Their complection. Thoſe inhabitants near the cape are of a brown olive colour, like the *Mulats*, which however is not their natural complection, but acquired by art, for they broil certain herbs with greaſe, wherewith they beſmear their bodies and faces to make them ſwarthy, it having been found by experience, that a girl, which was carried into the fort immediately after ſhe was born and brought up there, proved of the ſame complection with the beſt of our *European* women. They are of opinion, that in caſe they don't frequently beſmear themſelves thus from that time of their birth, they ſhall be ſubject to the dropſy, a diſtemper to which many of the *Africans* are moſt ſubject, as the *Abyſſines* have one thigh ſwell'd twice as thick as the other. Upon the arrival of our ſhips on the cape, they get into the cook's room, and with the fat and black of the kettle, beſmear their hair and faces to make them ſhine the better; this being look'd upon as a great piece of beauty among them, tho' it makes them ſmell very rank, eſpecially if they put greaſe into the gaſhes which they make in their ſkin for that purpoſe, when you may ſmell them at 100 yards diſtance.

Their conſtitution and habit of body. They are generally lean, ſhort and ugly,

1653. yet they have black quick eyes, and very good white teeth. Their noſes are ſomewhat flat, tho' not always, and the lips, eſpecially the uppermoſt, very thick. Their foreheads are broad but wrinkled, and the hair of the men is curl'd and ſhort like lambs wool, but very naſty and greaſy. The women have thicker hair than the men, the laſt of which pull out all their hair upon their chin. The men have very well made legs, but ſlender calves, and are ſo nimble as to be able to out-run a ſtrong bull, and ſtop him in his full career. The women eſpecially have very fine and ſmall feet, with flat bellies and round buttocks; their hands are very well ſhaped, but their fingers and nails very long. The mens privities or yards are very large, but have only one ſtone; for ſo ſoon as a male child is born, the mother cuts out the right ſtone to make it the more fit for running, and afterwards gives it ſome ſea-water and tobacco. The women, eſpecially thoſe that are married, have long breaſts which are always bare, and when they are ſuckling their infants, hang backwards over their ſhoulders. The inſide of the womens privities are ſo relaxed that they hang out. Their chiefeſt riches conſiſt in their cattle, which they never kill but when forced thereunto, either by ſickneſs or age of the beaſt.

Their tongue. They ſtammer much in their ſpeech, and bluſter out their words like a turky-cock; they make uſe of no letters, neither do they know what writing and reading is; ſome however have been taught to ſpeak, read and write *Dutch*, which ſhews them to be apprehenſive enough. For the reſt of the *Hottentots* are ſo very ſtupid, that they are not able to form to themſelves the leaſt idea of attacking or defending a ſtrong hold; a houſe of brick, ſuch as is proof againſt fire, being as profitable againſt them as the beſt fort, for if you encloſe them in a houſe, and only ſhut their doors and windows faſt, they are as ſafe here as in the ſtrongeſt priſon, having not the leaſt ſenſe to open them for their deliverance, in which they are inferior to beaſts, which commonly endeavour to deliver themſelves from bondage. Notwithſtanding the *Hottentots* are ſo ſtupid, and in my judgment, the moſt wretched nation upon earth, there are ſome among them that want not cunning, eſpecially if they are brought up to it; an inſtance of which we ſaw in our time in two young fellows, who were carried from hence to *Batavia*, where they were inſtructed in ſpeaking, reading and writing of *Dutch*. One of them was employed as a ſervant by the general director, *John Maet Zuicker*, and after ſome time was ſent back to the cape to ſerve as an interpreter there. I met with him at my firſt return from the *Eaſt-Indies*, among the *Hottentots*, and aſk'd him whether he would not rather be with us where he lived much better? he told me, he would rather be with his own countrymen. I underſtood afterwards, that this fellow had proved the occaſion of great miſchief and differences among the *Hottentots*, and that ſeveral had been kill'd in the quarrel on both ſides. At laſt he fell again into the hands of the commander of the cape, who baniſh'd him to the *Robben Iſland*, where he died. Theft they puniſh with a baſtinado, and ſo they do murther, not out of any regard to God Almighty, but for cuſtom's ſake. They talk of one *Hunumma*, who has the diſpoſal of rain and fair weather, but they pay no adoration to him.

1653.

Their marriage. Marriage is in pretty good eſteem among them, tho' a man marries as many wives as he pleaſes. The maid, as ſoon as ſhe is betrothed, performs the oath of fidelity in the following manner: The mother cuts of the firſt joint of her daughters little finger, which is tied to her future huſband's finger, this they bury, and afterwards kill a cow for their wedding dinner. The maids are diſtinguiſh'd from the married women by green twigs which are twiſted round their legs; theſe are taken off at the wedding day, and inſtead of them the dried guts of the cow kill'd for the wedding dinner put on; theſe when they dance make a noiſe, which ſeems very agreeable to them.

They have ſomething of religion. 'Tis true the *Hottentots* are the moſt barbarous upon earth; notwithſtanding which, I can't agree with thoſe that will not allow of any religious worſhip among them; it being the opinion of all learned men, that no nation is ſo barbarous but what has ſomething of religion, be it true or falſe. For they adore the moon with unuſual outcries; and it is not improbable but that they pay the ſame devotion to the ſun, becauſe they follow its courſe as much as is poſſible, by changing the paſture of their cattle; for when the ſun comes to the tropick of *Capricorn*, it has been obſerved that they feed their cattle on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the rivulet, but when the ſun returns to the tropick of *Cancer*, they go to the north-ſide; if it happens to rain very hard, they ſhelter themſelves in their huts, ſeem to be fearful, and don't creep out till it be fair weather. Then they begin to be very merry, lifting up their heads and eyes to heaven, which is interpreted by us as a kind of thankſgiving; for when they are aſked why they hide themſelves during the rain, they anſwer, that the *Great Captain* being incenſed againſt them, does puniſh them with this element, which he knows to be contrary to their nature. By this *Great Captain* they queſtion-

1653. leſs underſtand the ſupreme Being; for if you ſpeak to them of God, they are unwilling to hear it, and puniſh ſuch among them as make uſe of it; alledging that it is not ſufficient to expreſs the glory of the ſupreme Being. If you talk of the devil they point to the ground. Concerning the reſurrection, they are of opinion, that thoſe that die near the cape, ſhall ariſe again behind the mountains: But perhaps all this they may have learned from the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*. They frequently ſkirmiſh with one another, commonly for the conveniency of paſtorage, ſo that ſometimes ſix or ſeven are left dead upon the ſpot.

Divers nations of the Hottentots.

The *Hottentots* are divided into ſeveral nations, known by different names. Thoſe inhabiting near our fort are by the *Dutch* call'd *Capemen*, but in their own tongue *Chouriequa*; they are the moſt cunning of all the reſt, by their frequent commerce with the *Dutch* and other *Europeans*; they live for the moſt part upon roots, fiſh and muſſels. Somewhat deeper in the country live thoſe commonly call'd *Tobacco Thieves*, becauſe they uſed to ſteal the tobacco out of the fields, which is the reaſon the *Dutch* plant no more tobacco there; in their own tongue they are call'd *Korrochaukon*. There is another ſort call'd *Chemakwa*, much more potent and richer than the *Capemen*, yet don't approach in power to the *Cochukwas*, who living ſtill deeper in the country, are accounted many thouſand ſtrong, and have vaſt herds of cows and ſheep; they were then under the juriſdiction of two captains, the firſt call'd *Odoſoy*, the other *Monomana*. The firſt of theſe two had married the ſiſter of our interpreter's wife in the fort, and being invited thither by Mr. *Rietbeck*, the governor, he at laſt, after much enquiry concerning his quality, for fear of demeaning himſelf, gave him a viſit. They rid out together a hunting, when *Odoſoy* had the misfortune to be ſet upon by a fierce lion, who certainly would have torn him to pieces, had not his followers kill'd the lion with their javelins; however he did not eſcape without being ſorely wounded on the neck, the fleſh was all torn from one of his ſhoulder blades, and his face all miſerably maul'd: Being judged paſt recovery, the governor offered him his own ſurgeon, but he would not accept of him, truſting more to thoſe of his own nation; tho' the ſkill of theſe ſurgeons among the *Hottentots* reaches no farther than to cure a green wound, which they ſcarce ever perform without leaving a great dent or ſeam. They carry their remedies about them, and commonly have a parrot or ſome ſuch creature (not unlike our mountebanks) along with them. Their herbs they keep in tortoiſe ſhells, but the roots, claws, teeth, and horns of beaſts (theſe being the ingredients of their phyſical preparations) are faſtned to a ſtring, which they in the ſame manner as our tooth-drawers hang about the neck. 1653.

There is another nation of the *Hottentots* call'd by the *Dutch Sardiniamen* or *Saldanhas* (from a bay of that name) the natives call them *Krijegoekwa*. Some of the *Hottentots* relate, that to the north-eaſt of thoſe call'd *Kochukas*, there is a potent nation dwelling in ſtone-houſes, that they are not black, and governed by the ſame laws as we are. Some ſuppoſe them to be a people inhabiting the mountains of the moon, but conſidering they are ſaid to underſtand gold and ſilver, and to agree in many other things with the *Europeans*; our people judge them to be a colony of the *Portugueſe* that have tranſplanted themſelves thither from *Mozambique*. The *Dutch* have ſeveral times attempted to find out a paſſage thither by land, but without ſucceſs, having always been forc'd to turn back for want of water. They alſo talk much of two other nations call'd *Heukumqua* and *Grocman*. The *Hottentots* or inhabitants here are not ſubject to one head, and what reverence they pay to their captains, is more out of cuſtom than any ſenſe of duty; they have no fix'd habitations, but lead a vagabond life like the antient *Scytes* and *Arabians*, carrying their wives and children along with them. They are not very deſirous of gold and ſilver, unleſs ſome few that converſe with the *Dutch*, and know the conveniency of buying from them what they ſtand in need of; for otherwiſe copper is in the greateſt eſteem with them. Boats they have none, being extremely fearful of water, and therefore venture ſeldom farther than to their knees. They are of a very lazy temper; moſt of their traffick conſiſts in cows and ſheep, which they exchange for copper and corals; but after the bargain is ſtruck, they expect an additional preſent of tobacco, pipes and brandy, which has been introduced among them by foreigners. The ſeamen do alſo ſometimes ſwap with them for oſtrich feathers, and ſmall tortoiſe ſhells call'd *Harego*. It is to be admired how they ſhould make ſo much account of copper, which they daily tread under their feet, it being certain that very good copper mines are to be found hereabouts. The *Dutch* have at divers times attempted ſeveral land journeys into the country; as for inſtance, in the year 1660, when they diſcovered two nations, *viz.* the *Illunha* and *Namakkawa*; they ſuppoſed to have not been very far from the *Portugueſe*, becauſe they thought to have heard a cannon ſhot at a diſtance. The inland country ſwarms with wild fowl, ſuch as wild geeſe, ducks and teal, but they are ſo ſhy as not

1647. to come within reach of a gun, which is the reaſon that the governor's huntſman ſets up ſmall huts of green boughs, from whence he ſhoots them, this being the only way to come at them. Among the mountains are abundance of rocks, and ſome of them contain freſh water in their concavities. Several of our people as they were going one day up the mountains to take a view of the circumjacent country, found a certain rock-ſtone of four fathom long, and one and a half broad, being hollow in the middle, of the depth of a quarter of a yard, where they met with good ſtore of fine freſh water. Here are oſtriches of an extraordinary bigneſs; they are ſo ſwift as to outrun a horſe when they ſet up their wings, and thus by the help of the wind are forced forward, no otherwiſe than a ſhip under ſail. Their large legs and feet are a great addition to them, by the help of which they trot on with ſuch a force and nimbleneſs that like a horſe running down a hill, they are ſcarce to be ſtopt. The ſame way of ſetting up their wings has been obſerved in the tame ſwans. But before we leave this cape, I will give you a ſhort account of the *Lions Mountain*, the *Table Mountain* and *Table Bay*, as likewiſe of the *Robben Iſle*.

The Table Mountain. There are two very high mountains near this cape, *viz.* the *Table Moutain* and the *Lions Mountain*. The firſt is ſo call'd from its flatneſs on the top like a table, being about two leagues high, but ſmall in circumference, and for that reaſon of very difficult acceſs. It is divided from another adjacent mountain, call'd the *Devil's Mountain* by a vaſt cliff. Towards the ſea-ſide it is bare, without any graſs or trees, but on the land-ſide you ſee very agreeable woods, with many tall ſtrait trees fit for building; and towards the foot abundance of leſſer trees for fuel. Among the reſt are a great ſtore of wild almond-trees, but the fruit is very bitter; and if we may believe the *Hottentots*, poiſonous; wild pine-trees are here likewiſe in abundance, they grow very tall, but bear nothing but a huſk.

Table Bay. The *Table Bay* is ſituate under 34 deg. and ſome min. about 5 leagues more to north, this being the moſt ſouthern point of *Africa*. It is a very fine bay, tho' on the ſouth-ſide of the *Robben Iſland* are ſome rocks call'd the *Whale*; a large ſhip may anchor in this bay, from 9 to 7 fathom water, but yachts at 4 or 5 fathom in a good ſandy ground. There is however no truſting to a ſingle anchor, by reaſon of the bluſtring ſouth-eaſt winds which blow often here.

Robben Iſland. At the entrance of the *Table Bay* you ſee the *Robben Iſland*, thus call'd from the vaſt quantity of *Sea Robben (Sea Rabbits)* which are found here. It is not very high, and about two leagues in circumference. In the towns ſome rabbits have been put by the inhabitants which thrive very well. The ground produces a certain herb in great plenty; it has yellow leaves almoſt like cowſlips, which fatten the ſheep exceedingly. 1653.

To the north-eaſt of the *Robben Iſland* lies the *Daſſen Iſland*, under 34 deg. 33 min. It has got its name from the vaſt numbers of *Daſſen (Does)* which formerly were found there, but are of late years much diminiſh'd. It is about a league in compaſs, and produces likewiſe many ſea rabbits and *Pinguwyns*. It is inhabited by four families only with their ſlaves, whoſe chief employment it is to breed pigs and poultry, and to draw oil from the ſea-rabbits, which they ſell to the inhabitants living in and near the fort. Before the bay of *Saldanha* are ſeveral ſmall iſlands, where thoſe of the *Daſſen Iſland* have their liberty of fiſhing and hunting; they catch vaſt quantities of partridges, mullets and other fiſh. The two chief rivers of this cape are the *Salt* and *Freſh Rivers*. Beſides theſe there is another rivulet, which ariſing from among a neighbouring wood, exonerates itſelf in the *Salt River*. It is not above 12 or 14 foot broad, but very deep. Not far from the ſource of this, ariſes another rivulet among the marſhes near the *Wood Bay*. It runs ſouth-eaſt thro' the downs, (which extend as far as *Cabo falſo*) and diſembogues itſelf into the ſea. Daſſen Iſland.

No place in the world is more ſubject to ſtorms than the *Cape of Good Hope*, ſo that it would be impoſſible for ſhips to abide here, had not nature provided againſt theſe inconveniencies by the ſeveral commodious bays that are here. Among thoſe the bay of *Saldanha*, commonly call'd *Sardinia*, is none of the leaſt conſequence, where ſhips may ride ſafely at anchor without the leaſt danger, and were it not for the want of freſh water, it might claim the preference before the *Table Bay* itſelf. The winds blow generally throughout the year very hard here, but eſpecially the ſouth-eaſt wind, which blows from *October* to *April* (call'd the *South-Eaſt Monzon*) and tears ſo terribly thro' the clift, (betwixt the *Table* and the *Devil's Mountain*) that except the country and ground were very ſmooth and hard here, it would be impoſſible for any ſhip to ride it out; from *April* until *October*, the north-weſt wind blows with not much leſs violence, (call'd the *North-Weſt Monzon*) but yet not altogether ſo fierce as the ſouth-eaſt wind, there its violence is more obſervable on the land-ſide of the clift. The main difference betwixt theſe two winds here is, that the ſouth-eaſt wind always produces dry weather, whereas the north-weſt wind brings rains, *The Cape ſubject to ſtorms.*

1653. rains, which are very pernicious to the fruit.

By what ſigns to diſcover the nearneſs of the cape.

So ſoon as you come near the ſight of the cape, under the 34 deg. of ſouthern latitude, you meet with certain ſigns and tokens, by which you may diſcover whether you are far from land or not. I don't much wonder that ſome of the ancient authors who have given us an account of the *Indies*, affirm, that when they were at a loſs to find out whether they were near land or not, they uſed to let fly ſome birds, and according to their flight, to direct their courſe. Tho' this is out of date now, yet certain it is, that the birds are the beſt guide as to thoſe who ſail to the *Eaſt-Indies*: For at a great diſtance from the cape, whilſt you are yet in the open ſea, you meet with a peculiar kind of ſmall ſea-gulls, which foretel you your approach to this cape. But as theſe come abroad ſometimes above 100 leagues or more at ſea, they are but uncertain forerunners, but when you ſee another kind of large ſpotted ſea-gulls appear, by thoſe that are acquainted in theſe ſeas call'd *Cape-Birds*, with ſpeckled wings, you may hope to ſee land in a very ſhort time, and if you meet with ſome turtle doves, this puts it beyond all doubt. If you find anchorage at 40 or 50 fathoms depth, in a white ſandy ground mix'd with red, you may conclude yourſelf to be upon the ſandridge of the cape *d'Aguillas*, tho' you ſee no land. If you come to the weſt of the *Cape of good Hope*, you will find, beſides the aforementioned *Cape-Birds*, certain hollow roots growing among the rocks in the ſea, the leaves of which ſwim upon the water; the *Portugueſe* call them *Trombas*, and they are to be met with in vaſt quantities in the *Table Bay*, juſt under the fort, which the chaloops and boats are very careful to avoid, they being ſo entangled together, that there is no breaking thro' them with oars: It is likewiſe found in the ſeas of *Japan*, and in great eſteem among the inhabitants, who make pickles of theſe leaves, and uſe them as the *Europeans* do cucumbers, or the *Indians* their *Actsjar*.

The *Hottentots*, a barbarous generation, were ſo ill-natur'd at that time, that they would not exchange an ox or any other ſort of freſh proviſions with us, nay they made the ſpring or places where we uſed to fetch our freſh water, muddy; we fell rough upon ſome of them, but they being much ſtronger than we, pelted us with ſtones and made us retire; I was at that time with a gun upon the *Table Mountain*, but could not come time enough to their aſſiſtance; but the next day ſeveral of us went well arm'd to give them another viſit, and to fire at them in caſe they pretended to make any oppoſition, but they no ſooner diſcovered our arms, but fled with wife, children, and their cattle. 1653.

Their departure from the cape.

After we had ſtay'd there about three days aſhore, we ſet ſail the 13th of *March* from the cape, ſteering our courſe weſtward, in hopes to get ſight of the ſhip the *Drake*; but not meeting with her, we choſe the open ſea, and advanced about 60 leagues from the *Table Bay*, under 34 deg. 20 min. ſouthern latitude: We contiuued our voyage with pretty good ſucceſs till the 18th, when about noon we found ourſelves under 38 deg. 26 min. ſouthern latitude, and 33 deg. 27 min. longitude. The compaſs ſhew'd due ſouth and north. The two next following days proved very rainy and bluſtring, and the 27th it thundred and lightned very hard, with ſtrong winds and much rain, which ending at laſt in a violent ſtorm, oblig'd us to take in all our ſails, under 39 deg. 20 min. ſouthern latitude. The 1ſt of *April* we found ourſelves far to the north, being forced by the ſtream, and the weather continued windy and rainy, as it had been ever ſince the 27th of *March*; we found ourſelves then under 39 deg. 21 min. of latitude, and 95 deg. 30 min. of longitude, and had ſail'd 36 leagues in the laſt 24 hours. The ſame night the winds began to riſe to that degree, that we were fain to take in our main ſail, which continued to the 3d, when the compaſs was changed to 15 deg. N. W. The 7th we ſail'd 44 leagues with a moderate gale, under 38 deg. 13 min. The rains and ſtrong winds continued till the 13th in the morning, when it began to clear up, and ſail'd that day and night 46 leagues under 36 deg. 30 min. latitude, and 98 deg. 42 min. longitude. Then it began to be bluſtery weather again. The 15th we found the riſing of the ſun at 24 deg. N. W. this being the firſt time ſince the 4th of the laſt month, by reaſon of the ſtrong weather. About noon we were under 35 deg. 14 min. of latitude, and 104 deg. 40 min. longitude; having ſailed 34 leagues in 24 hours. Towards evening it began to be calm, but continued not long, the winds and rains infeſting us by turns, till the 1ſt of *May*, when we found ourſelves under 12 deg. 18 min. latitude, and 124 deg. 46 min. longitude: We then proceeded in our voyage with a good briſk gale till the 3d, when in the night we were overtaken with a violent *Travado* with thunder and lightning, which continued till the next following day. The 6th of *May*, early in the morning, we deſcried the coaſt of the iſle of *Sumatra*, about 4 or 5 leagues from us, and to the leeward a ſail under 5 deg. 22 min. In the night the wind blowing from the land-ſide, we were forced to take

They get ſight of Sumatra.

1653. take our courſe to the ſouth. By the 9th we had not advanc'd above 6 or 7 leagues along the coaſt of *Sumatra*, being continually peſtred with *Travadoes*, thunder and lightning; all our endeavours were to get above the flat point of the ſtreights of *Sunda*. The 12th we had pretty fair wind and weather, and about noon found ourſelves under 6 deg. 5 min. In the afternoon we ſail'd forward with a moderate gale, within a league and half of the forementioned point to the N. N. E. of us, where we found 16 fathom water. The next day we found ourſelves about three leagues from the ſaid point. The 14th we ſaw the *Imperial Iſland*, at about three leagues diſtance, and the next following day diſcovered to the ſouth-eaſt to eaſt, about 5 or 6 leagues from us the *Princes Iſlands*, under 60 deg. 45 min. where we were becalm'd all the reſt of the day. The 17th we found ourſelves under 17 deg. 10 min. about two leagues from theſe iſlands, and toward the evening ſaw the utmoſt point of land of the iſle of *Java*, at 4 or 5 leagues from us; the 18th we were becalm'd again, and the following day advanc'd within two leagues of the point of *Java*; and 2 or 3 leagues of the *Princes Iſlands*. We endeavoured to have paſs'd betwixt them, but were prevented by a *Travado* from the eaſt. The 20th being under 60 deg. 41 min. we were at 6 leagues diſtance from the ſaid iſlands, and kept in ſight of them the 21ſt and 22d, with an intent to paſs by them on the 23d, but being becalm'd came to an anchor the ſame night at 30 fathoms depth; the ſtream did run here very ſtrong to the S. W. The 24th we were directly oppoſite N. N. E. to the iſle of *Java*, and the ſame evening, a boat with all ſorts of refreſhments came aboard us from thence, which was very welcome to us, after ſo tedious a voyage: We came ſoon after to an anchor at 30 fathoms water, the ſtream running ſo ſtrong here, that we were forc'd to remain here this and the next following day; during which time, ſeveral other boats with freſh proviſions came aboard us. The 26th we ſet ſail again, but by reaſon of the violence of the ſtream could not advance far, ſo that we were forced to caſt anchor again, at 25 fathoms depth, where we continued all the next day. The 28th we ſet up our ſails again, but were forced ſoon after to caſt anchor, having the *Iulo* (the iſle) *Baly* to the N. E. Great *Pulo modi* to the E. and the leſſer *Pulo modi* to the S. of us. Towards evening we ſet ſail again, but whatever we did could not reach the road of the ſo long wiſh'd-for city of *Batavia*, being forced to come to an anchor about half a league from the iſle of *Rotterdam* at 11 fathoms water. The 30th we put up our ſails once more, but with no better ſucceſs, being oblig'd to caſt anchor again, which put us in mind of what befel us lately on the *Cape of good Hope*, where we met with the ſame ill ſucceſs before we could double the cape. However, the wind turning fair in the afternoon, we arrived the ſame afternoon about four a clock, (after a very tedious voyage, in which we had many ſick) before the city of *Batavia*, where we caſt anchor at four fathoms and a half depth. The next day I went aſhore, and took up my lodgings in that famous city, at one Mr. *Gerard Utſens*, till further orders. In the mean time I was very curious in taking an exact view of this city and the circumjacent country: Whilſt I tarried at *Batavia*, an embaſſy was ſent from the general director *John Maetzuicker* and the other directors of the *Eaſt-India* company, to the *Cham of Tartary*, who ſome few years before had conquered the moſt potent empire of *China*, to treat about a free commerce betwixt the two nations, which had ſeveral times before been attempted and fought for by the *Dutch*, but was as often refuſed by the *Chineſe*. *Jacob de Keiſar* and *Peter de Goyer* being appointed ambaſſadors, two yachts, *viz.* the *Kaukerk* and *Bloemendael*, man'd with 90 men, and provided with ſeveral fine preſents for the emperor were got ready for their tranſport, and I was ordered to go aboard the *Bloemendael* in the quality of ſteward.

1653.

The Imperial Iſland.

The Princes Iſlands.

They arrive at Batavia.

The ambaſſadors embark'd the 14th of *July* 1655, and ſet ſail the ſame day from the road of *Batavia*. The 4th of *September* they arrived in the city of *Kanton*, and the 4th of *May* 1656, in the city of *Nanking*, and the 16th of *July* at *Peking*. After ſome ſtay there, they returned the 21ſt of *November* to *Nanking*, to *Kanton* the 28th of *February* 1657, and came into the road of *Batavia* the 21ſt of *March*, where they gave an account of their negotiation to the *Dutch* council of the *Indies*: Of all which I have given you an ample account in my *Chineſe* voyage, publiſh'd firſt in *Low Dutch*, and ſince tranſlated into ſeveral other languages, and printed at *Amſterdam* for *Jacob Meurs*, with many cuts and draughts of places, living creatures, fruits and other remarkable things.

Mr. Nieuhoff *ſent to* China.

After my return from thence, eight ſhips were ordered to be equip'd and loaden for *Holland*, viz. the *Pearl*, *Prince William*, the *Orange*, the *Crowned Lion*, *Achilles*, *Malacca*, the *Ulyſſes* and *Hector*. The command in chief of this fleet was conferred upon Mr. *Koenes*, then firſt director of the council of the *Indies*, who embark'd aboard the *Pearl* of 700 tuns, man'd with 180 men, and provided with 26 guns. At his

1658.

1658. requeſt I went aboard along with him in the *Pearl*, which carried the flag, in order to my return into *Holland*, tho' my appointed time was not expired here. We ſet ſail the 22d of *December*, and the laſt day of *March* 1658, arrived ſafely without any remarkable accident, (except that we met with ſome *Travados*, which ſoundly toſt our ſhip) at the iſle of *St. Helens*.

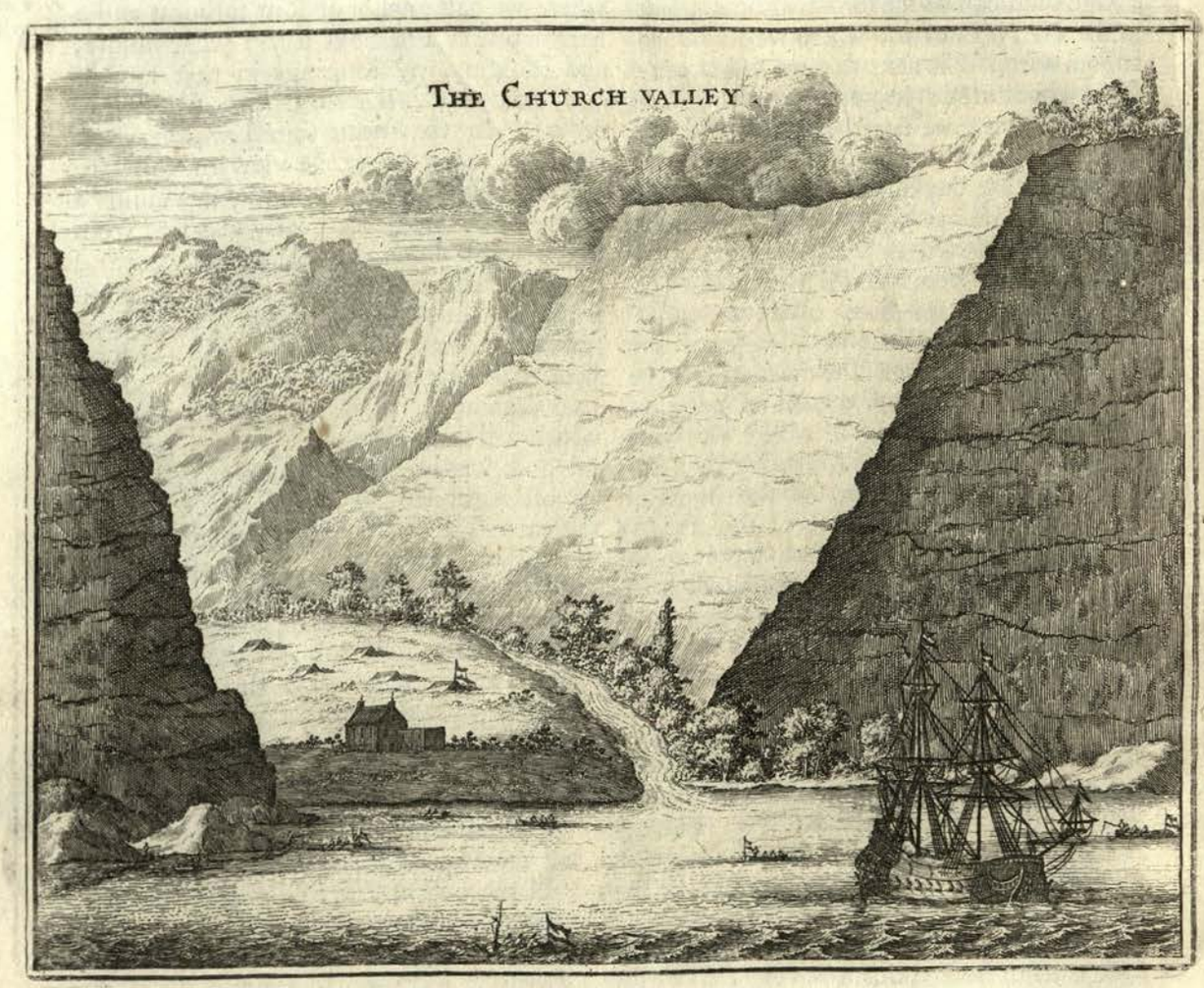
He returns from Batavia *towards* Holland.

Arrival at St. Helens.

The iſle of *St. Helens*, is ſituate under 16 deg. 15 min. of ſouthern latitude, at a great diſtance from the continent, lying at leaſt 350 leagues from *Auguſta*, the next place of all. It is very ſurpriſing to conceive ſo ſmall an iſland at ſo vaſt a diſtance at ſea, round about which there is ſcarce any anchorage, by reaſon of the vaſt depth of the ſeas. It is about ſeven leagues in circum-

1658.

The iſle of St. Helens.



ference, covered all over with rocky hills, which in a clear day may be ſeen 14 leagues at ſea; the valleys being ſtor'd with all ſorts of trees: So that tho' this iſland is not very large in its compaſs, yet it comprehends a large tract of ground by reaſon of thoſe hills. It has many fine valleys, among which the *Church-Valley* and the *Apple-Valley* are the moſt remarkable. In the *Church-Valley*, you ſee to this day the ruins of a chapel, formerly belonging to the *Portugueſe*; the whole valleys are planted with lemons, oranges, and pomegranate-trees. At that time the iſland was deſtitute of inhabitants, but ſince the *Engliſh* have made a ſettlement there. After the *Portugueſe* left it, a certain hermit, under pretence of devotion, uſed to kill great numbers of wild goats here, and ſell their ſkins, which the *Portugueſe* having got notice of, they removed him from thence. At another time certain negroes with two female ſlaves were got into the mountains, where they encreaſed to the number 20, till they at laſt were likewiſe forc'd from thence. The valleys are exceſſive hot, but on the hills it is cool enough: tho' the heat is much tempered by the winds and frequent rain ſhowers, which fall ſometimes ſeveral times in a day; which, with the heat of the ſun-beams, renders the ſoil very fruitful. It abounds in fine and cool ſprings, which fall down from the tops of the hills, the water being as clear as cryſtal, and exonerating itſelf at laſt into the ſea, it is very pleaſant to behold the ſeamen at their arrival here, to drink, waſh and bath themſelves in theſe ſpring waters. Moſt of the fruits and beaſts which are produced here in great plenty, have been firſt brought hither by the *Portugueſe*;

1658. *tugueſe*; as for inſtance, orange-trees, (of which you may ſee whole woods) pomegranate-trees and others, which bear fruit throughout the whole year. Here are likewiſe, muſtard-leaves, parſly, ſorrel, purſlin, wintercreſſes and other ſuch-like herbs, which are very good againſt the ſcurvy; neither is this iſland deſtitute of trees, but ſuch as are not fit for timber, but only for fuel. It abounds likewiſe in beaſts; wild goats are here in vaſt numbers, but very difficult to be taken, by reaſon of the many rocks. Tame hogs were brought hither by the *Portugueſe*, which have multiply'd to admiration, but are degenerated into wild ones, and are not eaſy to be kill'd for the aforemention'd reaſon. Thus it is with the partridges, wild pigeons and peacocks, which are here in vaſt plenty, but are ſo ſhy, that ſo ſoon as they ſee any one approach, they fly from one hill to another croſs the valleys, ſo that you muſt be an hour before you can come at them again, which when you have done, you are in danger of loſing your labour, for they return commonly from whence they came. The only way to catch them, is to go abroad with a good company. It produces no ravenous or poiſonous creatures, except large ſpiders and flies. All about the iſland you ſee vaſt multitudes of ſea-gulls, which feed on the fiſhes in which the ſea abounds. Here you meet likewiſe with ſeveral colours fit for dyers, eſpecially with a moſt excellent red colour, and with very fine white ſalt, made out of the ſea-water by the heat of the ſun-beams. By reaſon of its great diſtance from the continent, the ſeas hereabouts are covered with fiſhes, ſuch as mackarel, carps, *&c.* They are not to be catch'd with nets by reaſon of the vaſt depth, but with a hook, or only an iron nail bent, you may catch as many as you pleaſe; craw-fiſh, crabs, oyſters and muſſels are likewiſe to be found in vaſt quantities near the ſea-ſhore. After we had ſufficiently refreſh'd our ſelves here, and provided what neceſſaries we thought fit, or could get, we left this iſland the laſt day of *May*; We continued our former courſe, and without any remarkable accident, came in ſight of *Holland*, and the 6th of *July* 1658 arrived happily at *Amſterdam*. I took up my lodgings at my brother *Henry Nieuhoff*'s, whom as well as moſt of my other friends, I had the good fortune to find in good health. Many of the moſt curious perſons of that place came daily to ſee me, to take a view of the *Chineſe* characters, and other draughts I had brought along with me.

They depart from St. Helens.

Arrive in Holland.

After I had tarried for three months in *Holland*, and diſpatch'd my buſineſs both here and in *Zeland*, I delivered the journal of my late voyage into *China* to my brother, in order to have it review'd and printed, at the requeſt of ſeveral perſons of quality; with an intention to take a ſecond voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with the firſt fair opportunity, which was ſoon after offered me by the directors of the *Eaſt-India* company. 5 ſhips lay then ready for the *Eaſt-Indies* under the command of Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde*, *viz.* the *Arnheim*, burthen 500 tuns, with 40 guns and 430 men, *John Tymenſz* maſter; the ſecond the *Pearl* and three yachts; I was ordered aboard the firſt. We ſet ſail all together from the *Ulie* the 22d of *Dec.* 1658. The ſhip the *Arnheim* at her entrance into the ſea, ſtruck upon the ſands and was in ſome danger of being ſtav'd, and another ſhip run foul upon her, by which ſhe loſt part of her gallery; but by God's ſingular mercy, we got clear again the next high tide, and continued our voyage with the reſt.

1658.

Nieuhoff's *ſecond voyage to the* Eaſt-Indies.

The 16th of *March* 1659, we arrived ſafely at the *Cape of Good Hope*, where we caſt our anchor. The 22d, the *Pearl* with the other three yachts came likewiſe to anchor in the ſame bay. The firſt thing we did was to take care of our ſick, of which we had not very many, but 12 died in the voyage; we went every day aſhore to fetch freſh water, fuel, and what proviſions we were able to get; ſometimes we catch'd good ſtore of fiſhes. One day ſeveral of us went aſhore to ſhoot ſome wild fowl; but advancing pretty high up the *Table Mountain*, we unawares eſpy'd a ſleeping lion, at no great diſtance from us, which made me ſoon retreat, telling my companions it was dangerous to awake a ſleeping lyon, who were glad as well as I, to make the beſt of their way backwards.

1659.

Arrives at the Cape of Good-Hope.

After a ſtay of 14 days at the cape, we ſet ſail again, and with a much more proſperous gale, than I had in my laſt voyage, arrived ſafely on the coaſt of *St. Jaga*, where juſt as we got ſight of that iſland, Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde* died, to our great grief; his corps was carried to *Batavia*, where it was honourably interr'd.

He leaves the Cape.

The 18th of *July* 1659, we came to an anchor before the city of *Batavia*, after a voyage of about 7 months; during which, there happen'd ſcarce any thing worth taking notice of. After I had delivered up the merchandiſes under my charge, and my accounts: I took a turn to the weſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, *viz.* to *Jambe* and *Padane*, which produce abundance of pepper, ſome gold and ſalt-peter, and returned the 10th of *December* to *Batavia*.

His arrival at Batavia.

Not long after I was ordered on board the ſhip *Henrietta Lowiſa* bound for *Amboyna*, *Gerard Gerardſon* a native of *Fluſſingen* maſter,

1659. master, laden with rice and provisions. We set sail from *Batavia* the 23d of *Dec.* 1659, and in a month after got among the rocks near the point of *Bimaer*, being forced thither by a whirlpool, which turn'd our ship within the compass of three times the length of the ship, as swift as the nimblest horse could run; we were within a few yards of having been struck against a rock, but had the good fortune to escape without much damage, and after some *Travadoes* at last got into the road of *Amboyna*, not without great difficulty, by reason of the swiftness of the stream there, and cast anchor at 36 fathoms depth. We were very kindly received by Mr. *Jacob Hustard* the governor of *Amboyna*, a man of singular probity and conduct. After the ship was unladen, and I had delivered my cargo, the governor and I resolved to take a tour in the small circumjacent islands. Among the rest we visited the island of *Buero*, where the inhabitants made us heartily welcome after their way, and drank to us merrily in cups made of the leaves of trees.

Goes to Amboyna.

The isle of *Bouro* or *Buero*, is situate about 24 leagues off *Amboyna*, being near 30 leagues in compass. The sea, especially on the south side, of a vast depth, from whence the shore rises by degrees, and surrounds the whole island like a steep wall. The south wind produces both high and low water here. In the island of *Buero* are mountains which reach to the very skies: Near the bay of *Tamahoo* are high mountains of the same name, the blue tops of which penetrate thro' the clouds, and may be seen at 28 leagues distance at sea; tho' it be very difficult to distinguish them from the clouds. The bay of *Tamahoo* is surrounded with these mountains. Hereabouts you see neither houses, huts, nor inhabitants, but only woods and wildernesses. A certain river exonerates itself into this bay, the banks of which are on both sides full of green trees. On the north-east side of the isle *Buero*, in another bay, called the bay of *Kayelle*, which in some places is two leagues broad. The sea-shore of this bay is very pleasant, by reason of the many woods and wildernesses. Here you see great store of green ebony wood-trees, but the wood is somewhat knotty. Within the marshy grounds, adjacent to the middle of the bay, is a whole wood of trees as hard as iron, and of a reddish colour; the *Dutch* call them *Lary* trees.

1657.

The isle of Bouro or Buero.

The Bay of Kayelle.

The island *Buero* is very fertile and abounding in trees near the sea-shore. It produces *Coco* and *Bananas* trees, *Pynany*, green ebony wood-trees, potatoes, beans, *Katjang* (a certain kind of pease) millet or indian-wheat, tobacco, lime-trees, and divers

The constitution of this island.

1659. vers ſorts of herbs. In the mountains are civet-cats, and the inhabitants have a peculiar eaſy way of taking the civet from them, which they ſell very cheap. In ſhort, the whole countrey is full of fertile grounds and pleaſant woods, and is watered with many freſh water rivers; the worſt of all is, that it is much ſubject to earthquakes.

In the iſle of *Buero* lives, among other beaſts, a certain ſtrange creature, which by the *Indians* is counted among the number of monſters. It is of the bigneſs of a large dog, or of a roe-buck, of a dark brown and gray colour, the hair like our grey-hounds; the head and mouth like a hog, with ſmall eyes and ears, the tail curls twice or thrice, and the legs and claws like thoſe of a roe-buck. The fleſh is both by the inhabitants and ſtrangers look'd upon as a dainty, and as good as veniſon. The circumference of its mouth and jaws is as big as a large calf's head, with very ſtrong jaw-bones; on both ſides backwards to the throat, are about 12 teeth, but in the fore-part of the undermoſt jaw-bone, 6 teeth and 2 large ones in the upper part, which are covered by the mouth. From the middle part of the undermoſt jaw-bone iſſue forth two large teeth which pierce the mouth. They are a foot long each, about an inch thick, and ſomewhat crooked like thoſe of the wild boar. Out of the upper jaw-bones ſpring forth two horns, on each ſide one, of an inch thick, a quarter of a yard long, ſmooth like teeth, and turn'd like a hook at the end, which makes it appear at firſt ſight as if it were armed with 4 horns.

On the north-eaſt of the iſle of *Buero* are the following villages, *Waiſelonga*, *Fogi*, *Wainite*, *Tamahou*, *Palmatte*, *Hokonima*, *Bara*, *Liciela*, *Waſamma*, *Ilat*, and *Romaite*; The eight firſt of theſe villages were in 1653, burn'd to the ground by the *Dutch*, with all their boats, the inhabitants having revolted againſt them. This iſland is under the juriſdiction of the king of *Tarnate*. In the year 1660, the *Dutch* built a fort with four ſmall baſtions, provided with convenient habitations for the uſe of the garriſon in this iſland, to keep out thoſe of *Makaſſar*. It was nam'd *Mandarſhaa*, after the then king of *Tarnate*. The natives of *Buero* are purſuant to their capitulation made with the *Dutch*, obliged to inhabit round about the bay of *Kayelle*, where they are poſſeſs'd of about 14 villages under the *Dutch* protection: Their houſes are neatly built of cane, and ſome have convenient appartments; and for the improvement of the adjacent grounds, are obliged to cut down and burn the trees and woods, and to turn them into fields, gardens and orchards. Before that time, they lived only in wretched huts built along the ſea-ſhore among the woods. They 1659. are very black, and like moſt of the inhabitants of the other neighbouring iſlands, almoſt naked both men and women, having only a piece of ſtuff to cover their nakedneſs from the waſte down to the knees; but girls and boys till they are twelve years old, go quite naked. A young fellow that has a mind to marry a certain maid, may ſoon obtain her, by making a ſmall preſent of eatables, or any other thing of no value to her parents. As ſoon as a woman is brought to bed, ſhe goes ſtreight to the next river, where ſhe waſhes both her ſelf and the child, and ſo returns to her uſual employments, in the mean while the huſband is attended and made much of in the wife's ſtead. They bemoan their dead neighbours and friends with lamentable out-crys, but after the corps is buried, they dance, ſing, feaſt and make merry. Their graves are made of brick-work, with ſtones and clay, to preſerve them againſt the wild-beaſts. The common food of the natives is *Zagow*, millet, rice and dry'd fiſh. They are for the moſt part mahometans, tho' ſome retain much of paganiſm, and adore the crocodiles. In the year 1650, one *Madira* governor for the king of *Ternate* in the iſle of *Amboyna*, having taken up arms againſt the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, the inhabitants of *Buero*, as well thoſe under the king's as *Dutch* ſubjection, join'd with *Madira* with ſo much obſtinacy, that they choſe rather to die than to leave *Madira*; and in 1652 kill'd four ſea men belonging to a veſſel call'd the *Gooſe*, who ventured too far into the woods. Mr. *Arnold Flaming van Outſhorn* being, 1652, ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to *Batavia*, and from thence to *Amboyna* and *Buero*, to bring the inhabitants to reaſon; having underſtood their barbarous proceedings, burn'd all their boats, and the before-mention'd villages. The king *Mandarſhaa* came along with him in perſon, having before concluded a peace with the *Eaſt-India* company at *Batavia*.

After we had taken a full view of this iſland, we returned to *Amboyna*, where the governor gave a ſplendid entertainment to the chiefeſt officers of the company, and ſome of the courtiers belonging to the kings of *Amboyna*. After dinner we play'd together, and they ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfied, that it might eaſily be ſeen there was a good correſpondence betwixt them and the company at that time. In the mean while my ſhip having been loaden with 16 tuns of cloves and ſome other commodities, I took my leave from Mr. *Huſtard* the governor, and the 3d of *May* directed my courſe back towards *Batavia*. Under the government of this Mr. *Huſtard* were at that time all the

The author's departure from Amboyna.

1659. *Molucco* islands, whose business it is to keep a strict eye over them, for fear they should export cloves. But before I quite leave the isle of *Amboyna*, I will give you a description of its situation, and what else is worth our observation there. 1659.

The isle of Amboyna. The Isle of *Amboyna* or *Amboyno* is by some numbred among the *Molucco* islands, because it produces great store of cloves like the *Molucco* islands. It is situate under 3 deg. southern latitude, about 24 leagues from the isle of *Banda*, and consequently nearer the coast of *Malacca*, than any of the *Molucco* islands. It is 24 leagues in circumference, being divided almost in two parts, by a vast bay or rather gulph. It has a very fine bay where ships may ride safely at anchor near the shore; about two leagues within this bay, is the *Dutch* fort called *Victoria*. It appears like two islands joined together by a neck of land. About 60 or 70 years ago, there were 57 goodly villages or great plantations, inhabited by *Indians* and christians, (some of which were of good strength,) but many of them have been laid desolate, or at least are much decay'd by the inteſtine wars.

The village Way. Among the rest *Way* was a very fine plantation on the north-side of the island, half a league from the sea-shore, built upon a rock, and defended by a good breast-work; notwithstanding which, it was 1630 surprised by one *Kimelaha*, the inhabitants were christians. Near this village are abundance of clove and *Zague* trees, and all along the sea-shore are several other plantations of less note, all well provided with clove and *Zague* trees. The village of *Way* has this conveniency, that it is well provided with fresh springs, a thing of the utmost consequence in those hot countries.

Nouſſanive. The village *Nouſſanive* was situate upon a river on the west-side under the cannon of the fort *Victoria*, being divided into three plantations. The countrey thereabouts abounds in clove-trees; the plantations of which extend as far as to the utmost point of the western cape, and on the other side, as far as *Ayer Kahouba*: The king or captain of this district used to be formerly president of the council of *Amboyna*.

Hittoe. The village of *Hittoe* is very ancient, and built near the sea-side, under the redoubt belonging to the *Dutch* company, being the capital of the whole district of *Hittoe*.

Wawami. *Wawami*, the head village of all, lies above a league from the sea-shore, upon a hill near an *English* mile high, unto which leads but one passage, which in the midst is defended by strong pallisadoes, and the top of the hill (which is of an oval figure) by a stone wall. Betwixt the hill and the fort slides along a pretty river. Formerly this was a noted place of retreat for the inhabitants, who used to shelter themselves here. 1659.

Mouſala. The village *Mouſala* is built upon a mountain about a league and a half high, being so strong by nature, as to be counted impregnable; notwithstanding which, it has been reduced by the victorious arms of the *Dutch East-India* company, under whose jurisdiction they now live.

The following plantations or villages were in 1630, under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch East-India* company.

Roſſenive. The district of *Roſſenive* which comprehends *Roſſenive*, *Amahoeſoe* and *Hattoe*. *Roſſenive* had in 1630, one *Andrew Roſſenive* for their king or captain; *Amahoeſoe* one *Domingos Coſta-Makkake*, *Poeta* and *Hattoe*, one *Leſſemeſſe*. These villages were better inhabited than most of the rest, the inhabitants making profession of the christian religion, yet not without some mixture of *Mahometaniſm*, except those of *Amahoeſoe*, whose captain was a good christian, and lived much better than the rest; which shews that the chief defect lay in their kings; for *Andrew Roſſenive* was none of the best livers, tho' he could very artificially play the hypocrite; he had no wife but many concubines; and tho' he was often admoniſh'd to marry, he continued obstinate in the same course, which gave great scandal as well to the inhabitants as to the other kings and captains. The common people of this town were always more ready for the service of the company than those of the other villages. For the villages *Roſſenive*, *Amahoeſoe* and *Hattoe* are obliged to supply and manage one half of the governours *Korrakoren*, (or small vessels of war) as the villages of *Kielang*, *Nakko* and *Hattela* are bound to supply the other half.

Kielang. *Kielang* was one of the most considerable villages on the south-side of the mountain of *Laytimor*, not far distant from the sea shore, but of no great strength. Near it are very good springs and great store of clove-trees. Under the district of *Kielang* are the villages of *Kielang*, *Nakko* and *Hattela*. In the year 1630, *Manuel de Silva* was king or captain of *Kielang*, but surrendered the government to his eldest son; he was a very good natur'd honest man, and had the second place in the *Dutch* council. *Anthony Pays* was captain of *Nakko*, and *Anthony Lopes* of *Hattela*, they were all three very good christians.

Ema. Under the district of *Ema* are the villages *Oekorilla*, *Lewary* and *Routon Laſary*; *Manuel* was captain of *Oekorilla*, *Simau* of *Ema*, and one *Anthony Routon* of *Laſary*. These are obliged to furnish a *Karrakore* of four *Nadjos* for the service of the company.

They

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1659. They are very honeſt and faithful, and profeſs themſelves of the tribe of *Olilymas*, except *Routon Laſary*, which belongs to the tribe of the *Oliſivas*.

Soya. To the diſtrict of *Soya* belong the villages of *Ahoeſen*, *Oeritettoe* and *Amantelloe*. Theſe are obliged to find a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*, are pretty ready in the ſervice, and profeſs all chriſtianity, and ſo does the king with all his *Orangkeys*: They are of the tribe of the *Çaiſivas*. *Laurenzo de Sylva* is king of *Soya*, *Anthony Ahoeſen* of *Ahoeſen*, and *Jeronymo Tehelopoe* of *Oeritettoe*, and *Amantelloe*.

Hative. Under *Hative* belong the villages *Taviery*, *Hokkonaloe* and *Mardykka*; they furniſh *Karrakore* with 4 *Nadjos*. They are good ſoldiers and chriſtians, and their heads come frequently to the communion. Their chief heads are *Laurenzo Marcus* captain of *Hative*. *Pedro Anthonio* of *Taviery*. *Laurence Mendos*, chieftain of *Hokkonaloe* and *Mardykka*. The inhabitants of *Mardykka* are the remnants of the *Portugueſe*, and ſome other ſlaves ſet at liberty: 1630 they conſiſted of 100, or 120 men fit to bear arms, who did conſiderable ſervice to the ſtate of *Amboyna*; they were very good chriſtians and faithful, and furniſh'd an extraordinary *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*; they accounted themſelves to be of the tribe of the *Oliſivas*, their chieftain was then *Anthony de Coſto*.

Halou. To *Halou* belongs the village *Hative-Kiſchilect*, they are pretty well peopled, and chriſtians, and furniſh a *Karrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*; *Diego Paty* was captain of *Halou*, and *Adam Marano* of *Hative-Kiſchilect*.

Pouta. *Pouta* has only two ſmall villages belonging to it, *viz.* *Kapa* and *Chery*; their captains were *Stephen Terſera* of *Pouta*; *Manuel Lopes* of *Kapa*, and *Andrew Pardia* of *Chery*.

Oettomary. The inhabitants of *Oettomary* did revolt three times, but were in 1626 reduced to obedience by the then governor Mr. *Gorkum*, they were then under the tuition of *Don Pedro de Oettomary* their captain, who was a very honeſt perſon, and ever ſince that time they have adhered faithfully to the company. They are generally ſtout ſoldiers and good chriſtians, for they frequent the chriſtian congregations, and add more children to our ſchools than the other villages do. They furniſh a *Korrakore* with 4 *Nadjos*, and are of the *Oliſivas*. The four villages of *Ourien*, *Larik*, *Wakkacſive*, and *Aſſelou* ſtand likewiſe under the juriſdiction of the company; they are all blacks and ſtout fellows, they belong to the *Oliſivas*, and acknowledge *Hittoe* for their captain, yet under the protection of the company. They furniſh a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. Thus the two villages of *Alang* and *Lillebay* belong to the company: The inhabitants are chriſtians, except 3 or 4 families at *Alang*. Of the laſt, one *Salvador* was captain, and of *Lillebay*, *Baſtiaen Kaſtango*. The inhabitants are likewiſe of the tribe of the *Oliſivas*. 1659.

Theſe ſix villages are obliged to furniſh the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company with a great quantity of cloves; to wit 300 *Bahar per annum*; vaſt numbers of clove trees having been planted hereabouts, about 1630, which are come to full perfection ſince, and produce vaſt ſtore of fruit. Thus 1636, the planting of clove trees was ſo far encouraged on the ſouth-ſide of this iſland, that each family was obliged to plant, at leaſt, ten trees every year, the ground being very fit hereabouts for this purpoſe; they were alſo not negligent in planting coco and other fruit trees. *Kamariay*, *Seriwawan* and *Kayrato*, are three villages near the ſea-ſhore; the inhabitants are abſolutely devoted to the ſervice of the company, and appear ſometimes with an *Orangay* at the head of them at the fort. They adhere to thoſe of *Mardykka*, and belong to the *Oliſivas*.

Near the point of the bay are four villages, *Quelipapoety*, *Amaſſee*, *Marykque*, and *Savoukque*. The firſt furniſhes a *Korrakore* with 3 *Nadjos*, the three laſt a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. In the village of *Amaſſee* lived at that time two young lads, ſons of the *Orangkay*, who formerly had been hoſtages with the *Dutch* governors for ſeven years, but now were got into the government of theſe villages, and ſeem'd well inclin'd to the company's intereſt.

Mountains in Amboyna. The iſle of *Amboyna* has many high and ſteep mountains, call'd *Gounen* by the natives, which have ſeveral fair villages built on the top, and are irrigated with very clear and freſh-water ſprings. The vallies ſerve for walking-places, by reaſon of the many fine trees that are planted there, as the mountains ſerve the inhabitants for a ſhelter againſt their enemies in time of war, being for the moſt part inacceſſible. There is a certain rock here, call'd the *Elephants Rock*, from its ſhape and bigneſs, from whence iſſues forth a rivulet as clear as cryſtal, which ſlides gently thro' the adjacent verdant plain, whence is a very pleaſant walk up to the rock.

The air of Amboyna. However the air of *Amboyna* is none of the wholeſomeſt. There rages in this and the reſt of the *Molucco* iſlands, a certain diſtemper, both among the natives and ſtrangers, which by its ſymptoms reſembles altogether the *French* pox (for which reaſon the *Dutch* call it the *Pox of Amboyna*) except that this is communicated without any carnal conjunction. In the face, arms and legs, nay all over the body, appear certain cruſty boils, which

1659. which either turn ſchirrous, or if they come to a ſuppuration, a ſlimy, tough but ſharp matter iſſues from thence, reſembling in all its circumſtances the *French* pox, except that they are not ſo painful, neither corrode the bones. This diſeaſe is attributed to a peculiar conſtitution of the climate and the air, and the exceſſive uſe of ſea-fiſhes, and coco nuts called *Zago*, and of the liquor called *Saguweer*. At firſt this diſtemper is eaſy enough to be cured, but if it takes root, not without great difficulty. They commonly apply the ſame remedies as we do in the *French* pox, in the ſpleen and dropſy: to wit, the decoctions of chica, ſarſaparilla, and guajacum, and purge them ſoundly betwixt whiles.

Its conſtitution. The iſle of *Amboyna* is pretty fertile; it produces millet, tobacco, coco-nuts, potatoes, pinang, oranges, lemons, citrons, ſugar, bamboo canes, and ſeveral other fruits. Some places here afford likewiſe nutmegs, but in no great quantity, neither have they ſo good as thoſe in the iſle of *Banda*, neither do they grow wild here, but the trees are planted in orchards. Neither are they deſtitute of divers ſorts of beaſts, eſpecially roe-bucks and hogs, and have great ſtore of fiſhes; but the chief products of *Amboyna* are cloves, which grow wild here; they are called *Nagalen* (nails) by the *Dutch*, from their ſhape, being flat on the top and ſharp at the end: They call them alſo *Geroffel nagelen*, perhaps from the *Greek Karyophyllon*. In the *Molucco* iſlands they call the cloves *Caampe* or *Chanpe*; in the iſle of *Java Sianeke*, and in *Malacca*, *Synken* or *Thinka*; the *Arabians*, *Perſians*, *Turks*, and moſt of the *Indians*, call them *Kalafur*.

The clove-tree. The clove-tree grows up in form of a pyramid, its branches ſprouting forth cloſe together. This tree is of the bigneſs of our cherry-trees, but in the whole reſembling moſt to a large laurel-tree, the leaves being very near of the ſame ſhape; the bark on the ſtem is of a greyiſh colour like that of the olive-tree. In the midſt of each leaf is a large vein which ſends forth many leſſer branches; theſe leaves grow on long ſtalks, ſometimes ſingle, but for the moſt part in cluſters; thoſe that grow near the extremities of the branches are of a purple colour, but the reſt dark green, if they are rubbed betwixt your hands they ſcent as ſtrong as the cloves themſelves, and ſo do the branches. On the extremities of theſe branches grow certain ſprouts which produce certain buds, and thoſe again flowers, ſometimes 10 or 20 in a knot, which at laſt produce the fruit, which are tough whilſt they are growing, but hard when come to maturity. At firſt they are green, then appear of a pale red colour, as if the trees were covered with ſcarlet, affording a very agreeable ſight to the beholders, becauſe there is often more fruit than leaves on the trees. The bloſſom is white at firſt, not unlike our cherry bloſſom, each leaf of the flower having three ſmall ſtreaks, then they turn green, afterwards red, and laſt of all dark yellow inclining to black. They reſemble in ſhape a nail, with a ſmall hollowneſs in the head, in which remains a thin ſkin which falls off as ſoon as it is touched. The cloves are very hard of ſubſtance; when they ſee more bloſſoms than leaves, they foretel great plenty of fruit; the bloſſoms ſmell much finer and ſtronger in dry than in rainy weather, and the firſt is looked upon as the moſt fruitful, it being common in a dry ſeaſon to ſee more bloſſoms than leaves, though even in ſuch a ſeaſon the clove-trees don't hit always alike, for every third or fourth year it is obſerved that they don't bear ſo plentifully as otherwiſe, juſt as if the tree at that time did remit its vigour ſpent the preceding years. The cloves are gathered once a year, *viz.* from the middle of *September* or beginning of *October* till *February*, this being the beſt ſummer ſeaſon here. Some are gathered, the reſt beat down with canes like flails; but this laſt way is not ſo ſafe as the other, for unleſs they be very careful, they bruiſe the tender ſprigs of the tree, which renders it the leſs fruitful the next following year, tho' the ſeaſon be never ſo good. Before they begin to gather, the ground under the tree is cleared of weeds, that they may not loſe part of the fruit. What cloves are left upon the trees grow very large as they ripen, much bigger than the reſt, but are not ſo fit for uſe. The next following year they drop from the tree, and though they are not ſo aromatick as the others, they are uſed for ſeed, and produce new trees, for which reaſon they are called the mother-cloves; for after they are dropt upon the ground they will take root, and in 8 or 9 years time it will come to the perfection of a good tree, and prove as fruitful as the reſt; but if theſe ſprouts be tranſplanted once in two or three years, they will bear more and better fruit. They ſay the clove-tree will hold good 100 years; the fruit immediately after gathering is dark yellow inclining to black, but if dry'd turns quite black, and if they dip them firſt in ſea-water it preſerves them from being worm eaten. Thus prepared they are laid up in ſtore-houſes and are tranſported to other places, where they are picked and the ſtalks taken from them, which are ſold ſeparately. The *Dutch* call theſe ſtalks *Nagelgruis* (the rubbiſh of cloves) and the *Portugueſe* *Baſton*. Cloves are hot and dry, of a biteriſh biting taſte, but eſpecially when they

are

Betwixt page 164. 165.

CLOVE TREE

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1659. are dry'd. They ſeem to conſiſt of a gummous ſulphurous ſubſtance, with a ſtrong drying and attractive quality; as for inſtance, when the *Indians* are to deliver a certain quantity of cloves, they put in the warehouſe, where they are, a tub full of water, which is in a ſhort time attracted by the cloves, to the no ſmall benefit of the ſeller, it being obſervable that the cloves weigh as much the heavier as the water that was put there weighed before. The *Dutch* put this likewiſe often in practice. Some are of opinion that the cloves by their extraordinary drying and attractive quality, draw all the moiſture of the ground round about the tree to that degree that no weeds or graſs can grow there; but this is a vulgar error, the bareneſs of theſe ſpots of ground being not to be attributed to the cloves, but to the owners themſelves who weed and keep them clear, thereby to afford the more nouriſhment to the trees, and not to loſe part of the fruit when they are gathering or beating them from the trees.

'Tis true, the clove-trees are planted for the fruit ſake, nevertheleſs the bloſſoms, leaves, ſprigs, nay the gum itſelf that iſſues from the tree, are not deſtitute of an aromatick virtue, and afford very good medicines; the *Indian* and *Portugueſe* women diſtil out of the green cloves and leaves, a water and a ſpirit which is very odoriferous and cephalick; and an excellent remedy againſt the palſy, called by the natives *Beribery*. Againſt the ſame diſtemper they preſerve alſo the cloves with ſugar, and draw an oil both of cloves and leaves. Cloves boiled in milk are accounted a great provocative, they are very cordial, and if chewed take away a ſtinking breath. They make a pickle of the green cloves, which are not ſo hot as the reſt, and provoke the appetite. Perſons of quality put green cloves in vinegar, which is a great ſtrengthener of the ſtomach. The *Indians* call the vinegar *Atzjar*.

Royal cloves. There is another kind of cloves but not commonly known, being very ſcarce and dear. The *Indians* call them *Tvinka Papoha*, or curled cloves, tho' they might rather be called ear-cloves, becauſe they ſprout forth like the corn ears. The *Dutch* call them *Royal Cloves*, becauſe they are in ſuch high eſteem among the kings of the *Molucco* iſlands, not ſo much for their excellent taſte and ſcent (in which they ſurpaſs all others) but for their ſcarcity's ſake; for if we may believe them, no more than two ſuch clove-trees are as yet found out, and that in the iſle of *Makjan* only: One of theſe two trees exceeds the other in bigneſs, but both are like the common clove-trees, except that they are much taller, and the cloves bigger and of a different ſhape from the common clove, as may be ſeen by the draught. 1659.

In the iſland of *Ceylon* are likewiſe abundance of wild clove trees, but bear no fruit. It is credibly affirmed that in former times the inhabitants of the *Molucco* iſlands were ignorant as to the uſe of the cloves, till ſome *Chineſe* coming that way found out their goodneſs, and from thence tranſported them to *China*, and ſo farther to the *Indies*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and other parts. The iſlands *Ternate*, *Makjan*, *Moſier* and *Batsjan*, did likewiſe in former days abound in clove trees, but purſuant to an agreement made with the kings of the iſlands ſome years ago, the ſame have been rooted out.

Wild palm-tree called Zagou. In the iſle of *Amboyna* grows likewiſe the wild palm, or *Zagou* tree, otherwiſe called *Papedo*. This tree reſembles the other palm or coco trees, the leaves hanging downwards on the branches, the lowermoſt of which periſh commonly: This tree bears but one fruit, which is of no uſe. The inhabitants make bread of the pith of the young trees; for on the top of the tree grows a certain head like a cabbage, in which is incloſed a certain white flower called *Zagou*, and the bread made of this flower *Zagou manda*. This flower they mix with water, and let it riſe a little, then they put it in earthen pots, put burning coals all round about it, and ſo bake it. This bread, whilſt it is new, taſtes very ſweet, and is of a very agreeable ſcent, but ſoon grows dry, and is brittle and ſhining like glaſs. They alſo mix this *Zagou* with water, and boil it like pap, into which they ſqueeze one or two lemons, and ſo ſtir it about with a ſtick; it is very cooling, and of an agreeable taſte. They eat it with a ſtick, which they put into the pap, and turn it round, till a ſufficient quantity of the pap, which is very glutinous, almoſt like turpentine, adheres to the ſtick, and ſo put it into the mouth. Out of theſe young trees they draw, like out of the coco-trees, a liquor; they cut one of the branches near the top, and in a hole made for that purpoſe, put a piece of hollow *Bamboo* cane, (which in theſe parts are uſed inſtead of tubs, pails and mugs) thro' which in a ſhort time, iſſues forth a great quantity of liquor as ſweet as honey, call'd by the natives *Zagouweer* or *Zageweer*, but is ſomewhat harſher than the liquor drawn from the true coco-tree.

In the iſle of *Amboyna* they put a certain bitter root, call'd by a general name *Oubat* into this liquor, which preſerves it for ſome time, for elſe this *Zagouweer* turns quickly as ſour as vinegar, and is then uſed for ſuch. They diſtil alſo a certain liquor of it call'd *Arak*. This *Zagouweer* is the

1659. common drink, and ſold in publick houſes for a farthing a glaſs, but uſed in great quantity, proves very obnoxious to the nerves, eſpecially whilſt you are hot, when it muſt be taken with great precaution, elſe it will infallibly cauſe the gripes in the guts and palſies, call'd by the natives *Beribery*, which leaves a paleneſs in peoples faces for ever after. Sometimes they can draw 30 quarts of this liquor in 24 hours out of one ſingle tree. In the iſle of *Java* there are likewiſe ſome of theſe *Zagou* trees, but the liquor is, as far as I know, not valued at *Batavia*. They draw the liquor out of theſe trees till they die, and I was told that there was ſome of theſe trees in the woods of *Amboyna*, which will give as much liquor in 24 hours, as a man is able to carry away upon his ſhoulders. Some other iſlands belong to the iſle of *Amboyna*, to wit, the adjacent large country of *Ceram*, the iſles of *Manipa*, *Quelang*, and *Amblau*.

Amboyna *under whoſe juriſdiction.*

The iſle of *Amboyna* is divided into two parts; one of which is under the juriſdiction of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company; the other under the king of *Ternate*. Unto the company belongs the country of *Laitimor*, where is the fort of *Victoria*, and the wooden fort *Wantrou*, and on the paſs of *Bagoale*, the redoubt call'd *Middleburgh*. The three iſlands *Homa*, *Honomoa*, and *Nauſalaut*, which produce great quantities of cloves: The whole coaſt of *Hittoe* with the redoubts, the *Amſteldam* at *Hila*, the *Rotterdam* at *Larike*, and the *Leoden* at *Hittoe* and *Lamma*; and ſeveral ſmall wooden forts at *Ourien*, *Lebelehu*, *Ceit*, and *Way*. Under the king's juriſdiction are the country and coaſt of *Ceram*, the iſles *Amblau*, *Manipa*, *Bonoa*, and ſome others.

The fort Victoria.

The fort *Victoria*, (the ſtaple of the company here) lies five leagues deep in the country, being defended by four bulwarks, a good ditch, and a conſiderable garriſon, with ſuitable proviſions and ammunition. During my ſtay here, there was a large crocodile in the ditch, which did vaſt miſchief to the wild fowl belonging to Mr. *Huſtard* the governor, who took great delight in them. Some ſoldiers and others were ordered to place themſelves whereabouts they ſuppoſed the crocodile had his lurking place, but could not meet with it; till at laſt the crocodile on a ſudden leaped towards the ſecretary of the governor, whom he had certainly devoured, had not the reſt that were near at hand, with ſticks and half pikes kill'd the beaſt immediately, which was extraordinary large. Round about the caſtle live ſeveral *Dutch*, *Chineſe*, and other nations. Within and without the fort is a church, where divine ſervice is held both in the *Dutch* and *Malacca* tongue.

1659.

Manners and cuſtoms of the Amboyneſe.

The men wear large whiſkers, but little hair upon their chin; they only cover themſelves with a ſlight piece of ſtuff round the buttocks and belly. The women tie their hair up in many knots: He that intends to marry a young maid, buys her from her father for money; but if ſhe proves barren, the marriage is null and void: In former ages the natives were a moſt barbarous people, men-eaters and pagans. Now a-days they are for the moſt part *Mahometans*, the reſt are *Chriſtians*, ſome *Roman Catholicks*, ſuch as were converted by the *Portugueſe*, others profeſſing the *Proteſtant* religion, which was firſt introduced there in 1647. The *Dutch* have erected ſchools in all the villages to inſtruct the youth in reading and writing, and in the fundamentals of the chriſtian religion. The natives are generally brave, but very deceitful and treacherous; they are naturally addicted to lazineſs, and are ſo obſtinate, that they chuſe rather to die than to leave their antient cuſtoms. They make uſe of certain ſmall veſſels in time of war. They are very ſwift in their motion, and managed by *Pagagen* or oars. They call theſe veſſels *Korrakore*, and are ſhaped like a dragon, the head repreſenting the forecaſtle, and the tail the ſtern. They have alſo ſome leſſer boats call'd *Paros*. Their houſes are built of *Bamboe* canes and *Zagou* trees; they ſleep likewiſe in bedſteads made of *Bamboe* canes, or ſometimes upon mats only.

Their weapons.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, half pikes, javelins, ſcimeters, targets and firelocks, all which they manage with great dexterity, as well as the darts. They have alſo a kind of hollow pipes, out of which they ſhoot great numbers of ſmall poiſon'd arrows; the wounds made with them prove commonly mortal, unleſs the poiſon be removed immediately by cutting it out.

Their women.

The women of *Amboyna* are very laſcivious, and extremely deſirous of the chriſtians; if they find themſelves diſappointed in their expectation, or that they are left by their gallants, they have a way of infecting them with a certain poiſon, the operation of which is ſo ſlow, that they die a lingring death, neither can they cohabit with any other woman, unleſs they receive proper antidotes from the ſame woman that poiſoned them. Many *Chineſe* live in *Amboyna*, tho' for the moſt part among the *Mahometans* at *Hittoe*, *Lochoe*, and in *Ceram*. In the year 1636, at the requeſt of king *Hittoe*, three or four *Chineſe* were permitted to ſettle under him, with this limitation however, that they ſhould pay the uſual taxes to the *Dutch* receiver-general of *Amboyna*; afterwards one *Chineſe* was allow'd to live in each village, to provide them with

Directions
V. II.
A. ye Fort Bamagangian.
B. ye Fort Matapure.
C. ye Fort Cambare.
D. a Fiery Engiane
E. a Chain cross ye River
F. ye Kings Vessels
G. Quarter of ye Moors Priests
H. ye two Watches ye Pacatra & ye Watchman
I. Quarter of ye Chineses & Tottuges
K. Our People Land
L. a Sally made by ye Javenese
M. ye Royall Pallace
N. Cannon of a very large size; called their Idol
O. a Store Bulwark
P. ye Kings biggest Ships
Q. Very large tree Engians
The City of PALEMBANG with its three forts
Betwixt page 186.187.

1659. distill'd *Arack*. About the year 1636, the ſlaves belonging to the *Dutch* had got a cuſtom to run away from their maſters, and to ſhelter themſelves among the *Mahometans*, but ſeveral being puniſhed with death, purſuant to a proclamation publiſhed for that purpoſe, the reſt were ſo terrified thereat, that no ſuch thing was heard of for a great while after. Certain negro chriſtians dwelt likewiſe in *Amboyna*, commonly call'd *Mardiikers*.

Courts of juſtice in Amboyna. There are three courts or councils belonging to the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*; firſt the court martial, ſecondly the civil court of juſtice, and thirdly the great council or council of ſtate.

The court martial uſed to meet every *Monday* and *Thurſday*, compoſed of the governor, the head factor, and under factor of the company, a captain, a lieutenant, one of the eldeſt ſergeants, and a ſecretary; theſe took cognizance of all matters relating to the ſoldiers and garriſons.

The civil court of judicature was kept in the town, conſiſting of four officers of the company, of four of the chiefeſt inhabitants, and of four or five *Orankays* of the council of ſtate; beſides which they had two clerks, one a *Dutchman*, and the other a native of *Amboyna*, and two attendants. The head factor in the caſtle was preſident here; they took cognizance of, and gave ſentence with the governor's approbation, in all civil and criminal caſes, neither had the villages any right of exerciſing of juſtice without them.

The council of ſtate, or the *Orangkays* of the chamber, who in conjunction with the governor, and his councellors, were to deliberate concerning all publick affairs, ſuch as the equipping of *Korrakoren*, or the management of a war againſt an enemy, had their ſeats appointed thus.

Andrea, king of *Roſſenive*.
Manuel, the old king of *Kielang*.
Laurentz de Sylva, king of *Soya*.
Simaon Ema, captain of *Ema*.
Laurenzo Marcus, captain of *Hative*.
Diego Pati Halloe, captain of *Halloe*.
Anthony da Coſta, captain of the *Mandiikers*.
Don Pedro, captain of *Vettomoery*.
Salvador Paty Alang, captain of *Alang*.
Simon Baguala, captain of *Baguala*.
John Barkabeſſier, captain of *Way*.
Stephen Tercera, captain of *Pouta*.
Pedro Anthonio, captain of *Tacieri*.
Fernando Latoehalat, captain of *Roſſenive*.

How Amboyna *came under* Ternate. In former ages the iſland of *Amboyna* was ſubject to its own kings, till it was reduced under the obedience of the kings of *Ternate*, which according to the relation of the inhabitants happened thus:

Many years ago reign'd a king in *Ternate* call'd *Babou*, ſon of *Chieroen Diamelou*, who having been the firſt that introduced *Mahometiſm* there, was in great eſteem with the *Mahometan* prieſts, who to this day pay a great veneration to his memory. In the mean while, ſome differences being ariſen betwixt the villages of *Warnalete* and *Makatit*, belonging to the diſtrict of *Warnoela*, and the laſt being unable to cope with thoſe of *Warnalete*, they underhand ſought for aid by king *Babou*; who having granted their requeſt, ſent a good fleet of *Korrakoren*, under the command of his councellor *Samarou*, to the cape of *Saragi*, betwixt *Erang* and *Liſſidy*, where they came to an anchor; the inhabitants of *Cambello*, who as well as thoſe of *Erang* and *Liſſidy*, had ſubmitted to king *Babou* againſt thoſe of *Makatit*, adviſed the inhabitants of *Warnalete* to go to meet *Samarou*, and to purchaſe his favour by ſome preſents, which being done accordingly, they all attack'd, in conjunction with *Samarou*, thoſe of *Makatit*, and forced them to ſubmiſſion; but *Samarou*, not thus ſatisfied, reduced all the circumjacent iſlands under his king's obedience; ſo that this iſland owed the loſs of its liberty to the inteſtine diviſions of its inhabitants; *Samarou* returning home victorious, was receiv'd with great demonſtrations of affection by king *Babou*, who in reward of his ſervice, honour'd his ſon *Robohongy* with the title and dignity of *Salahakkum* or Stadtholder of theſe conquer'd countries, having before been dignified with the title of *Kimelaha*, which his ſucceſſors in the ſtadtholderſhip have retained ever ſince, tho' it be certain, that not *Kimelaha* but *Salahakkum* ſignifies a ſtadtholder in their tongue. After the death of *Robohongy*, his eldeſt ſon *Adja* ſucceeded him in the ſtadtholderſhip, who was ſucceeded by his brother *Baſſi Frangi*. After him came *Frangi*, who for his treachery was beheaded by *Sabadiin* of *Louhou* his brother's ſon. *Leliatte*, ſon to *Baſſi Frangi*, then thruſts himſelf into the government without conſent of the king, and following the footſteps of his predeceſſor, receiv'd the ſame reward. He was ſucceeded in the ſtadtholderſhip by *Madira*, ſon of *Sabadiin*, the ſeventh in order, our company having made uſe of all their intereſt with *Hamſia*, king of *Ternate*, to procure him that dignity, in conſideration of the ſingular kindneſſes they had received from his father. But they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken in their choice; for this *Madira*, of the antient race of the *Tomogolo*'s, of which *Samarou* was the firſt, rebell'd 1650, againſt the king, and with the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds; to wit, *Amblau*

1659. Madira *rebels againſt the king of* Ternate.

1659. *blau, Manipa, Liſſidy, Hatua* the leſſer, *Aſſaboudy, Laala* and *Nouſſatelo*, plunder'd all that oppoſed him, and kill'd about 80 perſons belonging to the *Dutch* company. One *John Pays*, captain of *Hatuwe, Tawiro* and *Houkonalo*, living near the fort of *Amboyna*, was ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have had a hand in this conſpiracy, which *Simon Kos* (who commanded in the abſence of *Arnold Outſhorn* at *Amboyna*) having got notice of, ſecured him in the fort till the arrival of Mr. *Outſhorn*, when the war broke out with great violence on both ſides.

How the Portugueſe *became maſters of* Amboyna.

The *Portugueſe* made themſelves maſters of *Amboyna*, 1546, in the following manner: At the time when *Anthony Galvan* was governor of *Ternate*, a great fleet of ſmall veſſels belonging to the iſland of *Java, Banda, Macaſſar* and *Amboyna*, was ſent to the *Molucco* iſlands to fetch cloves; *Galvan* being advertis'd thereof, and fearing leſt they ſhould by this means ſpoil the ſpice trade of the *Portugueſe*, armed about 25 *Korrakoren*, with 40 *Portugueſe*, and 400 auxiliaries; theſe, under the command of *Jacob Supi Azevidi*, admiral of the ſea *Molukſe*, ſteer'd their courſe towards *Amboyna*, where meeting with the *Indian* fleet, they attack'd and routed them, taking many of their ſhips, with good ſtore of great cannon, and a conſiderable ſum of ready money; *Azevedi*, willing to improve this opportunity, landed in *Amboyna*, the inhabitants of which being terrified at their laſt defeat, did for the moſt part ſubmit to the *Portugueſe*, and receiv'd ſuch laws as they thought fit to preſcribe to them; which done, *Azevedi* loaden with glory and ſpoils, return'd as a conqueror to *Ternate*. After that time, the *Portugueſe* uſed always in their voyages from *Malacca* to the *Molucco* iſlands, and in their return from thence, to provide themſelves with freſh water at *Amboyna*, till 1603, this iſland was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueſe*, who got a vaſt booty there, tho' the *Dutch* are not very fond of living in *Amboyna*, being a place of no great plenty.

We ſet ſail, as I told you before, the 3d of *May* from *Amboyna*, and with a briſk and proſperous gale arriv'd the 29th before *Batavia*.

No ſooner was our ſhip unloaden, but I received orders to go aboard the ſhip *Achilles, John Vander Werven* maſter, to *Japan*. Every thing being got in readineſs for our intended voyage, I took my leave from the directors of the company, and the 28th of *July* ſet ſail with 15 ſhips more, Mr. *John Vander Laen* being commadore, with orders to ſail to *Teywan*, to attack the city *Makao*, (a populous place, and defended by a garriſon of 600 men) and to obſerve *Koxingas*. But ſcarce were we come within ſight of the iſle of *Anyam*, when we were overtaken by ſo terrible a tempeſt, that I can ſafely affirm, I never ſaw the like in my life, and that it is paſt my ſkill to expreſs it; the waves riſing ſometimes to that height, that the very tops of our maſts could not be ſeen, the winds ſometimes falling flat upon our ſhips, and preſſing them down flat under the abyſs, ſo that we expected every moment to be ſwallow'd up by this mercileſs element, eſpecially when we ſaw the yacht *Gorkum* (in which was *Francis Lanſman*, formerly my companion in our *China* voyage) in a moment periſh before our eyes, without the leaſt poſſibility of ſaving one man. At laſt, however thro' God's infinite mercy the fury of the winds began to allay, when with much ado we got with our ſhips, which were much damag'd by the ſtorm, into the harbour of *Teyvan* the 20th of *September*. The ſeaſon for our intended voyage to *Japan* being paſt, as forced againſt my will to unload my ſhip here, and the deſign againſt *Makao* being laid aſide for that time, becauſe *Koxinga* was abroad with a powerful force: We ſet ſail with the whole fleet for the iſlands call'd *Piſkadores*, and came the 3d of *October* to an anchor in the *Church-Bay*: Here I received orders to prepare myſelf for a voyage into *Perſia*, aboard the ſhip the *Leerdam*, loaden with ſugar, which I did accordingly.

1659. *A moſt violent ſtorm.*

The iſlands call'd *Piſkadores* or fiſher-iſlands, and by the *Chineſe Pehu*, are ſituate under 23 and 24 deg. northern latitude, about 12 and 13 leagues from the iſle of *Teywan*. They have ſeveral good harbours, and two commodious bays, where ſhips may ride ſafely at anchor at 8 or 9 fathoms water. At the entrance of this bay are the ruins of two antient ſtone forts, one built by the *Dutch*, the other by the *Chineſe*; and betwixt both is another fort. The country thereabouts is not hilly, abounds in graſs, yet pretty ſtrong. It contains many populous villages; theſe iſlands being all well ſtor'd with inhabitants, with fat cattle, eſpecially cows, and birds of all ſorts, eſpecially with an incredible number of fine large cocks. During the rainy ſeaſon they gather freſh water in ciſterns or ponds, but in dry weather the water is ſaltiſh here. The country produces likewiſe potatoes and many other fruits in abondance, and here are always to be ſeen great numbers of *Chineſe* veſſels, which come ſome for fiſhing, ſome for traffick. At the entrance of the *Church-Bay*, ſtands to the north-ſide a *Chineſe Pagode*, where is very good anchorage, and a convenient place for ſhelter to thoſe that are bound to *Teywan*, there being no other ſafe harbour for great ſhips hereabouts. The

The iſlands of Piſkadores or Pehu.

1659.

islands *Piskadores* are many in number; two are the most famous; one call'd the *Piskadore* or *Fisher Island*, the second *Pehou* or *Pehu*.

The south-east side of the *Fisher Island* is so bare, that it produces not a tree; to the west of it is another small island, and the passage betwixt both so shallow, that a yacht is not able to pass that way. To the south of this lies another island, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Troublesome Island*, because there is no anchorage for ships here. About a league from thence to the west is a rocky island, or rather two small rocky islands, divided by so many rocks, that there is no passage or anchorage near them.

Return to Teywan.

After we had dispatch'd our business here, we set sail again for the island of *Teywan*, Mr. *Conject* was at that time governor of this isle, who having not without reason conceiv'd a jealousy at the vast number of ships and men, the *Chinese* had brought together in the river of *Quincheu*, or in the isle of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, on the coast of *China*, I was dispatch'd thither the 31st of *October* with the two yachts the *Graveland* and *Mary*, with express orders, to demand from *Koxinga* whether he was for peace or war, and not to tarry longer than ten days for a categorical answer. I tarried aboard the vessels to take care of them, whilst my collegue went to speak with *Koxinga*: Our limited time being near expired, I went ashore in a boat, ordering our vessels to be upon their guard. The banks of the river were so crouded with people, that I had much ado to pass thro' them; by good chance I met with a *Chinese* who understood *Portuguese*, who was so complaisant as to go along with me to the place, where my collegue and his attendants lodg'd; but they being gone abroad to see *Koxinga* muster his forces, I was oblig'd to take the same way; we address'd ourselves to him, desiring a speedy and positive answer, the time of our stay being expired. He gave us for answer, that being at present busy in mustering his forces, he would give us his resolution to-morrow, in a letter directed to the governor of *Teywan*, which he did accordingly: In this letter he told him, that he had not the least thoughts of any war against the company, but that he would cultivate a good correspondence with them. To remove all occasion of jealousy, he sent several merchant ships to *Teywan*, which however did not remove the suspicion they had conceived of him there, especially after we on the 22d of *December* gave a verbal account of his vast preparations in the fort of *Teywan*. His letter was as follows.

Nieuhoff *sent to* Koxinga.

Koxinga's answer.

1659.

KOXINGA's letter.

BEING at a great distance from you, I could not but receive your letter with a more than ordinary satisfaction, which I perused more than once, to inform myself the better of your intentions. You mention some false rumours, but at the same time seem to give credit to them. In my father Yquam's *time, the* Dutch *posses's'd themselves of a certain place in the isle of* Teywan, *with his consent for the convenience of trade, which I have not in the least interrupted, and therefore judge you to be obliged to me upon that score. I have of late years been so deeply involved in a war with the* Tartars, *that I have had no leisure to trouble my head with an inconsiderable island that produces nothing but grass: It being not my custom to disclose my designs, but rather if I aim at the east to point to the west; how can you suppose to be inform'd of them by rumours? The reason why so few of our ships come to that island, is, because they cannot trade thither with any profit, the customs being so heavy. It was but this year the* Tartars *made a strong invasion into the low lands of* China, *in hopes to put an end to the war with one blow, but they were so bravely received, that they were forced to retreat with the loss of* 100 *of their commanders, and a great number of their men; we then retired into the islands of* Ey *and* Queymuy, *in hopes to draw them thither, and so to catch them in the trap. Concerning your complaints of having been treated in a hostile manner in the island of* Piskadores, *if it be really so, it has been done without our knowledge. I sent back an immediate answer, together with your presents, to the letter sent to me from* Batavia *four years ago; by which I understand, that you intended us but a very slender satisfaction, for the* Joncken *or ships, and the loading and money aboard them detained by you, notwithstanding which, I did not think fit to urge this business any further, for fear of occasioning a rupture betwixt us; it shall be my endeavour, as soon as the* Tartarian *war is brought to a conclusion, to encourage trade as much as possible may be, and don't question but you will on the other hand contribute to it, as far as lies in your power.*

Given in the 14th year, the 19th day of the 10th month of the reign of king *Indick.*

After the reading of *Koxinga*'s letter, it was resolved by the majority of voices not to engage in a war against *Koxinga*; most being of opinion, that at this juncture he would not undertake any thing against the company, tho' the governor Mr. *Conjet* was of a contrary sentiment, which proved too true afterwards. Thus all the thoughts of

1659. war being laid aſide, the continuation of commerce with him being judged, as indeed it was, to be of more preſent advantage to the company, all the ſhips there were ordered to their reſpective places, and I among the reſt, ſet ſail aboard the ſhip the *Leerdam*, loaden with ſugar for *Gamroa* in *Perſia*.

The iſles of Ey *and* Queymuy. The before-mentioned iſlands, *Ey* and *Queymuy*, are high rocky iſlands; the city of *Eymny* is ſituate upon a high hill, pretty deep in the countrey, being ſurrounded with a ſtone wall, without which you ſee the ruins of an antient tower, and a *Chineſe Pagode* or temple.

The city of *Queymuy* lies upon a river at a pretty diſtance from the ſea, being the capital of the iſle from whence it has borrowed its name. It has very large ſuburbs, which begin on the river ſide. Not far from thence, deeper into the country, is a ſtrong caſtle, defended by a very high wall, formerly the reſidence of *Koxinga*. The country round about is rocky, and not very fertile, except that the valleys afford a little graſs for cows; for the reſt, the inhabitants feed moſt upon fiſh, and ſome live by traffick.

The Chineſe *ſhelter themſelves in theſe two iſlands.* It was not long before the *Chineſe*, being forced by the *Tartars* to quit the continent of *China*, and *Koxinga*, ſtrengthned with near 25000 fugitives, and about 500 veſſels, they reſolved to ſhelter themſelves in the two before-mentioned iſlands of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, and finding himſelf in a condition to undertake ſomething againſt us; he embark'd 20000 of his beſt men aboard a great number of *Chineſe Joncken* or veſſels, and the 30th of *May* 1661, appeared within a league of the fort *Zelandia* in the iſle of *Teywan*, ſteering his courſe directly to the ſhore, where his countrymen, living in that iſland, were ready to receive him, with their carts and other neceſſaries; and ſoon after, poſted a conſiderable number of his veſſels betwixt the fort and the redoubt call'd the *Province*. This put our people under no ſmall conſternation, they being not provided either with veſſels or forces, to encounter ſo formidable a power. However captain *Pedel* and *Aldorp*, the firſt with 240, and the ſecond with 200 men, were ſent out to endeavour to prevent the enemies landing, and 4 ſhips, *viz.* the *Hector*, the *Graveland*, the *Finch*, and the yacht *Mary*, were ordered to fall upon their fleet, which was put in execution immediately. About 60 of the *Chineſe Joncken*, each with 2 great guns in the forecaſtle, came up with our veſſels, but were ſo warmly received, that two of them were ſunk, and the reſt ſo much diſabled, that they were all glad to retire, except ſix only, which kept cloſe together, and ſhot ſo furiouſly upon us, that they ſeem'd all to be on fire; the *Hector* took fire by an accident, and ſo together with the *Joncken* that lay aboard her, blew up into the air. The other three ſhips, notwithſtanding this fought it out bravely, and killed above a 1000 *Chineſe* beſides thoſe wounded in the engagement. The yacht *Mary* was alſo ſet on fire, but was ſaved by the indefatigable care and labour of the ſeamen. On the land-ſide captain *Pedel*, having divided his forces into two bodies, and exhorted them to ſtand it out bravely, gave the enemy a very warm ſalute with his firelocks, which kill'd many of them as they were landing; notwithſtanding which, they were ſo far from giving ground, as we flattered ourſelves they would have done, that they ſent whole ſhowers of arrows among our people, and at the ſame time ſent a ſtrong detachment to the right, which taking compaſs round a hill, attack'd us in the flanks, which ſo terrified our ſoldiers, that they threw down their arms, and wading thro' the water got into a pilot's boat, and ſo aſhore, leaving the captain with 19 men only, to the mercy of the enemies; upon which, immediate orders were ſent to captain *Aldorp* to retire with his forces to the fort; the enemy landed without any farther oppoſition, and in 4 hours time cut of all communication betwixt the redoubt, the province, and the fort, and betwixt this and the open country; moſt of the inhabitants afterwards joining with them againſt us. *Koxinga* being ſoon informed of our preſent condition, in very ignominious terms ſummon'd the fort, threatning to put all to fire and ſword if we did not ſurrender immediately. It was then taken into conſideration, whether, conſidering the enemy had cut off all communication with the redoubt the *Province*, and his great ſtrength, it were not adviſeable to treat with *Koxinga*, and to offer the ſurrender of one of the forts, provided we might preſerve a free trade, rather than to loſe all; which being agreed upon, and at our requeſt a paſſport granted for that purpoſe by *Koxinga*, we ſent *Thomas Yperan*, head factor of the fort, and Mr. *Leonardus* the fiſcal, as our deputies to him, to ſalute him in the name of the governor and the council, and to wiſh him ſucceſs in all his undertakings, provided they were not intended againſt the intereſt of the company. In their letter they told him, that they could have wiſh'd to have ſeen him in another poſture here, and that they were ſurprized to find him in arms, without the leaſt declaration of war, that if he had any real cauſe of being offended, they were ready to give him ſatisfaction, and to cultivate a good underſtanding with him. The deputies

Koxinga *attacks* Teywan.

The Dutch *endeavour to prevent his landing.*

Engagement betwixt the Dutch *and* Chineſe.

1659.

The Dutch *fly.*

The Chineſe *victorious.*

Deputies ſent to Koxinga.

1659. ties had expreſs orders, that in caſe *Koxinga* would not hearken to any accommodation, without the ſurrender of both the forts, they ſhould treat no farther, and tell him that the company was in a condition to revenge this injury. With theſe inſtructions they went the 3d of *May* to *Koxinga*'s camp, which was then about 12000 ſtrong, and buſy in the ſiege of the redoubt *Province*. They were armed with three different ſorts of weapons; the firſt with bows and arrows, which they manage with great dexterity; the ſecond with ſcimeters and targets only, wherewith they cover themſelves, and ſo break in upon an enemy, when they are ſeconded by their pikemen, whoſe arms are backſwords and pikes of three or four foot long, with broad and ſharp irons at the end.

The deputies received into the camp.

The deputies were at their firſt entrance into the camp, received by one of their chief commanders, and conducted into a ſpacious tent, where they ſtay'd till *Koxinga* was at leiſure to admit them to audience. Whilſt they ſtay'd there, ſeveral of the enemies troops march'd by their tent, and as far as they could perceive, the ſame at ſeveral times, to make the greater oſtentation of their ſtrength. *Koxinga* was in the mean while employed in combing his black ſhining hair, a great ornament among the *Chineſe*, which done, the deputies were introduced into his tent, which was all hung with blue, he himſelf ſeated in an elbow chair, behind a four ſquare table; round about him attended all the chief commanders clad in long robes without arms, and in great ſilence, with a moſt awful countenance. On both ſides towards the door, his life-guards were placed in very good order. The deputies addreſs'd themſelves to him in low *Dutch*, and delivered their letter, which being tranſlated into the *Chineſe*, *Koxinga* anſwered.

KOXINGA's anſwer.

THat he was ſenſible that the good correſpondence the Dutch East-India *company had hitherto cultivated with him, as well as with all the other* Indians *princes, was no longer durable than they found it conſiſtent with their own intereſt; which always ceaſed as ſoon as they found their account in it; that it was contrary to his cuſtom to divulge his thoughts or deſigns, yet he could not diſſemble that it was by reaſon of the war he was engaged in againſt the* Tartars, *he had not taken poſſeſſion of this iſland, which as it always belonged to the* Chineſe, *ſo it was not injuſtice that now they ſtood in need of it themſelves, they might retake it from foreigners, who were only ſettled there by permiſſion. That he was not come there to engage in a war with the* Dutch, *but only to take poſſeſſion of his own. That he was willing they might take away all that belonged to them, that they might demoliſh the forts and carry away their cannon; for which purpoſe he was ready to lend them as many of his ſhips and men as they wanted, notwithſtanding they had ſo lately attacked him both by ſea and land, when he had given them ſufficient proofs of his ſtrength.* He told them further, *that they were very proud and haughty in pretending to defend ſo inconſiderable a fort* (meaning the redoubt the province) *with ſo ſmall a force againſt his numerous army, which he threatned to deſtroy, ſo as not to leave one ſtone upon another:* He boaſted *that if his forces were united he was able to conquer heaven and earth*; concluding, *that they muſt take a very ſhort reſolution.* 1659.

Our deputies gave for anſwer, *That ſince the* Dutch *had left the* Piſkadore *iſlands; this iſland was ſurrendred into their hands by contract; but that if he* (Koxinga) *had any pretenſions upon the company, they were ready to treat about it, and give him ſatisfaction.* But after ſeveral conteſts, finding him quite averſe to hearken to any accommodation, unleſs they could ſurrender all, they departed, proteſting that the company would ſhew their reſentments in due time, and ſo ſet up the red flag.

The deputies leave the camp.

Before their departure from the camp they had obtained leave of *Koxinga* to go through the fort the *Province* in their return home; here they found things in a very indifferent poſture, and the fort not in a condition to hold out above a week longer, all their powder and ball being ſpent, there being not enough left to withſtand an aſſault: This, with the weakneſs of the place, induced the deputies to conſent that they might capitulate with the enemy, provided they could get liberty to transfer the garriſon into the fort.

Come into the fort the Province.

Arrive at the great fort.

The deputies arrived the ſame day in the great fort, where having given an account of their tranſactions, the governour *Conjet* and the reſt of the commanders ſeeing all the communication betwixt them and the redoubt the *Provinee*, nay with the whole iſland entirely cut off by the enemy, were at a great loſs what to reſolve upon at ſuch a juncture as this: After mature deliberation, the only hopes they had left was, to defend the fort *Zelandia* till ſuch time they could be relieved from *Batavia*, which conſidering the northern *Monzon*, might perhaps take up a whole twelve months time. However it was reſolved to defend this fort to the laſt extremity, notwithſtanding the redoubt the *Province* had been forced to ſurrender, the garriſon with all the cannon being fallen into the enemies hands, who had made them priſoners of war.

Reſolved to defend this fort to the laſt.

1659. To prepare themſelves for a more vigorous defence, all that were able to bear arms were taken into the fort, and the city ſet on fire, which however could not be executed ſo ſpeedily, but that the enemy preſerved ſome ware and other houſes, by timely quenching the flame, which ſerved them for places of ſhelter. Soon after they began to batter the fort with 28 pieces of cannon, but their cannon as well as their men being expoſed to our ſhot, we plied them ſo warmly with cartrages, and other ſuch like materials, that the ſtreets thereabouts were all covered with the dead carcaſſes of the *Chineſe*, and the reſt were forced to ſhelter themſelves in the by-lanes, leaving their cannon to our mercy, ſome of which were rendered unſerviceable. On the other ſide of the fort 6000 *Chineſe* advanced boldly under our cannon, and attacked our works hand to hand, but were beaten back with great loſs to an adjacent hill; upon which the beſieged made a vigorous ſally, and nailed up all their cannon. It was then propoſed to make a general ſally, but conſidering the diſproportion betwixt us and the enemy, who were advanced under our cannon, it was judged too dangerous, for fear, if we ſhould miſcarry, the enemy might force their way at the ſame time into the fort. The next day the beſieged made another ſally, and carried off a ſix pounder into the fort. The enemy finding all his attacks unſucceſsful, kept the fort cloſe blockt up, and in the mean while made the open countrey feel the effects of his rage; they made all the *Dutch* inhabitants, eſpecially the miniſters and ſchoolmaſters, priſoners, becauſe as they pretended, two certain miniſters had under hand encouraged their pariſhioners to kill all the *Chineſe* living among them, not queſtioning but the reſt would follow their example; but as it commonly happens in things of this nature where many are privy to a deſign, this had been diſcovered by ſome out of fear, or hopes of reward, for which the ringleaders ſuffered a moſt miſerable death, being crucified by the *Chineſe*, and their croſſes erected in their reſpective villages.

They leave the city.

The Chineſe *batter the fort.*

The Chineſe *repulſed.*

Some *Dutch* ſea-men had no better ſucceſs, for 13 of them being taken in a *Dutch* ſhip by a *Chineſe* veſſel near the *Piſkadore* iſlands, theſe were put on board a *Chineſe* veſſel mann'd with 30 men, who were to carry them to *Koxinga*'s camp. So ſoon as the *Dutch* ſea-men came within ſight of the *Dutch* fort, they reſolved to fall upon the *Chineſe* (not above one half of them being above deck at a time) and ſo to carry off the ſhip the next following night; but a *Frenchman* belonging to our ſhips crew, whether out of fear, or hopes to recover his liberty, did betray their deſign to the *Chineſe*, who immediately gave the ſignal to ſome other ſhips near them to come aboard, which being done accordingly, they made them all priſoners, and forthwith ſent them to *Koxinga*'s camp, where they had their noſes, ears, and hands cut off, and in this miſerable condition were ſent into the fort for a terror to the reſt; they were committed to the ſurgeon's care, who performed his part ſo well, that not one of them died.

A Dutch *ſhip taken by the* Chineſe.

The Dutch *deſign to carry off a* Chineſe *ſhip.*

1659. *Miſcarry.*

Among the reſt of the *Dutch* priſoners taken by the *Chineſe* in the open countrey, was one Mr. *Hambrocock* a miniſter; this man was ſent by *Koxinga* to the governour of the fort, to perſuade him to a ſurrender, upon condition, *viz.* that they ſhould depart ſafely with all that belonged to them and the company; but if he refuſed, he might have a ſufficient occaſion to repent it at leiſure; and that *Koxinga* would revenge himſelf upon the *Dutch* priſoners: With theſe inſtructions Mr. *Hambrocock* came into the caſtle, being forced to leave his wife and children behind him as hoſtages; which being a ſufficient argument to him that in caſe he did not ſucceed in his negotiation, they muſt expect nothing but death at *Koxinga*'s hands, yet was he ſo far from perſuading the garriſon to a ſurrender, that he encouraged them to a brave defence in hopes of relief; and as a farther encouragement, aſſured them that *Koxinga* had loſt many of his beſt ſhips and ſoldiers, and began to be weary of the ſiege, fearing leſt we ſhould hold it out till we received ſuccours from *Batavia*.

A meſſage ſent from Koxinga *to the beſieged.*

Mr. *Hambrocock* having made an end of what he had to propoſe, the council of war left it to his choice, whether he would rather ſtay with them or return to the camp, where he could expect nothing elſe but preſent death, every one entreated him to ſtay; he had two daughters within the caſtle, who hung about his neck overwhelmed in grief and tears, to ſee their father ready to go where they were ſenſible he muſt be ſacrificed to the rage of a mercileſs enemy; he repreſented to them, that having left his wife and two other children as hoſtages in the camp, nothing but preſent death could attend them if he returned not; and ſo untwiſting himſelf from his daughters arms, and exhorting every body to a reſolute defence, he returned to the camp, telling them at parting, that he hoped he might prove ſerviceable to his poor fellow priſoners.

He gave an account to *Koxinga* of his negotiation, and that the beſieged were reſolved not to treat, unleſs they were to remain in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which was not at all reliſhing to *Koxinga*, who now began to be afraid of an uproar; the inhabitants having ſlain ſeveral of the *Chineſe*, which

Koxinga's *meſſenger returns.*

1645. which exaſperated him to that degree, that having cauſed induſtriouſly a rumour to be ſpread abroad that the priſoners did under hand encourage the inhabitants of *Formoſa* to rebel, he ordered all the *Dutch* male priſoners to be ſlain, which was done accordingly; ſome being beheaded, others killed in a more barbarous manner. The dead carcaſſes after they were ſtripped quite naked, were to the number of 500, thus buried 50 and 60 in a hole; of all the reſt, only the ſuperviſor of the countrey with 25 others, were ſaved and carried to *China*, tho' they even did not ſpare the women and children, many of whom were likewiſe ſlain, tho' ſome of the beſt were preſerved for the uſe of the commanders, and the reſt ſold to the common ſoldiers: Happy was ſhe that happened to fall to the lot of an unmarried man, being thereby freed from the importunities of the *Chineſe* women, who are very jealous of their huſbands. They were however afterwards, purſuant to the capitulation, ſent back to *Batavia*. Among the ſlain were Mr. *Hambrocock*, Mr. *Mus*, and Mr. *Arnold Winſhaim*, three miniſters, and many ſchoolmaſters, who were all beheaded.

The Dutch *priſoners killed by* Koxinga.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting here, the *Dutch* in *Batavia* had got notice of this invaſion by the *Mary* yacht, which in ſpite of the contrary ſeaſon had found means to get thither, and to give them an account how matters ſtood with us. Ten ſhips were immediately got ready with 700 ſoldiers aboard them, which ſet ſail in *June* 1661, under the command of *Jacob Kou*, and not long after arrived at the iſle of *Formoſa*. This unexpected relief as it put the enemy into no ſmall conſternation, ſo it encouraged our men to make a more vigorous defence than ever; and tho' the wind blew very hard, theſe ſhips found means to land ſome men and ammunition; but the winds increaſing more and more, were forced to chooſe the main, to the no ſmall grief of the beſieged, and did not return till about a month after; when the ſhip called the *Urk* being forced upon a rock on the coaſt of *Formoſa*, was ſplit, and her men ſaved, from whom the enemy having underſtood our ſtrength, and ſome other circumſtances, they began to be better ſatisfied, becauſe they had imagined this ſuccour much more formidable than really it was.

Succours ſent to Formoſa.

The beſieged make a ſally.

However the beſieged took a reſolution by making a vigorous ſally to diſlodge the enemy from the city of *Zelandia*, and to deſtroy their ſhips. The 16th of *September* was appointed for this enterpriſe, but whilſt ſome ſhips were engaged, the wind beginning to ſlacken, the reſt could not come up; our men endeavoured to attack the *Chineſe* in their boats, but being expoſed to their ſhot, without being able to do them much harm, ours had the worſt on't, ſome of the boats being overſet, others ſunk, the reſt ſaving themſelves by flight. Two of our ſhips got upon the ſands and were both ſet on fire. In this ſea engagement the *Dutch* loſt about 130 men, but the enemy a great many more; however this unfortunate action put a ſtop to the intended ſally, and orders were ſent to the garriſons of the two northern forts, to withdraw into the caſtle, the garriſon of which was conſiderably diminiſhed by the many ſkirmiſhes, in which the enemy got but little advantage, and loſt many of their beſt men; which put a check for ſome time to their deſign, eſpecially when they underſtood that we had ſent all women, children, and other uſeleſs perſons to *Batavia*, the better to enable us to make a vigorous defence.

1659. *The* Dutch *worſted.*

Much about the ſame time the governor received letters from the *Tartarian* ſtadtholder of *Hockſieu*, who requeſted ſome ſhips and forces, to drive the remaining forces of *Koxinga* out of the countrey, promiſing to come afterwards with his whole power to the relief of *Formoſa*. Hereupon *Jacob Kou* was ſent thither with five ſhips well provided with men and ammunition; but being overtaken by a ſtorm, loſt all his anchors near the *Piſkadores*, which obliged him to ſend back three of his ſhips to the iſland of *Teywan*: With the other two he returned to *Batavia*, where he met with but an indifferent reception.

The Tartars *promiſe ſuccours.*

The beſieged finding themſelves by this diſaſter bereaved of a conſiderable number of men and ammunition, began to deſpair of holding it out much longer; ſo that many deſerted, and among the reſt a certain ſerjeant, who gave *Koxinga* not only an account of our weakneſs, but alſo encouraged him not to let ſlip this opportunity to force us to a ſurrender. *Koxinga* having well weigh'd the matter, attacked us with his whole force more vigorouſly than ever, and in *January* 1662 raiſed three batteries, mounted with 28 great cannon, upon the ſandy grounds near the fort; the *Dutch* foreſaw the danger that muſt needs enſue from this near approach of the enemy's batteries, and did all that they could, either with cannon or firelocks, to diſturb them in their works, but theſe not hindring, their men continued to batter the walls till they had made a breach; then they made two ſeveral attacks, but were as often repulſed with great loſs, the ground being all over covered with dead carcaſſes. This diſaſter taught them to be more cautious, and ſo inſtead of ſtorming, they continued to fire inceſſantly their guns with ſuch a fury that they laid a whole redoubt level with the ground,

1662. *The* Chineſe *renew the attack againſt the fort.*

Are repulſed.

1662. ſo that our men finding it no longer tenible, nailed up the guns, and laid ſome barrels with gunpowder under it, which blowed up a conſiderable number of *Chineſe* into the air. *Koxinga* himſelf was in danger of having been among them, had he not been forewarned by the before mentioned ſerjeant, who told him that it was too dangerous to venture himſelf in a place ſo lately left by the enemy. Here *Koxinga* raiſed a large battery upon a riſing ground, from whence he hoped to lay the body of the caſtle level with the ground. The *Dutch* on their ſide were not idle to do what poſſibly could be expected for their defence, with cannon ſhot, granados and otherwiſe; they raiſed their breſt-works, and put great packs of linnen and ſtuffs into the breach; notwithſtanding which the enemy played inceſſantly upon them, and againſt night had made ſo large a breach as was judged ſufficient to make a general aſſault. Then it was the beſieged began to deliberate what was beſt to be done in this exigency, whether, ſince there was no longer abiding in the caſtle, they ſhould make a ſally and force their way to the enemy, or whether they ſhould abide the aſſault: The moſt were for a capitulation, there being not the leaſt hopes left of making a ſally with any ſucceſs, and to reſiſt the whole force of the *Chineſe* in a place without defence, expoſed to the enemies ſhot, was looked upon no leſs than to ſacrifice themſelves to their enemies; theſe conſiderations were ſo prevailing at laſt, that it was unanimouſly agreed to capitulate, and to ſurrender the caſtle upon articles; this was put in execution immediately, a truce of five days being agreed on for that purpoſe, at the expiration of which, after great conteſts it was agreed, *That every thing belonging to the company ſhould be delivered up to* Koxinga. *That all the inhabitants, ſoldiers and priſoners, ſhould have free liberty to retire to* Batavia *with all their moveables, for which purpoſe they ſhould be provided with ſuitable conveniencies.* Thus the beſieged after having endured a ſiege of nine months, with the loſs of 1600 men, returned to *Batavia*, where the governour and members of the council of *Formoſa*, after all the hazards and incredible fatigues they had been forced to undergo, were put in priſon, and their goods confiſcated; the governour himſelf being not long after condemned to a perpetual impriſonment in the iſle of *Ey*; but was at the interceſſion of his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and by orders from the directors of the *Eaſt-India* company in *Holland* diſcharged, and returned to his native countrey 1676. Since we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the iſland of *Formoſa*, I will give you a ſhort account of it.

The Dutch *defend themſelves to the utmoſt.*

The fort of Zelandia *ſurrendred.*

The iſle of *Formoſa* is ſituated under the 23 deg. 30 min. northern latitude. It is of an oblong figure, being not very broad in proportion to its length, which is 125 leagues. It is full of hills, but intermixed with many fertile vallies, producing great ſtore of graſs, and watered by many fine rivers. The countrey produces abundance of rice, but eſpecially ſugar, vaſt quantities of which are exported from thence. Moſt of the *Indian* fruits are to be ſeen here, of which more hereafter, as alſo ſeveral ſorts of *Dutch* fruits, herbs, and roots, tranſplanted thither from *Holland*, as peaches, apricots, and ſuch like; cows, oxen, hogs, wild goats, hares, and rabbets, but eſpecially ſtags are here in great plenty, but the laſt are ſomewhat of a leſſer ſize than thoſe of *Europe*, and without horns; the inhabitants catch vaſt numbers of them meerly for their ſkins ſake, the fleſh being not eſteem'd here, except their tongues. They have alſo great ſtore of elks here, which being very ſtrong they uſe in their carts inſtead of horſes or oxen. One time the maſter of our ſhip and I being invited to dinner at his ſiſter's that was married to a native of *Formoſa*, they ſent us a carr drawn by bufflers; the maſter of the ſhip who underſtood better how to govern the ſhip than thoſe beaſts, would needs ſupply the carr-mans place, but prickt the bufflers ſo unmercifully (according to the cuſtom of the countrey) that they run away with us: for ſome time we kept ſtedfaſt in the carr, which overturning at laſt, threw us at a great diſtance, but to our great good fortune, without any conſiderable harm; we walkt the reſt of the way on foot, leaving the ordinary carr-man, a native of *Formoſa*, to recover the bufflers, which he did at laſt, and brought them home. Neither do they want partridges, wild pidgeons, and other wild fowl; there are alſo tygers and bears to be met with, but I never heard of any other ravenous wild beaſts here. The mountains are full of brimſtone, which queſtionleſs occaſions ſo many earthquakes, unto which this iſle is much ſubject. Some are of opinion that theſe mountains contain likewiſe gold and ſilver, ſome eſſays of this nature having been made with good ſucceſs, but it was never attempted to dig for it. This iſland is deſtitute of good harbours for great ſhips, which are forced to ride at anchor in the road of ſome iſles about twelve leagues, from thence. The countrey is very populous, for beſides the natives of *Formoſa*, above 25000 *Chineſe* forced out of *China* by the *Tartars*, have at ſeveral times ſettled themſelves here.

1662 *The iſle of* Formoſa.

Nativ Formo...

The natives of *Formoſa*, eſpecially the men, are of an olive colour, fat, ſtrong, well-limbed and nimble, ſome being able

1662. to out-run a wild boar or ſtag; they leap upon the back of them and ſo cut their throats. The mountainers are of a leſſer ſize. The women are not altogether ſo large as the men, but very ſtrong bodied, and are cloathed after the ſame faſhion; they have black ſhining hair, which they tye together in a knot on the top of the head.

Their cloathing. The men throughout the ſummer appear for the moſt part quite naked; but thoſe who do not, eſpecially in the winter, wear a kind of ſilk or callico cloth, which they wrap about their bodies, and button it under the arms; the womens hangs ſomewhat lower down below the knees. Stuffs made of dogs hair are in great eſteem with them. They cut off the dogs hair, like as we do our ſheeps wool, ſpin and weave it afterwards. They are generally very friendly and faithful to the *Europeans*, and don't eaſily break a contract; they are very apprehenſive, and will give a good judgment of matters; many of them were already converted to the chriſtian religion by the induſtry of the miniſters and ſchoolmaſters, which were planted almoſt in every village, there being no ſmall hopes that the whole iſland would in a little time have embraced chriſtianity, had not the conqueſt of *Koxinga* overturned this good deſign.

Their food. Their bread is made of ſeveral roots, but rice is in the greateſt eſteem; tho' they ſow no more than for their own uſe, and that ſcarce ſufficient. Their drink is here, like all over the *Indies*, water, though they prepare likewiſe a ſtrong liquor of rice in the following manner: They juſt parboil the rice and then beat it to a pap, then ſeveral old women chew a certain quantity of rice, which they ſpit out into a veſſel, and mix it with the reſt, to make it ferment. After they have put it into earthen pots, they pour water upon it, and after they have covered it very well, ſet it to ferment for two months, till it is well ſettled and clear, this produces a very ſtrong liquor, which will keep good 20 years, and grow ſtronger every year. When they go abroad into the fields, they take of this liquor along with them to drink, and the ſettlement for their food; moſt of the rice here being conſumed in theſe liquors.

The women manage the ground. Contrary to the cuſtom of moſt other nations, the women cultivate the grounds here, and manage the rice, ſugar, ginger, and other fruits of the earth; the men being employed in nothing but hunting and warlike exploits, unleſs they be very old, when ſometimes they will give a helping hand to the women in the field. At leiſure time the women catch crabs, oyſters, and ſhrimps, which they much admire.

The men are mighty eager in hunting. Whole villages join together, and ſurround a great tract of ground, where they kill all they meet with, and divide it, few of the wild beaſts eſcaping their hands at that time. They alſo catch wild boars and ſtags with ſnares faſtned to canes; which the wild beaſt no ſooner touches but one or other of the legs is entangled in the ſnare, where they kill it immediately. They have alſo certain cane darts of ſix foot long, with ſeveral bent hooks at the one, and a bell at the other end; this they throw at the ſtags or other wild creatures, which being fixed in the body they trace it by the ſound of the bell till it begins to loſe its ſtrength by the loſs of blood, and ſo kill it. 1662. *The men employed in hunting.*

Their houſes. Their houſes are but one ſtory high, but very large, built of cane, with many doors looking to all four corners of the winds, and ſometimes more; they always raiſe their houſes three or four foot high from the ground, looking upon it otherwiſe as unwholeſome.

Their utenſils. Their houſes are adorn'd with painted callico hangings, with wild boars and ſtags heads; with bows, arrows, clubs, pickaxes, and other warlike inſtruments, but eſpecially with the ſkulls and bones of their enemies, which they look upon as the chiefeſt ornament of their houſes: They eat and drink for the moſt part out of wooden veſſels, or ſuch as are made of bamboo-canes, but have ſome earthen pots to dreſs their victuals in, and for ſome other particular uſes.

Their government. This iſle has no king or general governor, each village being a kind of a petty common-wealth; their government conſiſts of twelve perſons, which muſt be at leaſt 40 years of age, and are choſen out of the chiefeſt among them; they continue for life; all their power conſiſts only in conſulting what is moſt expedient for the common good, the reſult of which is propoſed to the aſſembly of the whole village, who receive it with a great deal of ſedateneſs, and after the breaking up of the aſſembly they debate among themſelves what is beſt to be done; if they approve of the propoſition made to them, it has the force of a law, if not, it is of no conſequence. They are alſo much addicted to follow the directions of their propheteſſes or ſhe prieſts; at a certain ſeaſon of the year, they are obliged to go quite naked for three months, otherwiſe (ſay they) we ſhall want rain. At another certain time they are debarr'd from wearing ſilk or other fine cloths, or if they do, their council has power to ſtrip them of them, and to tear them to pieces before their faces, unleſs they redeem them by a certain number of ſtags-ſkins, rice or ſtrong liquor. Corporal puniſhments are unknown

1662. unknown to them; beſides this prerogative of conſulting and puniſhing, they are upon the ſame level with the reſt.

Age in high eſteem among them. Age is the only thing in extraordinary reſpect among them; this they ſhew in giving way, either in the ſtreets or at table, to their elders, who are alſo firſt ſerved, and ſpeak before the reſt.

Their marriage. The men never marry before they are 50 years of age, but the women as ſoon as they are marriageable. The natives of *Formoſa* don't ſuffer their hair to grow below their ears, before they come to the ſtate of manhood, when they let it grow as long as it can. If a young man has a mind to marry a certain maid, he ſends one of his friends with the ordinary marriage preſents, which are commonly a *Chineſe* ſuit of cloths, bracelets of twiſted reeds, ſome broad rings of iron or braſs, and ſuch like baubles of an inconſiderable value; if the maid accepts of the preſents, the match is made. Whilſt they are young they don't dwell together in the ſame houſe, which is not allow'd of 'till the huſband be 50 years of age. But as ſoon as the young married man has an inclination to meet with his wife, he comes privately into her hut, which is commonly in the field, and lays himſelf down in the place where ſhe commonly ſleeps, where ſhe comes to him, but is ſure to ſend him away again early in the morning. All the children begot betwixt them, before both the huſband and wife be arrived to the age of 37 years, are kill'd; for after the woman is ſure ſhe is with child, one of their ſhe prieſts lays the big bellied woman upon her back, and ſqueezes her ſo long with her hands and feet till ſhe miſcarries, not without great hazard and pains, which they willingly undergo, becauſe they reckon it a great ſin to keep any children, begot before that time, alive, but preſerve them carefully afterwards. The mother keeps the infant cloſe by her till it be two years old, when it is ſometimes permitted to ſee the father. Their marriages are as ſoon diſſolv'd as they are contracted, and that upon very ſlight occaſions; but if the huſband parts from his wife without any reaſon, he loſes his marriage preſents, but in caſe of adultery, or that the woman is out-rageous, his marriage preſents muſt be reſtored unto him; the women enjoy the ſame prerogative, both parties being afterwards at liberty to marry where they pleaſe, which ſometimes happens twice or thrice a year. They make no great account of fornication, provided it may be done in private, but are very cautious of committing inceſt.

Juſtice. Here are no courts of juſtice, every one being at liberty to take ſatisfaction for murther, theft or adultery committed againſt him. If a man be robb'd, and knows who the thief is, he goes ſtreight to his houſe and fetches either by fair or foul means as much from thence as he thinks will ſufficiently repay his loſs, which however occaſions great diſputes, nay murther. He that has kill'd another flies for it till he has given ſatisfaction to the deceaſed's kindred, which conſiſts commonly in ſome hogs and ſtags-ſkins, then he may return unmoleſted. Adultery, when diſcovered, is commonly made up with two or three hogs, according to the ability of the cuckold-maker, which done the cuckold lives both with him and his wife in good correſpondence. Sometimes one or more villages engage in war againſt one another, and ſurpriſe thoſe that work in the field, whom they kill, and carry their heads and what booty they can get, to their houſes; this they often do in the night time; if they have had good ſucceſs, they rejoyce after their return home, with eating and drinking to great exceſs. Thoſe who have behaved themſelves well in ſuch an expedition, are eſteemed before the reſt. 1662.

Their weapons. Their weapons are long and broad ſhields, inſtead of targets, wherewith they cover their bodies, ſhort and broad ſcymeters which do great execution, darts pointed with iron; they have alſo bows and arrows, but uſe no firelocks. As far as ever I could learn, they have no writings or books; their pagan idolatry is tranſmitted from the parents to their children by word of mouth; they believe the world to have neither beginning nor end, and that the ſouls of ſuch as have done well, ſhall be rewarded hereafter. As ſoon as they are dead, the friends erect a kind of ſcaffold before the door of the houſe, where they place the dead carcaſs ſurrounded with ſmall ſtandards; near by they ſet a veſſel with water for the ſoul to bath it ſelf in, and to waſh away all its ſins; as for inſtance, to have brought children into the world before 37 years of age; to have worn rich cloaths in the forbidden ſeaſon; to have catch'd oyſters, crabs and ſuch like inſignificant things; but murther, man-ſlaughter, adultery, fornication, theft, and ſuch like horrid crimes, they look upon as ſmall treſpaſſes only, which may be expiated by a certain quantity of rice, ſtags-ſkins and ſtrong liquors.

Religion. They have ſeveral Gods, but adore two in particular; when it thunders they ſay the great man is angry with his ſpouſe, and for that reaſon refuſes to ſend them rain, for which reaſon they adore his ſpouſe; the other they ſay, is of a malicious nature, and therefore adore him, for fear he ſhould hurt them. They have no other but female prieſts, they ſacrifice pigs, ſtags and fruits; during which the ſhe prieſts cry out, and

1662. fall into extaſies afterwards, with tremblings all over their bodies, as if they were poſſeſs'd by an evil ſpirit, and then they pretend the idol diſcovers his ſecrets to them: The ſtanders by, which are for the moſt part women, in the mean while get drunk with ſtrong liquors. Theſe female prieſts aſcend to the top of their temples, where they expoſe themſelves quite naked, and waſh their bodies in the ſight of the people. They pretend to foretel good or ill fortune, to baniſh the devil, and to purge unhallowed places. It was formerly a cuſtom in ſome certain villages, that if any of the natives lay ſick, paſt all hopes of recovery, they uſed to tie a rope about his neck, and ſo pull him up and let him down again, till they had cured his diſtemper by a certain death. They dry their dead carcaſſes over a fire, which occaſions a nauſeous ſcent, whilſt the kindred, relations and friends paſs away the time with eating, drinking and dancing for ſeveral days together. The dry'd corps is kept two years after, and then buried in the houſe. This was the ancient government of the iſle of *Formoſa*, but ſince the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company has got footing there, they have introduced other laws among them, and inſtead of their councils, conſtituted one of their chief men as ſupervisor in every village, who adminiſtered juſtice, and was accountable to the governor of the iſland. Thus much of *Formoſa*, 'tis time to return to our voyage.

The author goes to Malacca.

After we had left *Teywan*, the 11th of *December*, we arrived the 30th of the ſame month without any remarkable accident, before the city of *Malacca*, where we dropt anchor, and found Mr. *John Tiiſs* to be chief director there for our *Eaſt-India* company.

The countrey and city of Malaga.

The kingdom of *Malacca*, otherwiſe *Maleja* or *Maleca*, thus called after its capital city, is ſituate upon the ſame tract of ground or demi-iſland, which comprehends the kingdoms of *Martevan*, *Quedam*, *Pera* and ſome other countries extending it ſelf as far as *Sumatra*, the ſtreights of which border upon it to the weſt and ſouth, as the kingdoms of *Pan* and *Johor* do to the eaſt. The kingdom of *Malacca* is by ſome hiſtorians taken for the *Golden Cherſoneſe* of *Ptolemy*, tho' at preſent it is no demi-iſland. There are ſome who affirm, that in former ages *Malacca* was join'd by a ſtreight neck of land to the iſle of *Sumatra*, inſtead of which you ſee now a branch of the ocean, which divides its ſelf into two navigable channels; the firſt of which is call'd the ſtreights of *Sinkapura*, becauſe it borders on the eaſt ſide of the cape of that name; the other is call'd the channel of *Saban*, from an iſland that lies to the weſt of it. This country extends for about 64 leagues in length, all along the ſea-coaſt, beginning at the iſland of *Cambilan* or *Zabilan* as far as the iſle of *Beitan*, its utmoſt boundary on that ſide, or rather it ends in the cape of *Sinkapura*, 20 leagues from *Malacca*. 1662.

Its capital city.

Its capital city is likewiſe call'd *Malacca*, being the ſame, in former time call'd *Takola*; it lies under 2 deg. 30 min. of northern latitude, oppoſite to *Sumatra*, in a bay at the aſcent of a hill, on the weſt-ſide of the river *Muar* (otherwiſe call'd *Gaze* and *Tyga* and *Kroſant*, or as the *Dutch* expreſs it *Kriiſorant*) which having its riſe deep in the countrey, divides the caſtle from the city, and waſhing its walls, falls with a rapid current into the ſea. Croſs this river is a ſtrong bridge built of ſtone, with ſeveral arches: This city is very large in compaſs, being not many years before ſurrounded with a wall of ſquare ſtones and baſtions, by the *Dutch*. It is very populous, the houſes being built very cloſe, tho' it has ſome very broad and handſome ſtreets, which are planted on both ſides with trees. In the midſt of the city is a hill with a very fair church dedicated to *St. Paul*, on the top of it, where divine ſervice is perform'd in *Dutch*: The ſteeple, church and monaſteries founded here by the *Portugueſe*, are much decay'd. Moſt of the houſes here are built of ſtrong bamboo canes, which are very durable in dry weather, tho' there are alſo ſome ſtone houſes here; they are generally not very large, and low, provided with ſmall appartments and ſlenderly furniſh'd.

Malacca when taken by the Portugueſe.

The city of *Malacca* was in 1610 taken by *Albuquerque* the *Portugueſe* general, in the following manner: One *Manuel*, an *Arabian*, or rather *Mahometan*, by birth, being at that time king of *Malacca*, entred into a league with *Albuquerque*, which he ſoon broke after, putting all the *Portugueſe* to the ſword. *Albuquerque* ſoon after appeared before the city, and attack'd it unexpectedly, whilſt the king and his courtiers were feaſting at the wedding of his daughter; the *Portugueſe* ſet fire to one end of the city, notwithſtanding which, the inhabitants defended themſelves like deſperate men, even the women untiling the houſes, and giving what aſſiſtance they could for the defence of the place; but at laſt the *Portugueſe* having fought their way thro' the arm'd elephants, they entred the city, forcing the king to fly into the wilderneſs, where he died. They got a vaſt booty and above 200000 crowns in money. The *Portugueſe* were very careful to fortify the town by a ſtrong caſtle, and built ſeveral fine churches and monaſteries; they had

1662. had five parochial churches, and monaſteries in great numbers. Among the reſt, the jeſuits had erected a noble college here, with magnificent appartments; they were very liberal, and received all ſtrangers travelling to thoſe parts. There was a church here dedicated to our lady, where they ſay *Xaverius* preached often, and performed great miracles. Upon a high hill, within the city, the capuchins had a monaſtery; whilſt the *Roman* catholicks were in poſſeſſion of it, it was erected into a biſhoprick, under the archbiſhop of *Goa*. Not many years before the *Portugueſe* made themſelves maſters of it, it was no more than a village, but by the *Javaneſe* made a city.

Malacca *attack'd by the* Dutch.

The *Dutch* admiral *Corielius Matclief* 1605, appeared with 11 ſhips and 1300 ſoldiers before the city of *Malacca*, where at that time *Don Furtado de Mendoza*, a brave ſoldier, was commander in chief: The firſt thing he did was to ſieze upon 4 ſhips that lay in the road; afterwards he ſet fire to the ſuburbs, and batter'd the place for two or three months, which occaſioned great famine and mortality within the city. But the *Portugueſe*, who were ſenſible of the importance of this place, ſent a conſiderable fleet from *Goa* to their relief, which engaging with ours, a ſmall fight enſued, in which the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* loſt two ſhips each; at laſt the *Portugueſe* finding the *Dutch* reſolved to board them, retired under the caſtle, but were ſo cloſely purſued by *Matclief*, that he ruined their whole fleet, conſiſting of 16 galleots, 14 galeaſſes, and 14 ſmaller veſſels, with 3000 men on board them.

The Dutch *take* Malacca.

The king of *Johor* beſieged the city of *Malacca* in 1606, with 60000 men, the *Portugueſe* having maintained themſelves there till 1640, when the *Dutch* after a ſiege of ſix months made themſelves maſters of it; after the *Portugueſe* had been in poſſeſſion of it 130 years. The *Dutch* found here beſides a vaſt booty, a great cannon which carried a ſhot of 64 pounds weight, ſince which time the *Dutch* have left no ſtone unturn'd to ſtock this city with all ſorts of neceſſaries as well as with inhabitants, both *Dutch* and *Indians*. The origin and progreſs of *Malacca* is this, deſcribed by *Barros* and ſome other hiſtorians.

The origin of Malacca.

The foundation of *Malacca* was laid about 250 years before the arrival of the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies*. About that time one *Sangeſinga* reign'd in *Sinkapura*, ſituate under 30 min. of northern latitude, and in the neighbouring countrey of *Java*, one *Paraviſa*, who at his death left two ſons under the guardianſhip of his own brother, their uncle; but he having found means to murder the eldeſt, uſurped the throne; at which ſome of the noble *Javaneſe* being highly diſguſted, did with *Paramiſora*, their late king's youngeſt ſon, fly to *Sinkapura*, where they met with a kind reception from *Sangeſinga*, but it was not long before *Paramiſora*, in combination with his *Javaneſe*, murder'd *Sangeſinga*, and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of his kingdom. The king of *Siam* being highly exaſperated at the treachery committed againſt *Sangeſinga*, his vaſſal and ſon-in-law, forced the *Javaneſe* to quit the countrey, who being now obliged to ſeek for a new habitation, ſettled themſelves near the river *Muar*, where they built a ſtrong hold, call'd *Pagopago*; beſides the *Javaneſe*, *Paramiſora* was follow'd by 2000 others, ſuch as they call *Cellati*, who live upon fiſhing and robbing; but tho' they had been very inſtrumental in reſettling him in *Sinkapura*, he did not think fit to receive them within the body of his new built city; which made them ſettle their colony about three or four leagues from the river *Muar*, not far from whence *Malacca* now lies; where they join'd with the inhabitants, who were half ſavages; ſince which time their language is call'd the *Malaga* language. But when they began to be ſtreighten'd for room, ſome of them ſettled themſelves about a quarter of a league from thence, on a hill call'd *Bitan*, ſurrounded with a large plain: *Paramiſora* being taken with the conveniency and pleaſant ſituation of this place, abandon'd *Pagopago*, and tranſplanted his colony near this place, which afterwards was call'd *Malacca*, *i. e.* a baniſh'd perſon, in memory of the exiled *Javaneſe*; and in proceſs of time, all the traffick of *Sinkapura* was transferr'd to *Malacca*. *Saquan Dorſa*, ſon of *Paramiſora*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and having ſubmitted himſelf as a vaſſal to the king of *Siam*, reduced the whole countrey of *Sinkapura* to the eaſt, as far as *Puto* on the iſle of *Zambilan*, which lies weſt of *Malacca*, a tract of land of forty leagues in length. The ſucceſſors of *Saquan Dorſa* found means to ſhake off by degrees the yoke of the king of *Siam*, and to make themſelves ſoveraign kings, eſpecially after they were by the *Perſians*, and thoſe of *Surat*, brought over to the mahometan religion. The king of *Siam* 1502, about 9 years before the *Portugueſe* became maſters of *Siam*, did attack the king of *Malacca* with a fleet of 200 ſail, aboard of which were 6000 ſoldiers, under the conduct of *Laoſamava Privan*, his admiral and governor of *Ligoor*, but his fleet was miſerably ſcatter'd by a tempeſt, and many of his ſhips fell into the hands of the mahometans by treachery.

Its traffick.

The harbour of *Malacca* is one of the fineſt in all the *Indies*, being navigable at all the ſeaſons of the year, a conveniency belong-

1662. belonging ſcarce to any other in the *Indies*. It it moſt conveniently ſituated for traffick, for there you may to this day ſee vaſt numbers of merchants ſhips coming from *Bengal*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, and in ſhort from all parts of the *Indies*. Whilſt the *Portugueſe* were in poſſeſſion of it, this city was very famous for its traffick and riches in gold, precious ſtones, and all other rarities of the *Indies*; *Malacca* being the key of the *China* and *Japan* trade, and of the *Malacca* iſlands and *Sunda*. In ſhort *Malacca* was the richeſt city in the *Indies*, next to *Goa* and *Ormus*. Before the *Dutch* had made themſelves maſters of *Malacca*, a ſhip was ſent every year thither from *Portugal*, which ſetting out a month before their *Eaſt-India* fleet, and taking its direct courſe thither, without ſtaying in any place, except in caſe of neceſſity, uſed to freight there, and return with a richer cargo than any other ſhip ever did.

Great paſſage thro' the ſtreights of Malacca.

All the ſhips that came from the north, *viz.* of *China*, *Japan*, *Siam*, *Cambodia*, *Tonking* and *Manilha*, and are bound for the weſt, to wit to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, *Bengale*, and other places thereabouts, as likewiſe thoſe coming from the weſt to the north, muſt paſs thro' the ſtreights of *Malacca* or *Sinkapura*, and conſequently by *Malacca*, as I told you before. The *Portugueſe* uſed to take 10 *per cent.* cuſtom of all ſhips paſſing that way, whereby they got vaſt riches, but the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company has aboliſh'd this, looking upon it as an unreaſonable impoſition, and are contented to traffick there. *Malacca* is a countrey producing but very little it ſelf, but muſt be look'd upon as the ſtaple of the *Indies*, whither all precious commodities are brought from *China*, the *Molucca* and other neighbouring iſlands, from *Bengal*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, *Pegu* and other places. The iſland of *Sumatra* furniſhes them with gold, pepper and other merchandiſes; from *Ligoor*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Outjang* and *Salang* they have vaſt quantities of tin, which is brought up thoſe places by the factors of the company, and ſent to *Malacca*, from whence it is tranſported to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, to *Bengal*, *Perſia* and *Surat*, and ſold for ready money. The *Chineſe* bring hither vaſt ſtores of ſilk and porcelain, damaſks, brocados, ſattins, muſk, rhubarb, iron, ſaltpeter, fine ſilver, pearls great and ſmall, ivory and *China* fans, which they exchange for pepper, frankincenſe, ſtuffs of *Camboya*, coral wrought and unwrought, painted callicoes of *Palakatte*, and white callicoes of *Bengal*, cinnabar, quick-ſilver, and ſuch other drugs as come from *Camboya*. The iſland of *Java* ſupplies them with rice, oxen, ſheep, ſtags-fleſh and pork; in ſhort, there is ſuch a vaſt traffick and concourſe of merchants here, that from thence probably it got the name of the *Golden Cherſoneſus* among the ancients; *Malacca* being certainly the richeſt harbour that can be ſeen; for formerly, and even to this day, the merchants were ſo rich here, that they uſed to compute by no leſs than by bars of gold, of which a vaſt quantity is found near the rivers and in the mountains to the weſt, to wit, on the famous rivers *Kedan*, and *Peren* or *Peragh*. The mahometans living along the coaſt, uſed formerly to trade hither with linen and ſome other commodities, but not ſo much of late years, neither is the pepper trade ſo conſiderable here now, as in former days, ſince the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company have ſettled their factories on the eaſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, which produces great quantities of pepper. However, ſhips are ſometimes detained here for a conſiderable time, by reaſon of the contrary *Monzon* or ſeaſon winds.

Coin of Malacca.

Formerly they had no other coin but what was made of tin at *Malacca*, being of great weight, but little value; or rather they exchanged their commodities for gold and ſilver by weight; but now they coin both gold and ſilver, a piece of eight being worth commonly two gilders 11 ſtivers. They have two ſorts of weights, *viz.* the great and ſmall bar: The great bar conſiſts of 200 *Kattys*, each *Katty* containing 26 *Tayls*, or 38½ ounces *Portugueſe* weight, a *Tayl* being a ounce and a half: The ſmall bar comprehends likewiſe 200 *Kattys*, each *Katty* comprehending 22 *Tayls*. According to the computation of others, a bar of *Malacca* contains 200 *Kattys Aetſhyns*, or three *Chineſe Pikol* each *Pikol* computed at 122 pound weight, making altogether 366 pound weight. The great bar or weight is made uſe of when they weigh pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, white and red ſandals, indigo, allum, eagles-wood and civet; with the leſſer weight, quick-ſilver, copper, leaf-gold, oil of nutmegs, benzoin, camphire and ſuch like commodities. The city of *Malacca* is inhabited by many *Dutch*, but for the moſt part by *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*, ſome *Chineſe*, *Pagans* and *Jews*, for the conveniency of traffick.

The Malatawny.

The *Malayars* or natives of *Malacca* are with long black hair, great eyes and flat noſes; they deduce their origin from the *Javaneſe*, but their eyes are quite different, they are for the moſt part naked, wearing only a piece of ſtuff wrapt about the middle, with their arms and legs naged. Their only ornament being gold bracelets and earings ſet with precious ſtones. The

Their cloaths.

women

1662. women wear ſilk cloaths and ſhort ſkirts, embroidred with gold and precious ſtones, ſome of which are twiſted in their locks, which are very long. The women are extravagantly proud here, expecting more reverence than any other *Indian* women.

Kakerlakken. There is alſo another peculiar ſort of men in *Malacca*, called by the *Dutch Kakerlakken* (from a certain monſtrous creature in the *Indies* of the ſame name) who are blind by day, and can only ſee by night. They can tell money, work, and do any other thing in the dark, which they cannot do by daylight, which they paſs away for the moſt part in ſleeping, and ſeldom riſe 'till ſunſet. In ſhape and proportion of their limbs, as well as by their complexion, they reſemble the *Europeans*, having commonly grey eyes; whereas all the eaſtern nations have black and dark brown eyes. Their hair is inclining to yellow, and of ſuch a length among the women, that it reaches down to their hipps; their feet are bent inward. The ſame kind is likewiſe found in ſome other places of the *Indies*, and in *Africa*.

The Malaya *tongue.* The language uſed at *Malacca* is called the *Malaya* tongue, from the natives of the countrey, being very famous throughout the *Eaſt-Indies*. For the general concourſe of ſo many nations, different in their languages, has put them upon a neceſſity of compiling a certain language, compoſed of the beſt and choiceſt words of all the reſt, which therefore is accounted the neateſt and moſt agreeable of the *Eaſt-Indies*, which is the reaſon that not only the neighbouring, but alſo far diſtant nations that trade with *Malacca*, are deſirous to learn it, and look upon it as a great accompliſhment. For the better encouragement of this language, and the benefit of their officers and factors, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company has cauſed a dictionary both in the *Malaya* and *Dutch* tongues to be publiſh'd.

Their religion. Moſt of the *Malayers* are either chriſtians or mahometans, tho' there are likewiſe ſome pagans and *Jews* ſettled at *Malacca*, for the convenience of commerce.

The countrey. The coaſt of *Malacca* is a flat or marſhy countrey, and conſequently not extraordinary wholeſome; but deeper in the countrey are many hills and wilderneſſes, which are plainly diſcovered at ſea. It produces but little for the ſuſtenance of life, except what is brought forth in gardens, and what grows among the mountains, where you meet with ſome rice and peaſe; the defect of which is ſupply'd by vaſt numbers of ſmall veſſels, which come every day from *Bengal* and *Sumatra*, and bring thither rice, and other eatables. However, they are pretty well ſtored with ſuch fruits as commonly grow in the *Indies*. The fruit *Durions* grow here much better and larger than in any other part of the *Indies*: They have likewiſe *Ananas*, *Jambos*, *Mangoes*, *Karambolas* and *Papajas*; they have whole woods of cocotrees. Here grows a certain tree call'd the mourning-tree by the *Portugueſe*, becauſe its flowers cloſe up in the night-time. Here you may meet alſo with cinamon trees, but not very many, neither do they approach in goodneſs to thoſe of *Ceylon*. But of *Kalamback* or *Aloes* wood and *Benzoin* they have great plenty. Here are to be found ſome *Indian* fruits, peculiar only to this place, but no pears, apples, plums, cheries, or any ſuch like *European* fruits. Oxen, cows, ſheep and horſes are likewiſe very ſcarce here, which are brought thither a great way out of the countrey, and are ſeldom very fat. Formerly the countrey hereabouts did abound in wild beaſts of all ſorts, ſuch as tygers, elephants, *&c.* which were ſo ravenous, that they uſed to break in the night-time into the houſes of the inhabitants, who for their better ſecurity, uſed to ſleep upon trees; but ſince it has been ſo well peopled by the *Dutch*, this ſort of wild beaſts are but ſeldom heard of. 1662.

Cape Rachado *and* Barcelai. Juſt by *Malacca* is the cape or point of land call'd *Rachado*, and the cape of *Barcelai*, being a very high mountain near a point of land. Not far from *Malacca* is a very large mountain call'd *Madian*, which by reaſon of the vaſt quantities of ſalt-petre it contains within its bowels, 1646, did break out with ſuch a terrible noiſe and earthquakes, as if the day of judgment was at hand.

The mountain Madian.

Sinkapura. *Sinkapura* lies on the moſt ſouthern point of all *Aſia*, about half a degree to the north of the line, and 20 leagues from *Malacca*. This cape has imparted its name to the ſtreights of *Sinkapura*. The country of *Sinkapura* had before *Malacca* was built its own kings, and was the chiefeſt place of trade on this coaſt, being much frequented by the *Chineſe* merchants, and thoſe of *Camboya*. The mountains near the ſtreights of *Sinkapura* bearing the ſame name, produce moſt excellent diamonds. About *Sinkapura* is a certain nation, which with their whole families live always at ſea in their ſmall veſſels; they are called *Saletes*, live upon fiſhing, and are ſubject to the king of *Jor*. About two leagues beyond the ſtreights of *Sinkapura* is the river *Johor*, at the entrance of which you ſee two mountains, or rather high iſlands ſhaped like ſugar loaves; one is four times bigger than the other, lying N. N. E. as you enter the river, and the other N. E. On the other ſide of the river you diſcover a high hill, tho' the ſouth-ſide of the river is a champain country.

There

1662. There is 10 fathom water at the mouth of this river.

The iſle of Rocks. To the ſouth of *Malacca* is a ſmall iſle, of about half a league in compaſs, by the *Portugueſe* call'd *Ilha das Pedras*, or the *Iſle of Rocks*, and has very good freſh water.

About half a cannon ſhot from the city, another ſmall iſland call'd *Malacca*, and by the *Portugueſe Ilha das Naos*, or the *Ship Iſland*. Two leagues from *Malacca* is a pretty large iſle call'd *Sapta*. That vaſt point or tract of land on which the country of *Malacca* or *Malaya* lies, being the moſt ſouthern of all the *Eaſt-Indies*, comprehends likewiſe ſeveral other kingdoms and cities, to wit, *Patany*, *Pahan*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Johor* or *Jor*, *Ligoor*; and farther to the north the kingdom and city of *Tanaſſery*. We will give you a ſhort account of the kingdoms of *Johor*, *Putany*, *Ligoor* and *Pahan*.

The kingdom of Jor *or* Johor. The kingdom of *Jor* or *Johor* ſtands indebted for its name to its capital city, call'd by ſome *Goer* or *Goera*, and *Joar* or *Goar* or *Gohor*. It is ſituate at the very ſtreights of *Malacca*, bordering in part upon the kingdom of *Malacca*, and on the other ſide upon *Pan* or *Pahan*. The antient city of *Johor* or *Jor* (call'd in ſome maps *Guar*) was very large and magnificently built, but was in 1603 deſtroyed by the *Portugueſe*, who left only a few houſes ſtanding, which were immediately inhabited again. The king of *Johor* cauſed in 1609 another city to be built, ſomewhat higher up the river above *Johor*; this he call'd *Batuſabar*, towards the building of which, the *Dutch* under their admiral *Peter Verkoeven* contributed 3000 pieces of eight, out of the booty they had taken from the *Portugueſe* ſhips coming from *Makao*, near the cape *Rachado*. Moſt of the chief inhabitants of the old city of *Jor* retired from thence to *Batuſabar*; a half day's journey from whence is *Sedalli*, near the ſea-ſide. It is a very fertile country, abounding in lemons, and citrons as big as a man's head, *Bananaes*, *Batataes*, *Ananaes*, and other *Indian* fruits. They have alſo great ſtore of pepper, cinnamon, buffalers, cows, ſtags, wild boars, and divers ſorts of monkeys and birds, beſides ſome ſea-monſters.

The diſpoſition of the inhabitants. The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very laſcivious, liers, great diſſemblers, and proud beyond meaſure. Their complection is inclining to a light blue, with broad faces, crooked noſes, and very black teeth, which they acquire by chewing the weed *Betel*, black teeth being accounted a great ornament among them.

Their clothing. The common people go quite naked, having only a piece of ſtuff to cover their members, which hangs down to their toes. The rich and better ſort wear a kind of jackets made of blue, green or red callicoe, or what colour they pleaſe; they are ſhaped like our ſhirts, with wide ſleeves, are open before, and reach only to their knees. They have alſo two ſilken ſtrings of the ſame colour with the jacket, one ſerves for a girdle, the other for a head-ſtring. They paint their nails yellow, and the greater quality they pretend to the longer they wear their nails. The richer ſort commonly wear a poniard on their ſide, enriched with precious ſtones. Their king has many other petty kings, his vaſſals, under his juriſdiction. The king of *Jor* or *Johor* in 1606 attack'd the city of *Malacca* with 60000 men, which ſhews him to be a potent prince, and in the taking of the city of *Jor*, the *Portugueſe* got 1500 braſs pieces of cannon; in 1608, *Ratiſpont* the then king of *Jor*, being about 30 years of age, came aboard *Dutch* fleet with 30 of his wives, he had three gold chains ſet with precious ſtones about his neck, and his poinard was likewiſe enriched with ſapphires and diamonds, valued at 50000 gilders. The inhabitants are one half Mahometans, the other Pagans: 1609, one *John de Paratuan* was king of *Jor*, he was ſtyled the *Great King*, being likewiſe king of *Malacca*, and *Raya Sybrang*, *i. e.* prince of the other ſide of the river. In 1611, the king of *Azem* ſent back the brother of the king of *Jor*, with a fleet of 36 ſhips, and a convoy of 2000 men, with abundance of cannon and ammunition, in order to aſſiſt in the rebuilding of the city of *Jor*. It was generally reported, that the king of *Azem* having given his ſiſter in marriage to him, did intend to ſet him upon the throne, inſtead of his brother, who then reigned.

The iſle of Linga. *Linga* is an iſland under the juriſdiction of the king of *Johor*, who has a governor there; it produces abundance of *Zagu*, but no rice; in 1606 it had about 3000 inhabitants.

The kingdom of Pan or Pahan. The kingdom of *Pan* or *Pahan*, is by the *Portugueſe* call'd *Paon*, and by others after the *Arabians Phaan*; it being a cuſtom among the mahometan *Arabians* to pronounce *phe* inſtead of *p*. To the north it borders upon the kingdom of *Patane*, and adjoins to that of *Johor*, as well as to the ſtreights of *Malacca*. The city of *Pahan* is ſituate about a league from the ſea-ſhore, being inhabited only by the nobility, the common people dwelling in the ſuburbs. It is not very large, but ſurrounded with a wall made of the trunks of trees joined cloſe together, of about four fathoms high, ſtrengthened on each corner with a baſtion, but not fill'd with earth. The ſtreets are encloſed on both ſides with hedges of reeds, and planted with coco and other trees, reſembling rather ſome gardens adjoining to one another in the ſuburbs, than

1662. a well regulated city, the houſes being generally of reed and ſtraw, only the king's palace is of wood. The river of *Pahan* is very broad, but not navigable by galleys except at high water: The country round about is very low, and produces about 300 bahars of pepper; as likewiſe *Palo de Aquila* or eagle wood, *Kalamback* wood and camphire, but not ſo good as that of *Bornee*, gold (but very coarſe) nutmegs, mace, *Sapan* wood, diamonds, *Pedra de Porco*, or hogs ſtones, which are accounted a greater antidote than the bezoar ſtone. Deeper into the country are abundance of elephants. The inhabitants are the greateſt impoſtors in the world. The king is tributary to the king of *Siam*, but after *Albuquerque* had conquered *Malacca*, he ſent his deputies to *Pahan*, to oblige that king to promiſe fealty to him. At *Pahan* great quantities of baſkets are made and ſold, they are better than thoſe made in *Java*, but not ſo good as the *Portugueſe*. They alſo caſt great guns here of 3000 pounds weight. The inhabitants are partly mahometans, partly pagans. Their king who reigned in 1612, had married the youngeſt ſiſter of the queen of *Patane*. The two ſiſters having not ſeen one another in 28 years, the queen of *Patane* ſent to the king of *Pahan*, to deſire leave for her ſiſter, his ſpouſe, to come to ſee her, which the king refuſing, ſhe laid an embargo upon all the ſhips loaden with rice, and bound from *Siam*, *Campaja*, *Lugor*, and other places to *Pahan*; and immediately ſent a fleet of 70 ſhips, on board of which were 4000 men, with ſtrict orders to bring along with them the queen of *Pahan*, whether the king were willing or not; but it was not long before the king of *Pahan*, with the queen his ſpouſe, and two young children, being forced by famine and a revolt among his ſubjects to leave the country, came to viſit the queen of *Patane*, where they met at firſt but with a cold reception, not one of all the queen's court giving the king of *Pahan* as much as one viſit, but cauſed all his dogs to be kill'd, he being not able to keep them any longer. Some days after matters began however to look with a better face; for the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the queen of *Patane* invited the king of *Pahan* to a moſt ſumptuous feaſt, where ſhe diverted him with ſeveral *Indian* women dancers. The king of *Pahan* returned not long after with his queen, the ſiſter of the queen of *Patane*, into his country, but carried away with him no preſents to make him amends for the charge he had been at, having ſpent almoſt all he had. The king of *Pahan* who reigned in 1607. was then about 40 years of age, and his ſon had married the daughter of the king of *Queda*.

1662. *The kingdom of Patane.*

The kingdom of *Patane* or *Patany*, having derived its name from its capital city, borders to the ſouth upon *Pahan*, being ſituate upon the ſame eaſtern coaſt, to the north upon *Siam* and the kingdom of *Lugor* or *Ligor*; theſe two kingdoms being incorporated into one. The city of *Patane* is ſituate under 7 deg. 56 min. of northern latitude, not far from the ſea, and ſurrounded to the land-ſide by bogs. The harbour is about half a league from the city, which is about half a league in length, and very narrow, fortified with high wooden palliſado's put cloſe together, according to the cuſtom of theſe countries. The houſes are artificially built of wood and canes, and very lightſome. The ſuburbs are likewiſe much longer than broad, and are encompaſs'd on the back-ſide by a pleaſant rivulet. The royal palace and court where moſt perſons of quality live, are inviron'd with palliſado-work, in the nature of a *Palanck*; the mahometan church is a ſtately edifice of brick-work, gilt very richly within, and adorned with pillars, curiouſly wrought with figures. In the midſt cloſe to the wall is the pulpit, carv'd and gilt all over, unto which the prieſts are only permitted to aſcend by four large ſteps. They have alſo ſeveral temples dedicated to their *Pagan* idols, among which three excel the reſt. When the *Dutch* in 1602 ſettled firſt here, they ſaw in one of thoſe temples belonging to the ſubjects of the king of *Siam*, a gilt ſtatue reſembling a man, but of the bigneſs of a horſe, with one hand down and the other upwards. On each ſide ſtood a very large dragon gilt, with two ſtone ſtatues, to wit, a man on the one, and a woman on the other ſide, with their hands lift up to heaven. The ſame they ſaw in the ſecond, with this difference only, that one half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was one in the ſame poſture, with a gilt ſtreak croſs the breaſt; and behind the altar of the great idol, was another leſſer ſtatue reſembling a man, with a large horn in the forehead; this idol their prieſts ſay, repreſents the great God.

Temperature of the air.

The climate is very temperate and wholeſome here, notwithſtanding it lies near the line. Their ſummer begins in *February*, and continues nine months, *viz.* till the end of *October*, during which ſeaſon they have two different winds, to wit, by day from the ſea, and by night from the land-ſide. In *November*, *December* and *January* is their winter, when it blows and rains ſo violently from the north-eaſt, that there is no ſtirring for ſhips out of the harbour till *February*, when the wind turning to the eaſt the rains ceaſe, and the fair ſeaſon returns. The

countrey

1662. country of *Patane* is very fruitful, abounding in rice and many other fruits, the chiefeſt of which are the *Durions*, *Mangeſtans*, *Ananas*, *Lancrats*, *Ramboutans*, *Piſangs*, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and a peculiar kind of lemons, call'd *Gibol Lemons*, being tranſplanted hither from *China*. Each month here produces its peculiar fruits, tho' thoſe of certain months are preferable before the reſt. The grounds are plowed with bufflers or oxen, which they ſow with rice: They alſo plant good ſtore of pepper, but cannot ſell it ſo cheap here as in ſome other parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. The woods and wilderneſſes are ſtock'd with wild creatures, ſuch as hares, rabbits, (but not ſo big as ours) ſtags, wild boars, tigers, bufflers, elephants, apes, monkeys, geeſe and ducks, (which lay eggs twice every day) and turtle-doves as finely coloured as the beſt parrots. The wild hogs do incredible miſchief among the rice, which obliges the countrymen to watch in the field in the night-time; when they ſhoot or otherwiſe kill them, they bury their carcaſſes under ground; the mahometans (for ſuch thoſe of *Patan* and *Malaya* are) being forbid the uſe of hogs fleſh, neither will they permit any body elſe to eat it.

How they catch the elephants.

The elephants, as I am credibly inform'd, are catch'd in the following manner: They ride on the back of a tame large elephant into the woods, whom they let looſe there; as ſoon as he meets with a wild elephant he engages him, and whilſt their ſnouts are entangled, ſome come from behind the wild elephant and twiſt a rope round his hind legs, and ſo keep him either to render him uſeful for the wars, or elſe kill him for his teeths ſake, which are in great eſteem in *China*.

The ſea hereabouts produces great ſtore of craw fiſh, oyſters and tortoiſes; and the ſame drugs, metals, and precious ſtones, that are found in the kingdom of *Pahan*, are likewiſe to be met with here.

The conſtitution of the inhabitants.

The natives of *Patane* are of an aſh-coloured complexion and well ſhaped, but very proud and conceited; the richer ſort never appearing abroad without a great train of ſervants. They are however very affable and civil in converſation, as well among themſelves as to ſtrangers; but they are no ſoldiers, nor inclined to warlike exerciſes, courage being none of their talent, but more taken with pleaſures than the uſe of arms. Their clothing is none of the beſt. The men are extremely addicted to venery, which renders them jealous above meaſure, their wives and daughters being not permitted to ſee their neareſt and beſt friends. They have an antient cuſtom ſince enacted into a law, that to check that enormous vice of ſodomy, the men are obliged to wear conſtantly two or three ſmall bells made of gold, ſilver or lead, betwixt the prepuce and the glans, or head of the yard. Adultery is a capital crime with them, eſpecially among the great officers and nobles of the kingdom; the father of the perſon that has committed the crime, or if he be not living, the next of kin is obliged to ſupply the place of executioner, but the miſcreant has the liberty to chuſe what kind of death he pleaſes. Notwithſtanding this ſevere puniſhment, adultery is very frequent among them, by reaſon of the extraordinary laſciviouſneſs of the women, who are very deſirous, and love to wallow in pleaſures. Fornication betwixt two unmarried perſons is not look'd upon ſo much as a treſpaſs. Nothing is more common than if any foreign merchants come to *Patane*, to aſk them whether they don't want ſome women for their conveniency, and there is no want of young handſome women who offer their ſervice, out of whom each may take his choice, and agree with her as he beſt can, as to what he is to allow her *per* month; which done, ſhe immediately repairs to his lodgings, where in the day time ſhe ſerves for a chamber-maid, and in the night for a bedfellow; and during this agreement, the man muſt be as careful to avoid the commerce of other women, as ſhe is on her ſide, unleſs he will expoſe himſelf to manifeſt danger. At parting the man pays her her wages, and ſo they are both free; and if he has a mind to change, he need not look far for one, it being a cuſtom among the nobles here to entertain many female ſlaves, whom they let out for ſuch a uſe, and gain great profit by them. For the reſt the natives are naturally lazy and idle, living for the moſt part upon fiſhing, and ſome handycraft trades; the beſt is, that they can be contented with a little, drink ſcarce any thing but water, and have a natural averſion to ſtrong liquors. Almoſt all the traffick and other buſineſs is in the hands of the *Chineſe*, who either themſelves or their factors, continually trade betwixt this and the circumjacent countries, ſuch as *Siam*, *Ligor*, *Kamboya*, *Kouchinchina*, *Makaſſar*, *Pahan*, *Jambi*, *Johor*, *Bantam* and other both inland and maritime places, whither they tranſport all ſorts of *Chineſe* commodities from *Patane*, as porcelain pots, pans, kettles, and iron work of all ſorts. The chief riches of the natives conſiſt in their lands and ſlaves, who live upon a ſmall allowance of rice and fiſh; but the foreign merchants tranſport thither abundance of rich merchandizes.

1662. *Their traffick.* From *Bengale* and *Malacca* they ſend clothes to *Patane*; from *Java* ſandel wood; from *Borneo* camphire, ſlaves, wax and bezoar-ſtones; from *Siam* the inhabitants of *Patane* are furniſhed with gold, rice, ſalt and lead; from *Siampa* and *Camboja* with ſlaves, cotton, *Kalamback*, and the fineſt aloes-wood; from *China* with white and yellow ſilk, gauſes, damaſks, ſattins, porcelain, iron and copper; from *Japan* with ſcimeters, copper, and ſuch like commodities. Many things are alſo tranſported hither that are bought up in other places by foreigners; as from *Amboyna* and *Banda*, nutmegs, mace and cloves; from *Timor* ſandel-wood; from *Jamby* and *Andragny* pepper, which they 1662.

fetch likewiſe from *Champor*, *Libor*, *Pahan*, *Mordyllion* and *Ligor*: *Pegu* ſupplies *Patane* with abundance of precious ſtones; there are alſo many things exported from thence by the foreign merchants; thoſe of *Lahor* and *Pahan* provide themſelves here with rice, ſalt, oxen, fowls and other eatables; thoſe of *Malacca* tranſport the bezoar ſtones; thoſe of *Borneo* iron, ſteel and copper; the *Siameſe* all ſorts of clothings and pepper; the *Chineſe* pepper, camphire, white and yellow ſandel-wood, ſkins, ivory, bufflers horns, and ſuch like; the *Japaneſe* ſtags ſkins, tin, lead and ſilk.

The country of *Patane* is much more powerful in ſhipping than *Johor*, *Pahan*, or any of the circumjacent kingdoms: They are governed by a king, who as well as the king of *Malaya* is tributary to the king of *Siam*; their uſual yearly tribute conſiſting of a flower wrought with gold, ſome fine cloths, velvets and ſcarlets; the king's chief counſellors are called *Mentary*.

This kingdom was in 1602 under the government of a queen, after the deceaſe of her huſband, ſhe being then but 15 years of age. Her name was *Pratie*, ſhe uſed to keep conſtantly within the court among her ladies of honour, of whom ſhe had a great number; ſhe did not allow them to marry, but connived at their amorous intrigues. Wherever ſhe went abroad to take the air, (which indeed happened but very ſeldom) ſhe was mounted on a very fine elephant, and attended by 2000 nobles and great officers, all clad in her deceaſed royal ſpouſe's liveries, with his coat of arms upon them. Before they returned, ſhe gave them always a ſplendid entertainment, and ſo came with the ſame cavalcade back to her court. The country of *Patane* is ſo populous, as to be able to bring 180000 armed men into the field; the city and ſuburbs of *Patane* alone being able to furniſh 10000 men.

Divers languages are in vogue, *viz.* the *Malayan*, *Siameſe*, *Pataneſe* and the *Chineſe*; but *Their language.*

1662. but the firſt is moſt uſed here, as well as in moſt other parts of the *Indies*. The king of *Patane* married his daughter to the eldeſt ſon of the king of *Johor*, (he having ſix in all) who with his youngeſt brother lived at the court of *Patane*; but the youngeſt being engaged in an illegal commerce with his brother's ſpouſe, he kill'd them both, according to the cuſtom of the country, which puniſhes adultery with death; notwithſtanding which, the king of *Patane*, to revenge his daughter's death, cauſed his ſon-in-law, the eldeſt ſon of the king of *Johor* to be ſlain; *John de Paratuan*, and *Regia Sabrang*, two brothers, and both kings of *Johor*, being not without reaſon, highly exaſperated at this proceeding, ſent one *Magat Mangſor Hoch* their ambaſſador, along with admiral *Jacob Heemſkerk*, to ſolicite a powerful aid from the ſtates-general againſt the king of *Patane*, but the ambaſſador dying at ſea put a ſtop to that deſign.

The iſle of Ding Ding. Having diſpatch'd my buſineſs here, we ſet ſail the next day to a certain iſland call'd *Ding Ding*, abounding in fuel and moſt excellent freſh water. It lies about 30 leagues to the north of *Malacca*, being covered all over with very tall trees, which grow on the hills. We arrived here the 10th of *January* 1661, and immediately after our landing, fell to the cutting down of trees; among the reſt we endeavoured to pick out a certain kind of trees, the wood of which is a pale red, but to our great amazement could meet with none, till at laſt we diſcovered our error, to wit, that the pith only was red, but all the other wood round about it of a different colour. This wood is much valued by the *Indians* for its beauty, of which they make many curious pieces. The freſh water which runs down from the rocks, claims the preference before any in the *Indies*; and this iſle has likewiſe the conveniency of a good bay, where ſhips may ride ſafely at anchor. On the eaſt-ſide it has another bay call'd *Cox Bay*, where we uſed ſometimes to catch as much fiſh at a draught, as our chaloop was able to carry.

Is deſtitute of inhabitants. It is deſtitute of inhabitants and all ſorts of wild creatures, except wild boars, which ſwim over thither from the continent to feed upon a certain root that grows there, nevertheleſs it abounds in water-fowls more than any other place of the *Indies:* Here is a certain kind of birds call'd by the *Dutch Shuies Birds*, being of the bigneſs of a *Storex*, the head being without feathers. Here are alſo great quantities of tortoiſes and oyſters, the laſt of which are often ſeen faſtned to the branches of trees, which hang ſometimes above, ſometimes under water.

The clearneſs of the water having invited us to take a turn at ſwimming, I found ſomething ſticking to one of my legs, which when I look'd upon, I found to be a ſea-apple, and ſtruck it off; but the ſting remaining in the fleſh occaſioned a great inflammation and pain, which was not appeaſed till a conſiderable time after the ſting was taken out. 1662.

They leave it. After we had provided ourſelves with what this place could afford us, we ſet ſail again the 14th of *January*; as we were ſailing the ſame day along the coaſt of *Sumatra*, our trumpeter catch'd a ſtone-bream of about three feet long, which appearing very fine to the eye, we ordered the cook to dreſs it for the table of the cabin. We were all ſo greedy, that when it was brought in, we aſk'd the cook whether he was ſure he had kept none behind, which he took ſo ill, that he anſwered us, whether we look'd upon him as a thief? But it was not long after dinner, before all thoſe that had dined in the cabin, were ſeized with ſuch a giddineſs in their heads, that they were not able to ſit upright; I was the firſt who cry'd out, *We have certainly eat a poiſonous fiſh*; but our ſurgeon having no proper remedies aboard, we ſent our chaloop to the ſhip the *Leerdam*, from whence being furniſhed with vomits, we were by the frequent uſe of them, after a ſickneſs of 14 days reſtored to our former health. During our ſickneſs our beſt diverſion was, that being inform'd how the cook was as ſick as any of us, we were convinced, that notwithſtanding his great pretence of honeſty, our ſuſpicion was not ill grounded, which verified our old proverb, *That the cook is commonly the laſt who dies for want of victuals.* Two cats that had eaten the bones of this fiſh died ſoon after, tho' ſome tobacco-water had been given them to occaſion a vomiting, but none of us died, ſome few however were troubled with a lingring diſtemper afterwards. *Apoiſonous ſea bream.*

It is not eaſy to imagine what could be the reaſon of this diſaſter, the ſea-bream being otherwiſe a fiſh both toothſome and wholeſome, unleſs we ſuppoſed this bream to have fed upon ſome poiſonous fiſh, ſuch as thoſe call'd by the *Dutch Seaquallan*, which are very poiſonous in thoſe hot countries; for if they touch but your fleſh, they cauſe an immediate inflammation; their fleſh is as ſoft as gelly; they are of the bigneſs of a trencher, or ſomewhat leſſer, have red and purple ſpots on their backs, and eight teats below on their bellies: At certain ſeaſons of the year, the ſeas about *Toutekoriin*, and near other places on the coaſt of *Malabar*, are ſo full of them, that they are obliged to deſiſt from fiſhing. But before we proceed farther in our voyage, it will be requiſite to give you a ſhort account of the iſle of *Sumatra*. *Reaſon of the poiſon of this fiſh.*

1662. The large and moſt potent iſland of *Sumatra* is by ſome authors call'd *Somatra*, *Samatra* and *Zamatra*. Its ſituation is to the ſouth-weſt juſt oppoſite to *Malacca*, about eight leagues from the continent, the great iſle of *Java*, lying to the ſouth of it. Its extent is from the 5th degrees of northern latitude, near the gulph of *Bengala*, to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt, to the 7th degree of ſouthern latitude, as far as the ſtreights of *Sunda*, beyond the coaſt of *Malacca*, comprehending a vaſt tract of ground of 12 degrees from the ſouth to the north, amounting to 130 leagues. Its whole length is 195 leagues, its breadth 50, and the whole circumference 360.

The iſle of Sumatra's *ſituation.*

This iſle was formerly divided by ſome into four, by others into 10 kingdoms, among which *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Achem*, *Kampar*, *Menankabo*, *Zunda*, *Andragide* and *Auru* were the chiefeſt. Some there are who mention no leſs than 30 petty kingdoms, *viz.* *Daya*, *Lambry*, *Achem* or *Achen* or *Achin*, *Biar*, *Pedir*, *Lide*, *Pirada*, *Pacem*, *Bara*, *Daru*, *Arkat*, *Irkan*, *Rupat*, *Pury*, *Gaka*, *Kamper*, *Kapokan*, *Andragvery* or *Andragide*, *Jamby*, *Palimbang*, *Tana*, *Malayo*, *Sakampan*, *Tulumbavan*, *Andaloz*, *Piriaman* or *Pryaman*, *Tiko*, or *Tikouw*, *Barros*, *Quinchel*, and *Mankapa*, all which borrowed their names from their reſpective capital cities; and in antient times were govern'd by their own kings. But in proceſs of time, many of theſe were ſwallowed up in the kingdom of *Achin*, the moſt potent in this iſland, having under its juriſdiction the kingdoms and cities of *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Daya*, *Barros*, *Paſtaman*, *Pryaman* and *Padang*, and conſequently the greateſt part of the iſle of *Sumatra*, beſides the kingdoms of *Queda* and *Pera* on the continent. All the other kingdoms and cities of *Sumatra* were conquered by foreign princes. This the ſouthern parts of *Sumatra*, viz. *Sillabar*, *Dampin*, *Liampon*, *Palimbang*, *Jamby* and ſome others, acknowledge the king of *Bantam* their ſovereign, or elſe the *Mataram* of *Java* for their protector. Some will have the iſle of *Sumatra* to be the ſame the ancients called *Taprobang*, tho' in my opinion that name belongs more properly to the iſle of *Ceylon*.

Is divided in many kingdoms.

The inhabitants of Palimbang *murther ſome* Dutch.

Not many years ago one of the chiefeſt cities of *Sumatra* was *Palimbang* or *Palembang*, ſituated near the weſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, which on 24 *November* 1659, was laid in aſhes by the *Dutch* admiral and general *John van der Laen*, becauſe the inhabitants had about two years before ſurprized by treachery two of their yachts call'd the *Jakkatra* and the *Watchman*, and miſerably murthered the whole ſhips crew; and in the next following year had cut to pieces two other *Dutchmen* that were ſent aſhore, from aboard the veſſels the *Niccoport* and the *Leerdam* (lately come from the *Texel*) to ſerve as interpreters, their heads being by ſpecial order from the *Orangkay*'s put upon lances, and expoſed to the view of their comrades that were in the boats. 1662.

A fleet of Dutch *ſhips ſent to* Palimbang.

To revenge ſo barbarous a murder, a fleet of eleven ſhips ſet ſail from *Batavia* the 19th of *October* 1659, under command of *John Vander Laen* admiral, and *John Truytſman* vice-admiral, *viz.* the *Orange*, admiral, the *Poſtilion*, the *Molucco*, the *Arms of Batavia*, and the *Charles*; three galleots, to wit, the *Apple-tree*, the *Hour-glaſs*, and *Hammehiel*; and the chaloops, the *Crab*, the *Tronk*, and the *Flying Dear*, mann'd with 600 ſeamen and 700 land ſoldiers. The 30th they arrived without any remarkable accident in their paſſage before the river of *Palimbang*, where they met with the yachts the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk*, and the *Cat*, and with the chaloops the *Cony*, and the *Koelong*, that were cruiſing thereabouts. The ſame day they got ſight of a *Chineſe* veſſel taking its courſe towards *Jamby*, which they detained till they had entered the river, and on the 3d of *November* ſent her in company of the chaloop the *Tronk* to *Jamby*. They entred the river in the following order. Firſt the *Arms of Batavia*, next the *Poſtilion*, then the yacht the *Bloemendahl*, aboard of which was the admiral, having left the *Orange* at the entrance of the river; the yacht the *Koukerk* vice-admiral, the yacht the *Cat*, the large chaloop the crab; after theſe came the three galleots, the *Hour-glaſs*, the *Apple-tree*, the *Hammehiel*; the ſhips the *Charles* and the *Molucco*, brought up the rear; the other chaloops were ordered to attack the admiral ſhip. The 3d and 4th of *November* was ſpent by the *Dutch* to enter the river, the 9th in the night time they were unexpectedly attacked by ſome of the inhabitants of *Palimbang*, in which engagement we had four or five wounded, the commanders not being time enough upon their guard. The 10th they were advanced betwixt the iſle of *Cambira* and the oppoſite ſhore, within ſight of the city of *Palimbang*, where they diſcovered three of the enemies forts; the firſt called *Bamagangan*, ſituate on the weſtern point of the river of the iſle of *Cambara*, the other two upon its eaſt point, oppoſite to the other, they were called *Mathapoura* and *Menapoura*. At our firſt appearance the enemy kept cloſe within their works, which gave us the more encouragement to penetrate higher up the river with our ſhips. But ſeveral large floats, upon which houſes filled with combuſtible matter were built, being laid in the ſtream, captain *Jurian Paulſon* was ordered with ſome boats and the yacht the *Hour-glaſs*,

They arrive before the river of Palimbang.

Come within ſight of the city.

1662. *Hour-glaſs*, to take a view of them, to cut their cables, and ſet them on fire, which being put in execution accordingly, the whole fleet advanced forward in order to attack the fort of *Bamagangan*. But as ſoon as we came within cannon ſhot of the fort, the enemy gave us a very warm ſalute out of his great cannon, from the forts both on the eaſt and weſtern points, tho' without any conſiderable loſs on our ſide, which gave us ſufficient encouragement to fire moſt furiouſly upon the firſt fort, with ſuch ſucceſs, that we ſet their magazine of powder on fire, which blew up with it the greateſt part of the fort, and all the circumjacent houſes; hereupon the yachts the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk*, and the *Cat*, were ordered to anchor within piſtol ſhot from the ſhore, from whence we ſo grievouſly gall'd the enemy, both with our great and ſmall ſhot, that at laſt we landed, and made ourſelves maſters of the fort, where we found 22 iron and braſs cannon, which we immediately turned againſt the enemy to the land ſide, and continued in arms all the night long, which proved no unneceſſary precaution, for the enemy attacked us moſt furiouſly not long after, in hopes of regaining the place, but were repulſed moſt couragiouſly, with the loſs of only one man on our ſide.

Burn the enemies fire engines.

The fort Bamagangan attacked.

Fire engines of the enemy.

Then the enemy ſent four or five very large fire engines, being floats of timber with wood on houſes filled with combuſtible matter on the top of them, which took up almoſt the whole breadth of the river; the yachts the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk*, and the *Cat*, had much ado to eſcape their fury, being forced to cut their cables; but the *Molucca* yacht had her fore-caſtle ſet on fire, and was with much ado ſaved by the help of many boats that were ſent to her aſſiſtance, without receiving any conſiderable damage; ſo that theſe fire engines were forced down the river by the current, and ſoon after vaniſhed into ſmoak. At the taking of the fort 30 *Javaneſe* were killed, and among them the old *Quevy*, *Tommagen*, *Nadapen Radia*, with his two ſons, who were buried the next day.

The fort Mathapoura taken.

The 11th early in the morning we likewiſe attacked and took the fort *Mathapoura*, where we found only four pieces of cannon, the enemy having thrown four more into the river, which we brought out from thence afterwards; the remaining part of the day was ſpent in ſhipping in what artillery and ammunition we had got; eight companies of ſoldiers were likewiſe landed the ſame afternoon in the iſle of *Cambara*, to attack the fort there, but to their great amazement found this ſtrong hold left by theſe cowardly wretches; we found here 12 pieces of cannon, ſome of which they had likewiſe thrown into the mud, but were recovered by our people, and carried aboard our veſſels, with a ſmall quantity of ammunition. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in ſight of the garriſon of *Palimbang*, they had found means to ſet fire to the yacht the *Watchman*, which they burned; and in the evening thoſe that had deſerted the fort under favour of a violent rain, did three ſeveral times attempt the recovery of it, in which engagement we had two killed and ſix wounded, and were forced to ſtand to our arms all the reſt of the night. The 12th and 13th were ſpent in embarking all the cannon and ammunition we had got in the 3 beforementioned forts, which done, it was reſolved in a council of war, forthwith to attack the *Chineſe* quarter, and ſo to make ourſelves maſters of the city before the enemies could recover themſelves from the fright they were put in by the loſs of their forts: As we were paſſing by the city we received the ſame ſalute we had before from the forts, but without any remarkable harm, or the loſs of one of our veſſels.

The iſle of Cambara taken.

1662.

The city of *Palimbang* was fortified with vaſt trunks of trees put cloſe together, upon which were planted a vaſt number of great cannon, ſo that it ſeemed impoſſible to be taken by ſo ſmall a number, being beſides this invironed with a deep and miry ditch. We were hard put to it how to find a ſafe landing place, till at laſt our admiral having eſpied at the uttermoſt point of the fortification a ſmall rivulet, which led up to a place where we perceived very little or none of the enemy's fire, we landed thereabouts with all our forces, and advancing boldly to the very gun-holes of the enemy, they threw their granados through them into the city, which ſetting the adjacent houſes on fire, the enemy were ſo terrified thereat, that they quitted their poſt, and thereby gave opportunity to the admiral *Vander Laen*, to Mr. *Truyſman*, and captain *Harman* to break thro' the fortifications into the city by three ſeveral ways. Here they met with a brave oppoſition from the inhabitants, who, according to the cuſtom of theſe nations, under the ſound of their *Amock*, fell couragiouſly upon theſe three bodies, of whom they killed 18, among which were a lieutenant, an enſign, and a ſergeant, but not without a much greater loſs on their ſide; the violent rains obliged the *Dutch* admiral to reconduct his men on board the veſſels that night, but the next morning they landed again, and entred the city in the ſame place, where a doubtful engagement enſued, till the inhabitants being at laſt forced to give way, were beat out of the place, and retired into the open

The fortification of Palimbang.

Attacked by the Dutch.

And taken.

1662. countrey. The firſt thing that was ſacrificed to the fury of the flames, was the royal palace, after it had been deſpoiled of all its riches, and a vaſt train of artillery, which the king and his cowardly ſubjects left a prey to the *Dutch*, after they had for ſome time defended themſelves, and fought hand to hand againſt them; but the admiral *Vander Laen* having laid two of their chief or *Quey Nabeys*, dead at his feet, the reſt were ſo terrified thereat, that they fought for their ſafety in their heels. It is worth taking notice of that theſe *Indians* ſeemed to have paid a peculiar reverence to their great cannon, which we found covered with ſcarlet cloth lined with ramboutins, and ſo perfumed with incenſe that the ſmell thereof ſtuck a great while after to our fingers. All the artillery and cannon being taken out of the city and from the ramparts, the admiral ordered likewiſe the fortifications and adjacent houſes to be laid in aſhes; we found 15 of 21 of our people that were priſoners among them, in the priſon on both ſides of the royal palace, miſerably murdered and mangled by theſe barbarous wretches, among which was *Jacob de Groot*; one *Dutch* boy only who was not put in irons, had the good fortune to eſcape their hands by a timely flight, the remaining ſix they had carried along with them: To revenge as much as poſſible this barbarity, all that remained of the city, was after the cannon and all the other booty we got were carried aboard our veſſels, ſet on fire and deſtroyed, the 16th of the ſame month.

Fifteen Dutchmen found murthered in the city.

The enemies fire engine unſucceſsful.

About the ſame time the enemy ſent one of his before-mentioned fire engines, of a vaſt bigneſs, down the river; it conſiſted of 20 wooden houſes erected upon floats of timber, which almoſt extended from one ſide to the other. But no ſooner had the *Dutch* got ſight of this engine, but they ſent out their long boats well mann'd, who took care to protect our ſhips againſt it, and after it was paſſed by them, ſet it on fire in ſight of the enemy, which conſumed both the engines and a good number of houſes ſtanding on the banks of the river. The 17th and 18th our people were ſtill buſy in embarking the booty, artillery and cannon, and a day of thankſgiving was appointed to be kept throughout the whole fleet for this victory againſt the 23d. In the mean while we advanced higher up the river, to try whether we could meet with ſome veſſels or plantations that way, but ſaw nothing of any moment. Mr. *John Vander Laen* and *John Truytſman* alſo writ a letter to the *Pangerang* or governour of *Palimbang*, which was diſpatched thither the 23d by a *Chineſe* priſoner and an old woman.

John Vander Laen general, and captain *John Truytſman*, commanders in chief of the *Dutch* forces now in the river and the countrey of *Palimbang*, ſend this letter to the *Pangerang* and all the chief councellours of the countrey of *Palimbang*. 1662.

A letter ſent to the Pangerang.

NOtwithſtanding our laſt ſucceſs, we could not but put your highneſs in mind of the moſt abominable murder committed by your ſubjects upon ſo many innocent perſons in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt-India *company: which barbarous act, tho' it was highly reſented by the governour, general, and council of the* Indies *reſiding at* Batavia, *yet to ſhew their inclinations to continue in peace with your highneſs, did at that time for the preventing the effuſion of human blood, require and actually demand a reaſonable ſatisfaction for theſe unheard of barbarities: To accompliſh which, they cauſed certain propoſitions to be made by* John Truytſman *to your highneſs, with ſtrict orders to inſinuate to your highneſs all ſuch reaſons as might conduce towards the accompliſhment of that end, which we dõn't queſtion would have been ſufficiently convincing to your highneſs, had not your evil councellours miſguided you, and thwarted your good intentions. But ſeeing you ſlighted theſe conditions, and were very backward in giving due ſatisfaction, the great God of heaven and earth being highly diſpleaſed at your conduct, did ſo direct the heart of the beforementioned lord governour and his council, as to have recourſe to arms, being the only remedy left them, ordained by God almighty to protect the juſt cauſe of their ſubjects. The great God of heaven having been pleaſed to bleſs their undertaking, for the due puniſhment of your malicious ſubjects, they are however willing to let your highneſs know, that the hoſtilities committed againſt you and your ſubjects, were undertaken with no other intention, than to revenge the innocent blood of their ſubjects, and to procure an honourable and reaſonable peace; the ſaid governour and his council being always more inclined to peace than war, if your highneſs is of the ſame ſentiment we expect to hear from you either by your letter in anſwer to this, or by your deputies, it being our reſolution to tarry for that purpoſe in your highneſs's territories, and theſe preſents ſhall be a ſufficient paſſport to thoſe whom your highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to ſend to treat with us.* Given aboard the *Bloemendahl* the 20th of *November* 1659.

ſigned,
John Vander Laen,
John Truytſman.

The Dutch fleet goes higher up the river.

The 25th our ſhips went further up the river, and got ſometimes ſight of three or four lighters, which ſerved for ferry boats; and

1662. and ſome few houſes built upon floats of timber; the lighters could not be taken, becauſe they came not within reach of our ſhot, and afterwards ſheltered themſelves in the ſmall rivulets among the weeds: The houſes were ſet on fire, and ſo we returned the 26th before the fort where we lay at anchor till next day. In the mean time *Peter de Goyer* director of the *Dutch* factory of *Jamby*, ſent the 11th of *November* from thence by the chaloop the *Tronk*, 75 capons, 100 pullets, and five goats, for the uſe of Mr. *John Vander Laen*, and the other commanders; this being all he was able to get, all eatables being extreamly ſcarce thereabouts at that time, becauſe the *Pangerang* of *Adrogory* and the young king of *Johor*, had lately tarried three months, with an attendance of 2000 perſons in theſe parts; and not long ago abundance of cattle and fowls had been killed for the wedding feaſt of his highneſs's daughter, who was married to the young *Patuan*. The admiral and captain *Truytſman* received not long after an anſwer from the *Pangarang* of *Jamby* to their letter dated the 20th of *November*, which being encloſed in another from Mr. *Peter Goyer* dated the 26th, was tranſlated out of the *Malayan*, and runs thus.

This letter is ſent from a ſincere heart, by the *Pangarang* of *Jamby* to the commanders in chief *John Vander Laen* and *Daman Sittia Bauwa* (meaning captain *Truytſman*) men famous for their prudence and courage.

The Pangerang *having underſtood that Mr.* John Maetzuicker *governour general of the* Dutch Eaſt-Indies, *has ſent* 18 *ſhips againſt thoſe of* Palimbang, *has thought fit to declare, that his ſentiments agree with the governour's, and that he is ready to approve all without the leaſt contradiction, what ſhall be undertaken by the ſaid Mr.* John Maetzuicker, *aſſuring Mr.* John Vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa, *that he will ſtand firm to this as well as to the other promiſes made by him the* Pangerang *before. Purſuant to this reſolution the* Pangerang *did upon the receipt of the letter, ſend* Zitta Antacca *with ſome troops to make war upon thoſe of* Palimbang. *The* Pangerang *alſo forewarns and commands* John Vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa *to be upon their guard, becauſe thoſe of* Palimbang *are near at hand; this being all the* Pangerang *commands at this time to* John Vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa.

The 27th all the houſes that were yet ſtanding near the fort of *Manſapoura* were together with the fort itſelf, ſet on fire by ſpecial order from the admiral, and the ſame day we lifted a great piece of ordnance out of the marſhes in the iſle of *Cambara*. And being ſenſible that either out of an obſtinate temper or out of deſpair the *Pangerang* of *Palimbang* would ſcarce ſend any deputies or anſwers to ours of the 20th, we reſolved to leave that river; and accordingly with the next tide ſet ſail and returned thro' the branch of the river call'd *Banjarmaſſum* in order to burn all the houſes and plantations we ſhould meet with; but having ſpent 5 days, *viz.* to the 3d of *December* in coming down the ſaid river; we met at its entrance with the ſhip the *Orange*, which joining with the reſt, we continued our voyage the 4th, and arrived with the whole fleet and our forces the 9th in the afternoon, in the road of *Batavia*. Our booty conſiſted chiefly in 75 pieces of great, and 142 leſſer cannon, ſome of which were of iron. We found no pepper here, but great ſtore of rice and *Padie*, all which was conſumed by the fury of the flames, as likewiſe a vaſt number of ſmall veſſels, among which were the king's pleaſure boats, of which there was a vaſt number; ſome few were carried away by our people, to be kept in remembrance of this action.

1662. *The Dutch leave the river.*

Arrive at Batavia.

The kingdom of *Achin* is ſituate in the moſt northern part of the iſle of *Sumatra*. Its capital city bears the ſame name, being ſituate in a plain upon a pleaſant rivulet, about half a league diſtant from the ſea-ſhore. The royal place, which lies in the very center of the city, is very large, of an oval figure, ſurrounded with a ditch, and in ſome places defended by very large pieces of ordnance; the ditch is guarded by palliſadoes, in which are ſeven gates. On the left ſide of the river is a fort to defend its entrance, and ſeveral other redoubts are erected in the marſhes, round about the city of *Achin*, for its defence. The air ſeems to be much more wholſome here than in the ſouthern parts of the iſle. The houſes which are covered with reeds are built upon poſts, ſo that you muſt enter them by ſeveral ſteps, the reaſon of which is, that at certain ſeaſons the waters riſe to ſuch a height, that the whole city is overflown by it. The chiefeſt riches of the king of *Achin* conſiſt in gold, jewels and elephants; he entertains a great number of concubines which ſerve both for his bed and his guards in the antichambers; beſides which, he maintains a good number of eunuchs, who attend his perſon. Four *Sabandars* or nobles have the chief management of the government under the king. This kingdom was in 1663 governed by a queen, who, as it was reported, had an inclination to be married to a *Hollander*; but the council of *Batavia*, for weighty reaſons would not conſent to the match. The inhabitants of *Achin* were always renowned for their courage and conduct beyond all other neighbouring nations, and have not only extended their con-

The kingdom of Achin.

1662. queſts over the circumjacent countries of *Sumatra*, but alſo made themſelves maſters of the kingdoms of *Queda* and *Pera* on the continent of *Malacca*; nay, they frequently have beſieged the *Portugueſe* in the city of *Malacca*, they having always been declared enemies of that nation.

Sillebar. On the weſtern coaſt, not above 4 leagues to the ſouth of the line, is within a bay, upon a very large river, a certain place call'd *Sillebar*, being ſurrounded with craggy mountains and vaſt woods; tho' the countrey thereabouts is very fertile in pepper; it belongs to the king of *Bantam*. On the ſame weſtern coaſt is a very large Bay, the ſhore of which is all over woody, as the bay of *Sillebar*, is ſurrounded with mountains; tho' the ſhore its ſelf is very green and pleaſant. Immediately after you come to the bay, you diſcover a ſmall point of land, behind which lies the town of *Sillebar*.

Tikouw. A few leagues to the ſouth of the line, is likewiſe the city of *Tikouw*, a place very ſlightly built, and ſome leagues from thence

Paſſaman. to the north, is the town of *Paſſaman*, at the foot of a high mountain.

Barros. *Barros* is alſo ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, about a league from the ſea-ſhore, upon a conſiderable river, betwixt *Paſſaman* and *Achin*. The countrey hereabouts produces pepper, camphire and benzoin. Hereabouts are likewiſe *Sinkel*, *Labo*, and *Daya*.

Pedir. *Pedir* lies ten leagues to the eaſt of *Achin*, with a high mountain betwixt both; the countrey, which was formerly a kingdom, is indifferently fruitful of rice and other fruits. Further to the eaſt, on the inward coaſt of *Sumatra*, are *Pacem*, *Dely*, *Aru*, *Kampar*, *Andripouro*, *Jamby* and *Palimbang*. *Andripouro* is ſituate under 3 deg. 30 min.

Padang. *Padang* lies on a very pleaſant river, whither a conſiderable number of *Indian* veſſels reſort. The *Dutch* divide the coaſt of *Sumatra* into the outward and inward coaſt. The inward coaſt is by the *Javaneſe* call'd the weſtern coaſt, as the outward coaſt is the northern coaſt, where is the kingdom of *Achin*.

Unwholeſomeneſs of the climate of Sumatra. The climate of *Sumatra*, is, by reaſon of its ſituation under the line, extremely unwholſome, eſpecially for ſtrangers, and in the rainy ſeaſon, when ſcarce a day paſſes but they are afflicted with ſudden ſhowers, ſtorms, thunder and lightnings, which ſoon after end in a calm. Beſides, that the heat of the ſun-beams draws up the nauſeous vapours of the ſtanding waters, which infect the air, and produce malignant fevers, and other lingring diſtempers. This is moſt viſible on the weſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, and eſpecially in *Tikouw* and *Pryaman*, where the air is equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and foreigners, which makes the *Dutch* inhabiting there, look bloated and very pale. In the *Devil's-Iſle*, and near the river *Indapura* the air is ſo poiſonous, that it kills men and beaſts as ſoon as they ſet foot on ſhore; and if they happen to eſcape by returning immediately, they certainly die ſoon after. 1662.

The nature of the iſle. The iſle of *Sumatra* is full of pleaſant woods, craggy high mountains, agreeable valleys, fruitful plains, very fine rivers and large bays affording great ſtore of fiſh; beſides that, the marſhes and pools are ſtock'd with young oak-trees, the bark whereof gives the waters a red tincture.

Its rivers. The chief rivers here are, the *Achin*, *Andregiri*, *Jamby*, *Palimbang*, *Manancabo*, *Banjarmaſſum*, *Sillebar*, *Indapura*, and *Pryaman*, all which have derived their names from their reſpective adjacent cities, or theſe from them. The waters of the river *Indapura* are red for two leagues at ſea, which proceeds from the great quantity of young oak trees growing in the marſhes, the bark of which imparts a red dye to the river; for which reaſon alſo the water is very unwholſome to drink.

Its ſoil. The ſoil produces rice in abundance, and all other ſorts of *Indian* fruits, ſuch as *Bananas*, potatoes, coco-nuts, oranges, limons, tamarinds, ſugar, honey, ginger, but eſpecially pepper, of which a great quantity is tranſported from thence into foreign countries. Some years ago many plantations of pepper were deſtroy'd by the ſoldiers upon the outward coaſt of *Sumatra*, which were ſince replanted, yet in many places cotton-trees have been planted in their ſtead. The ſame coaſt alſo produces camphire, the moſt durable of all others, which differs from the *Japoneſe* camphire in this particular quality, that whereas in this, the ſcent is in the wood; the camphire of *Sumatra* contains it in its own ſubſtance, without imparting the leaſt ſhare thereof to the wood. This iſland affords likewiſe white benzoin, *Kalamback* or aloes-wood, eagles-wood, and ſandels-wood. The foreſts here feed divers kinds of wild beaſts, *viz.* elephants, buffliers, tygers, ſtaggs, rhinoceroſes, wild boars, apes, monkeys and ſerpents; the rivers, lakes, and ports abundance of fiſhes; in ſome you meet with crocodiles. The woods are full of wild fowl of all ſorts, and the countrey abounds in tame fowl. They have bats here of an exceeding bigneſs. It is very remarkable, that the iſland of *Sumatra* is the only one throughout the *Eaſt-Indies*, that has bears. The mountains here afford gold, ſilver, copper, tin, iron and brimſtone. The outward coaſt of *Sumatra* eſpecially, has very

1662. rich gold mines, but they are neglected for the moſt part. However the queen of *Achin* drew 1000 pounds weight out of one mine, and the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company 300 in the year 1665: They alſo produce ſmaragds, hyacinths and other precious ſtones. On the top of the fiery mountain *Balabam*, is a certain ſpring of ſulphurous liquor like oil; and the like is ſeen in ſeveral other parts of this iſland, to ſweat out of the earth or rocks, not unlike a *Petroleum*: The *Indians* call this liquor *Minjah Tunnah*, *e. i.* earth-oil. This is in ſuch eſteem among the inhabitants, that the king of *Achin* has prohibited the exportation thereof under pain of death; ſo that what is carried away by the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, is brought on board by ſtealth. It has a very ſtrong ſcent, but not nauſeous; its virtue is extraordinary in curing lameneſs, call'd by the *Indians Beribery*, if the affected parts be only bathed or anointed with it. This iſland has a certain kind of reed, which grows near 300 fathom high, and twiſts itſelf round the trees. They make hops of it.

Earth-oil.

The language of the inhabitants and their manners.

The moſt general language here is the *Malayan*, tho' they uſe likewiſe ſeveral others. They maintain certain ſchools for the young people to be inſtructed in reading and writing. The inhabitants of *Sumatra* are large of ſtature, black and brown of complexion like the *Javaneſe*. The women are well ſhaped, and of a fairiſh complexion, with very white teeth; they make no account of chaſtity, nor look upon it as a diſgrace to expoſe themſelves for money. For the reſt, this nation is extravagantly proud and ill-natured, which ſets ſo high a value upon itſelf, as to deſpiſe all foreigners; they are very treacherous, and make very little account of their faith, if they find it conſiſtent with their intereſt. Every body here is like all the mahometans, does marry as many wives as he is able to keep, one however has the precedency before all the reſt: Women of any quality are ſeldom ſeen to walk along the ſtreets. In the inland countrey lives ſtill the remainder of the ancient men-eaters, call'd *Bataches* or *Batatas*, who not only devour ſtrangers, but likewiſe kill their own fathers and brothers, if grown very decrepid, and eat them.

Their diet.

Both rich and poor are continually chewing the leaves of *Bethel*, mixt with thyme and *Areka* or *Faufel*. Their bread is made of rice, of which they make alſo a dainty pap, and cakes, and eat them with oil. They feed likewiſe upon fiſh, fleſh and herbs. Their ordinary drink is water; beſides which, they uſe *Arack* diſtill'd of rice and coco-nuts, and palm wine. The inhabitants of *Sumatra* are very moderate in their diet, like all the reſt of the *Indians*. 1662.

Their cloathing.

Moſt of the inhabitants, eſpecially the poorer ſort, go naked to the middle, where they have only a piece of ſtuff wrapt about them to cover their privities; both ſexes go without ſhoes or ſtockins. The richer ſort wear a kind of coat of ſilk or callico, after the mahometan faſhion; a linnen cloth wrap'd about their heads two or three times, ſerves them for a cap.

The abſoluteneſs of their kings.

They pay a more than ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion and obedience to their kings, not ſo much out of inclination as fear; their princes or governors are ſtiled *Pangerang*.

Their puniſhments.

They puniſh the leaſt treſpaſs with great ſeverity, by cutting off their hands and feet. Capital crimes are puniſh'd after the moſt dreadful manner that can be invented. In former ages the kings uſed to ſurrender the miſcreant to the men-eaters, who after they chop'd of their hands, arms and legs, threw pepper upon the trunk of the body and devoured it.

Their Religion.

Moſt of the inhabitants living near the ſea-coaſt are mahometants now, whereas formerly, both thoſe inhabiting the ſea-ſhore and the inland countrey were pagans, of which there are ſtill a great number in the countries remote from the ſea.

Traffick of this iſland.

The iſle of *Sumatra*, but eſpecially the kingdom of *Achin*, are places of great traffick, whither reſort merchants from all parts of the *Indies*, as the *Chineſe*, *Malayans*, *Javaneſe*, chriſtians and mahometans. There are certain places on the weſtern coaſt of the iſle, which are in confederacy, and under the protection of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, unto whom they are obliged to ſell all their pepper and gold at a certain rate. Theſe are *Pryaman*, *Indapoura*, *Padang*, *Tike* and *Barros*. They had alſo ſettled a factory in 1665 at *Andragiry*, but the quantity of pepper and gold to be tranſported from thence was ſo inconſiderable, that it did not turn to account. The chief commodities of *Sumatra* are, pepper, gold, tin and camphire. The weſtern coaſt affords *Pedro Porcos*, which are ſold at 200 crowns *per* piece. *Jamby* and *Palimbang* are the chiefeſt places for pepper, where the *Engliſh* have likewiſe their factories, and are much eſteemed by that king. The foreigners import commonly pieces of eight, callicoes, *Chineſe* gold, iron wire, ſteel, woollen-cloth, quilts of *Suratte*, ſilks, ſalt and ſuch like commodities, which they exchange for thoſe before-mention'd. Thus much of *Sumatra*.

Commodities of Sumatra.

They continue their voyage.

We continu'd our voyage without any remarkable accident, 'till the 3d of *February*, when we paſs'd by *Punte Gale*, and arriv'd the next day at *Colomba*, both cities belong-

1662. belonging to the iſland of *Ceylon*. Having foon diſpatch'd our buſineſs here, we ſet ſail again the 9th, and the 12th came within ſight of cape *Comorin* and the city of *Koylang*, ſteering our courſe along the coaſt of *Malabar*, where we met with the ſhip the *Phœnix*, in the road of that city, to load pepper, which done, it join'd with us, to continue its voyage to *Perſia*.

Paſs by cape Comoirn *and* Koylang.

Over againſt the iſle of *Baypin* we met with 15 or 16 ſail under the command of Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, who was ſent thither to attack the fortreſs of *Palipatnam*; we went immediately aboard the *Ulieland*, where we paid our reſpects to the admiral, who enjoyn'd us, to ſend all our land and ſea men aſhore, to aſſiſt at the taking of this fortreſs; which being done accordingly, and the *Dutch* forces marching in good order to the attack, they found, to their great aſtoniſhment, that the enemy had deſerted the place, and left only one old woman and a boy behind them; thus we became maſters of this ſtrong hold, without ſtriking a blow. However our deſign upon the city of *Cranganor* was laid aſide for that time, after we were thoroughly informed concerning its condition, and that we were not ſufficiently provided for ſuch an attempt. So we proceeded on our voyage again the next day, and the 5th of *March* paſs'd by the bar of *Goa*, where we found ſeveral *Dutch* ſhips under commodore *Roothaes* a cruſing, which kept the harbour of *Goa* block'd up. The 6th we came to an anchor in the road of *Wingurla*, where we met ſeveral of our men of war, which had been a cruiſing before *Goa*, and were come hither to refreſh themſelves: We ſaw likewiſe here the *Bantam* yacht, which was ſent on purpoſe hither to carry the queen of *Golconda* to *Mocha*, (a city of *Arabia*, ſituate on the *Red-Sea*) ſhe being to go from thence to *Medina*, to viſit *Mahomet*'s tomb, and to make a preſent of great value there. Her guards, which had conducted her 80 leagues as far as *Wingurla* conſiſted of 4000 men, all mounted on fine bright *Perſian* horſes, well accoutred. They had long coats of mail, on the ſhoulders of which were imbroider'd ſerpents-heads in imitation of the ancient *Romans*; they had fine poliſh'd helmets on their heads, being for the reſt arm'd with bows and arrows, and ſome of them with very long beards. At the head of them rid two trumpeters, who ſounded the trumpet by turns. All the perſons of quality that attended her, were likewiſe mounted on very fine horſes, with a footman on each ſide of the horſe's head, who held the bridle. The Queen herſelf and all her ladies, were carried in *Palakins* covered on the top, to keep themſelves from being ſeen by any body; and before them were led ſeveral camels cover'd with rich furnitures. On one of theſe was mounted a kettle-drummer, who with a hammer beat croſs-ways, as we do in *Europe*; the drums, of which one hung on each ſide of the camel, being ſomewhat ſharp at one end like our bee-hives. The commodore *Roothaes* and M. *Santvliet* (director for the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company at *Gamron*) were gone to meet and compliment the queen about two leagues from the town; who, whilſt ſhe tarried here, dictated ſeveral letters in divers languages to her ſecretaries; ſhe ſent ſoon after to know whether the ſhips were ready to ſail, and being anſwered they were, ſhe came immediately aboard the yacht, but finding her much leſs in bulk than the other ſhips ſhe ſaw lying at anchor in the road, ſhe was not very well ſatisfied, till being told by Mr. *Roothaes* and *Santvliet*, that the yacht was moſt proper for her purpoſe, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the ſhore of the red ſea, ſhe ſeem'd to acquieſce in their judgment. Near the ſea-ſide a tent was ſet up, and from thence a paſſage covered all over with callico to the chaloop, in which was likewiſe a tent, as alſo in the yacht, to prevent her being ſeen by the ſhip's crew. She gave a very fine preſent of gold and diamonds to the commodore Mr. *Roothaes* and Mr. *Santvliet*. The captain of the yacht who carried her to *Mocha*, did not return from thence, but went along with her, being, as we ſuppoſe, turn'd mahometan; becauſe the yacht was reconducted by the boatſwain.

Palipatnam.

Paſs by Goa.

Come to Wingurla.

The queen of Golconda *goes to viſit* Mahomet's *tomb.*

Wingurla is no more than a large village, ſituate on the ſea-ſhore of the kingdom of *Golconda*, under the 15 deg. of northern latitude. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* company have built a very fine houſe here of ſtone and plaiſter work, becauſe all ſhips bound for *Perſia*, are obliged to come to an anchor here, to provide themſelves with freſh water and fuel, which they buy here at a very low rate, the place ſcarce affording any thing elſe.

Wingurla.

After we had left *Wingurla*, we came the 6th of *April* before that famous city of *Perſia* call'd *Gamron*, and anchored at ſix fathoms water. I went aſhore the ſame day to give notice of our arrival, and to make the neceſſary preparations for unlading our ſhip, which being done, I apply'd myſelf to have it laden again with all poſſible expedition; and our cargo being for the moſt part gold and ſilver coin, we might ſoon have been ready to ſail again, had we not been oblig'd to ſtay for ſome other commodities till the 2d of *June*, when we ſet ſail again from thence, and Mr. *James Williamſon*, director for the company in *Perſia*, took

Come to Gamron.

1662. took this opportunity to go along with us to *Batavia*, the time of his ſtay in *Perſia* being expired.

A deſcription of that city. The famous city of *Gamron*, the only ſea-haven of *Perſia*, is ſituate on a flat ſea-ſhore, juſt at the entrance of the *Perſian Gulph*, at the foot of a barren ſandy mountain, producing neither graſs nor trees; it lies betwixt two caſtles, under the 27 deg. of northern latitude: This city was built out of the ruins of the caſtle and city of *Ormus*, the deſtruction of which proved the riſe of *Gamron*. It is to the ſea-ſide defended by three ſtone baſtions, on which are mounted good ſtore of iron cannon. But on the land-ſide it is only ſurrounded with a ſtone wall, which is much decay'd, becauſe they fear as it ſeems nothing from thence. The *Its houſes.* houſes here which are built after a very antique manner, like moſt of the *Perſian* houſes, ſtand very cloſe together, having each a ſquare turret, which mounts to a conſiderable height above the whole ſtructure, having on each ſide ſeveral holes for the free paſſage of the wind and air; in theſe turrets they ſleep every night during the ſummer ſeaſon. The beſt of their houſes are built only of loom, which being form'd in four ſquare pieces, and dry'd with the ſun, become as hard as ſtone, and keep out the rains and winds. They whiten them on the outſide with lime made of burnt muſſel-ſhells, but their back and out-houſes are covered only with the leaves of palm-trees, and are miſerable huts, ſcarce fit to defend the inhabitants from the injuries of the ſeaſon.

Streets. The ſtreets here are both narrow and ſhort, with many turnings, and are covered by the houſes on both ſides, which are almoſt join'd together on the top; notwithſtanding which the heat is ſo exceſſive here, that they are ſcarce paſſable. They are not paved with ſtones, but only with earth beaten cloſe together, which being continually watered to allay the heat and duſt, becomes by degrees as hard as a ſtone. Both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have their factories here near one another, each being diſtinguiſh'd by their reſpective flags; the *Dutch* is built cloſe to the water-ſide, being a goodly ſtructure, and very convenient for the unlading of veſſels.

Scarcity of freſh water. The city of *Gamron* affords no freſh water, which muſt be fetch'd by the ſlaves in earthen veſſels or ſheep ſkins early in the morning (to keep it the cooler) from the mountains, which are near three leagues diſtant from thence, which makes the freſh water ſo ſcarce here, that moſt people of faſhion will rather preſent you with a cup of wine than water, there being no pools or baſons here where any freſh water is to be met with, but during the rainy ſeaſon. Neither does the country produce any thing but palm-trees; notwithſtanding which there is great plenty here of every thing, wherewith they are ſupplied from *Perſia* and other places. The common drink of the inhabitants is water, tho' they alſo are provided with good *Perſian* wines; they are very ſtrong, and of a high red colour, but as ſweet as canary wine: It grows about *Schiras* and *Yezd*, and is tranſported from thence in large flaſks and caſks. They have alſo *Arack* diſtill'd of coco-nuts and rice. They make likewiſe a mixture of water, lemons and ſugar, but if drunk in too great a quantity occaſions the bloody flux. 1662.

Unwholeſomeneſs of the air. The air of *Gamron* is from the beginning of *May* till *September* more unwholeſome than in any place of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies* that ever I ſaw, ſo that there is no abiding here for foreigners, except in *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*. The natives of any quality being more uſed to the air, will continue ſomething longer, *viz.* till *May*, when they retire to their country houſes, which are for the moſt part built among the mountains, near ſome river or other, at 10 or 12 leagues from the city: Here they ſpend merrily what they have got by traffick in the winter, leaving the management of their city houſes to their ſlaves till *October*, the uſual time for ſhips and foreign merchants to come to *Gamron*. The heat which is moſt exceſſive here obliges them to ſleep upon leather, or with the lower parts of their bodies in water; or in the turrets, which are on the top of their houſes; ſome cool themſelves with pouring roſe-water down the neck; ſuch ſhips as are obliged to ſtay in the port during the ſummer ſeaſon, muſt be covered all over with ſails, otherwiſe the planks would ſplit aſunder, the pitch and tar riſing up in bubbles as it were a boiling; ſo that no body dare walk bare-footed upon the deck. Thoſe who venture to continue during the hot ſeaſon at *Gamron*, commonly get for their pains an ague of a very malicious nature, which if it does not kill, at leaſt ſeldom quits them, but leaves ſuch relicks behind, as at laſt brings them to their graves. The cauſe of this exceſſive heat ſeems to me to be the ſituation of the place, at the foot of a barren mountain facing the ſouth, ſo that the ſun-beams by their refractions againſt the mountains are redoubled in their ſtrength, eſpecially if it be conſidered that the wind here during the ſummer ſeaſon blows for the moſt part from the ſouth, and conſequently from the ſame corner, from whence the ſun-beams exert their utmoſt ſtrength. For immediately after *March* is paſt, the winds turn commonly to the weſt and ſouth-weſt, which are ſometimes ſo ſtifling that they

1662. they kill men and beasts. The *Arabians* call this wind *Elhamudi*, i. e. fish-winds, and the *Persians Badesambour*, because it choaks on a sudden such as it touches. It is very observable, that the dead carcasses of such as are kill'd by it, if touch'd with the hands, are as unctuous as grease or oil, and appear as if they had been dead a month ago. This wind continues here in *May*, *June*, *July* and *August*, as likewise all about *Mussil* over against the old *Nineve*, and near *Bagdat*, but those who are upon the water, even in boats in the river, never feel the effects of this wind, tho' they are quite naked.

Stifling-winds.

Traffick of the inhabitants of Gamron.

Most of the inhabitants of *Gamron* are merchants, who trade to several cities situate upon the branch of the *Euphrates*, such as *Bassora*, *Schiras*, *Ispahan*, *Tauris* and *Smyrna*. Once every year, to wit, in *October*, the caravans, consisting of several thousands of men and beasts, arrive here from the east, *viz.* from *Babylon*, *Turky* and *Persia*, with all sorts of merchandizes loaden upon camels, dromedaries and asses, which they exchange for *East-India* wares. The staple commodities of *Gamron* are cloth of gold, tapestry and pearls, which they take near the island of *Bahrain*, as likewise fruits of all sorts, plumbs, raisins, currans, nuts, dates, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, peaches, *&c.* They abound likewise in herbs, which are brought thither from other places, especially from the isle of *Kikmis*, not above three leagues from thence. They have also good store of most excellent *Persian* wine, which is brought thither from *Schiras* and *Yezd* in large flasks, pack'd up in casks. They sell also abundance of the best rose-water, which is here in greater plenty than in any other place that ever I saw. There is at certain times such a vast confluence of merchants and ships at *Gamron*, that they want money to buy their commodities; in such cases they write to their correspondents at *Lar*, *Schiras*, *Ispahan* and other *Persian* cities, who, if they have ready cash, are sure to buy good bargains at such a juncture. Most of the merchants that resort to *Gamron* are *Persians*, *Armenians* and *Indians*, living in *Persia*. And were it not for the unwholsomeness of the air, abundance more would come from other places, who now stay at home, and rather chuse to buy from the merchants that bring their commodities from *Gamron*.

Disposition of the inhabitants.

The women here, like as in most other eastern countries, are seldom seen abroad, but dwell in separate apartments, where the men live with them for some time, and in the mean while lay aside all other business. The women who expose themselves for money, sit in the evening upon benches at the doors, with lanthorns in their hands, where every man is free to chuse such a one as he likes best. The inhabitants here are generally very brown. The poorer sort go for the most part naked, only with a piece of stuff wrap'd round the middle; in the summer season some appear quite naked, others only in their shirts. The rich clothe themselves very magnificently after the *Persian* fashion, tho' there are yet some few who retain their antient dress with gold, silver, and iron rings on their hands, ears and noses. The common people make use of dates instead of bread or rice; for it is observable, that the ordinary food of the *Indians* all along that coast, from *Basora* to *Sindi* is dates and fish, dry'd in the air. The heads and guts of the fishes they mix with date stones, and boil it altogether with a little salt-water, which they give at night to the cows, after they come out of the field, where they meet with very little herbage. They abound also in hares, sheep, pidgeons and partridges; but as for tame fowl, tho' they have great store of them, they are not much esteem'd, because they have a brackish taste. The sea, especially that of *Solda* and *Sardin*, furnishes them with vast plenty of excellent fishes, and among the rest with very fine oysters, but they are so little regarded by the inhabitants, that if you have a mind to some of them, you must bespeak them of the fishermen on purpose. Preserv'd fruits of all sorts are here in great abundance; the rich merchants, but especially the *Persian* governor, living in great luxury and pomp.

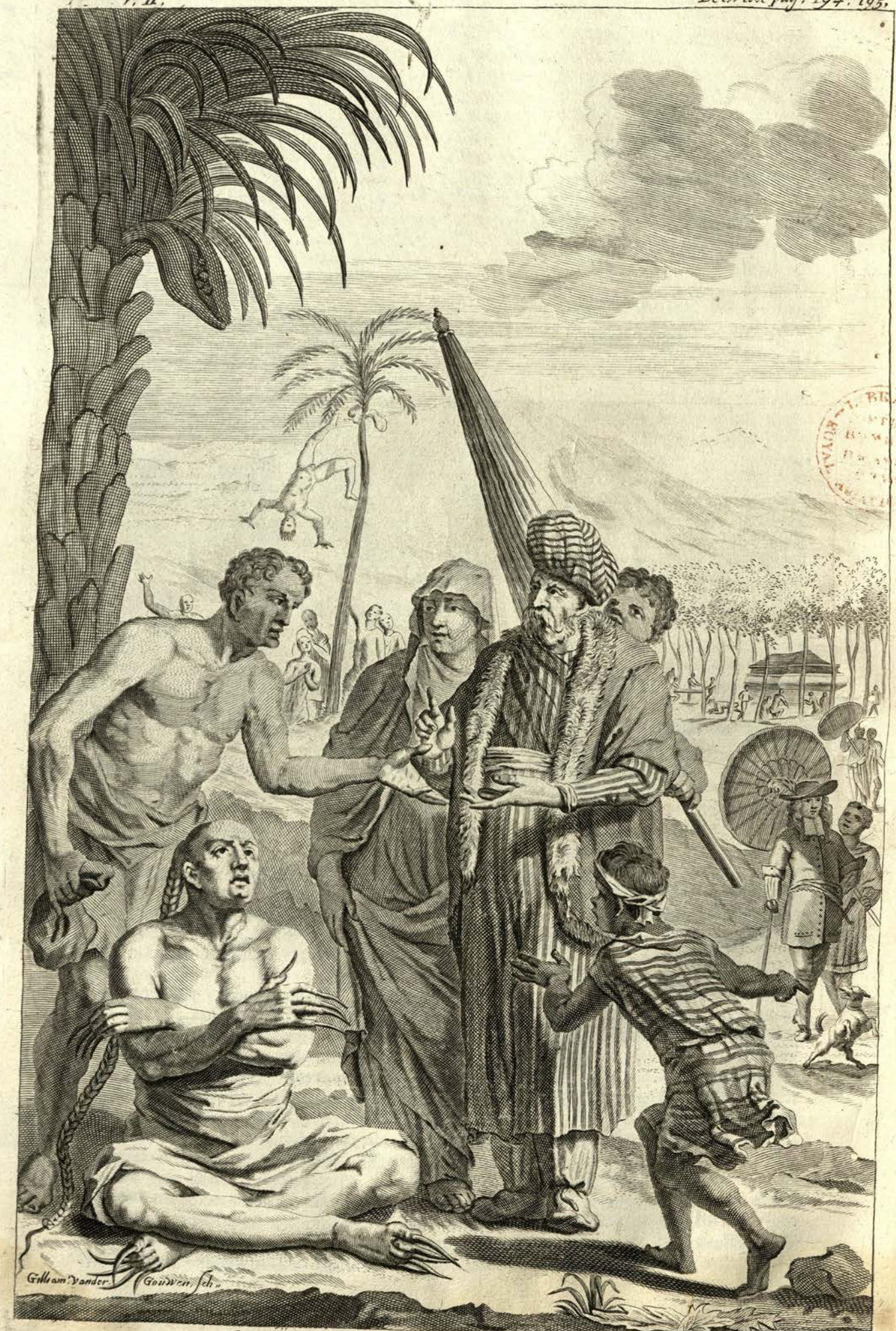
1662.

Their clothing.

Diet.

Sepulchre of an Indian saint.

About a league to the east of the city is a famous sepulchre of a *Banyan* saint, buried there some hundred years ago, under a tree call'd *Arvor das Rais*, i. e. root-tree by the *Portuguese*, or *Lul* by the *Persians*, which he planted here sometime before his death. The inhabitants call this tree the *Tree of the Banyans*, either from its first planter, or because the *Banyans* have founded a *Pagod* or *Pagan* temple under it, and a *Caranvansera* or inn for the conveniency of passengers. This tree has spread its branches at a considerable distance round about, and encreases every year to that degree, that its branches, which indeed all descend from one trunk, but by degrees take root again, encompass a space of 550 feet. Under this tree both inhabitants and foreigners shelter themselves against the heat of the sun when they are walking abroad, and entertain one another. Over the sepulchre itself is built a small *Pagode*, in which you see burning lamps hanging day and night under a canopy of silk. The ground all round about is paved with bricks, and adorned with convenient benches and seats neatly kept, where every body is at liberty to take his

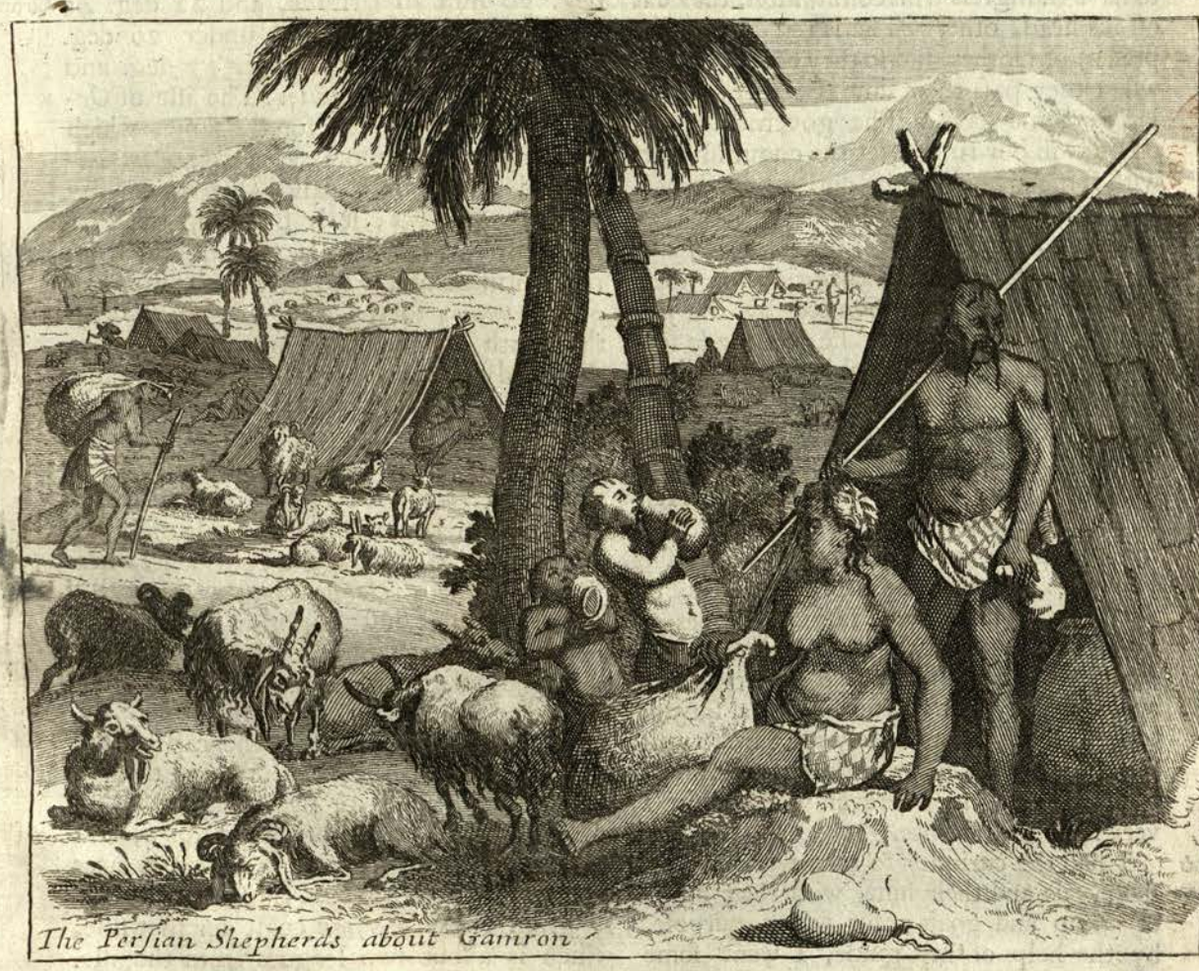


Goegys of Benjan Saints

1662. repoſe under the agreeable ſhadow of this tree. Here the *Indians* come in great numbers to offer their ſacrifices, eſpecially the *Siogs*, call'd by others *Goegys*, *Gioghi*, and *Joeghi*, and *Fakirs* by the *Arabians* and the moors. There are a certain ſort of *Banyan* ſaints (or at leaſt pretend to be ſuch) belonging to one of the four ſects of the *Bramins*, *viz.* the ſect of *Cenrawaghi*, of *Samarath*, of *Biſnou*, and the fourth the ſect of *Siogs* or *Goegys*. You ſee them ſitting on the highways with their legs acroſs, as the *Mahometans* do; they never pare their nails; ſome have locks of hair hanging down their backs of four or five feet long, others never ſhave their heads or beards, which makes them appear more like devils than men. They have no dwelling places of their own, but in the night-time they ſleep in the porches of their temples, on dunghills and corners of the ſtreets, or perhaps in ſome cave or other hole. They always appear naked, having only a piece of cloth wrapt about the middle. The *Indian* women reſort to them in great numbers out of devotion, to touch the extremities of their fingers, or to kiſs their privy members in a moſt humble poſture, which they admit of, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of ſenſibility thereat, for if they ſhould do otherwiſe, they would be look'd upon as unfit for that holy ſeat. They never caſt their eyes upon any body, but draw them in a moſt frightful manner upwards, as if they were afflicted with convulſions. They lead a moſt ſevere and miſerable life, conſtantly mortifying their bodies by ſome ſtrange and unnatural penances they lay upon themſelves. Some retire into caves and cellars, where they continue in their devotions ſometimes 1662.

Indian ſaints.

A ſect of Bramins.



The Perſian Shepherds about Gamron

9 or 10 days, without eating or drinking. Some walk both day and night for ſeveral years together without ſitting; and when they intend to ſleep, hang themſelves with a rope about their middle to the branch of a tree. Others carry both their arms all their life-time ſtrait upright above their heads, ſo that in proceſs of time they are not able to bend themſelves downwards again. In this poſture they continue day and night throughout the year quite naked, without the leaſt fear of being ſcorch'd by the ſun, or ſtung by the gnats, which they won't as much as remove with their hands. Nay they ſleep with their arms in the ſame poſture, a thing which needs muſt be very painful at firſt, and at laſt makes their arms thus diſtorted and bereaved of their uſual nouriſhment to hang down behind their backs. There are innumerable ſorts of other penitents,

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1662. tents, ſome always lifting up their eyes againſt the ſun, others fixing them conſtantly upon the ground, without ever looking upon or ſpeaking a word to any body living. They beſmear their nauſeous bodies with aſhes, and their greaſy hair and faces with ſandel-wood and ſaffron, but eſpecially with cowdung mix'd with aſhes; during our ſtay at *Gamron* we went ſeveral times to refreſh ourſelves under the tree; the common cuſtom is to carry ſome wine and ſweetmeats along with one, and as for dates, almonds, nuts, and other fruits, they are to be ſold there.

The governor of Gamron. The *Perſian* governor reſiding at *Gamron* lives in great ſplendor; the king ſends every year certain commiſſioners thither to take an account of the governor's conduct; he commonly meets them at ſome diſtance off the city unarm'd, and if they find him to have tranſgreſs'd his commiſſion, they cut off his head, otherwiſe he is regal'd with a preſent of clothes, and ſo they enter the city, where they paſs their time together in feaſting for ſome days. The governor of the city did in our time meet the commiſſioners with ſome armed bands, and thus conducted them into the city.

Perſian *poſts.* The poſts which go from *Gamron* to *Iſpahan* are wonderful expeditious in their journeys; they are appointed by the governor of *Gamron*, after he has made ſufficient trial of their nimbleneſs, which is done by running with the riſing of the ſun, to an appointed place till ſun-ſet; a certain horſeman being appointed to ride along with them, and to take care they don't reſt by the way: After they have perform'd this trial, the governor preſents them with a ſuit of clothes and with the title of runners. So ſoon as any ſtranger of faſhion arrives at *Gamron*, ſome or other of the inhabitants is ready to offer him his ſervice, to attend him in the quality of a porter, or as a ſervant to ſhow him the way; they are ſure to wait at your lodgings every morning, and follow you all day long wherever you go, for a very ſlender allowance.

Shepherds near Gamron. I had the curioſity to take a view of the ſhepherds and their huts, with their flocks of ſheep and goats; for which purpoſe, by the help of my guide, I went ſome leagues deep into the countrey, where I found them feeding their ſheep in a very barren ground; theſe ſhepherds, who have no other houſhold goods but a ſlight coat, commonly manage a flock of 500 ſheep and goats. Their huts they ſet up at pleaſure in the open fields, they having no certain grounds appointed them, but like the *Arabians* change their places according to the beſt conveniency of paſtorage; and tho' the grounds betwixt the city and the mountains are very barren, yet are the ſheep and goats here very good, an evident ſign that a ſmall matter is ſufficient to feed them. Theſe fields extend from the city to the mountains, which ſurround them at ſome diſtance from thence. They have ſome ſheep of an extraordinary bigneſs, with two horns on eaſt ſide of the head. Their he-goats have long curl'd hair, of which they make camlets. Some have ſuch long ears that you may tye them together. *Perſia* affords great quantities of tann'd goat and ſheep ſkins. Thus much of *Gamron*. 1662.

A little to the right of the harbour of *Gamron*, you may ſee the iſle of *Ormus*, at the very entrance into the *Perſian* gulph, as likewiſe the iſlands of *Queixome*, *Keſem* and *Lareck*, of which we will give you a ſhort deſcription.

The iſle of Ormus. Some put the iſland of *Ormus* under 25 deg. 30 min. of latitude, and 22 deg. 45 min. of longitude; others under 26 deg. 4 min. and ſome others under 27 deg. and 30 min. northern latitude. The iſle of *Ormus* is by ſome taken for the ſame, which by the antient authors, as *Pliny*, *Pomponius* and *Dionyſius*, is call'd *Ogyris*, and by *Ptolemy Vorcchta*; it is ſituate in the *Perſian* gulph, about two leagues diſtant from the continent of *Perſia*, having the province of *Caramania* to the eaſt, *Arabia fælix* to the ſouth and weſt, being divided from them only by the ſtreights of *Baharem*, and the continent of *Perſia* to the north; it is very near triangular; its largeſt ſide which faces the N. N. E. extending from S. E. to the N. W. from the chapel of *St. Lucie* to the point of land where the caſtle of *Ormus* is, being the neareſt to the continent, where formerly the *Portugueſe* had a fort call'd *Comoran*, built juſt oppoſite to the caſtle of *Ormus*, which thereabouts is not above a league diſtant. The ſecond ſide extends from the ſame chapel, *viz.* from the S. E. to the S. S. W. as far as the cape *Karu*, and ſo further to the W. S. W. and the W. and makes the baſis of the triangle. The third and ſmalleſt ſide begins at *Karu*, and ends at the before-mentioned caſtle; it faces the country of *Mogoſthan*, a name commonly given to the *Perſian* coaſt on that ſide, which is about two leagues from the iſle. Its whole circuit is about three leagues.

Karu. The weſtern part of the iſland extending along the ſea-ſhore, where the mountains end, is call'd *Karu*, where you ſee a few houſes ſcattered up and down belonging to the moors: At *Turumbake* are a greater number of theſe houſes, but as wretchedly built as the former, except ſome few formerly belonging to the *Auſtin* friars, where they uſed to divert themſelves ſome times. Near to them is a fine fiſh-pond ſurround-

1662. ed with very fine trees, and a large ciſtern for rain-water.

Mountains. The whole iſland is divided by a ridge of mountains, extending from the eaſt to the weſt, behind which there is nothing to be ſeen but white and barren hills, producing nothing except very good white ſalt. Among the reſt there is a mountain here called *Kuykaſtaron*, or *the Mountain of the Dead*; on the top of which the *Portugueſe* had built a chapel call'd *our Lady of the Rock*; which chapel is obſerved to riſe higher and higher, becauſe the ſalt, ſalt-petre, and brimſtone, which are contained in the bowels of this mountain, encreaſe daily in quantity. The inhabitants viſit this chapel with a great deal of devotion, unto which they have made a pretty eaſy aſcent by cutting ſteps out of the rock, which otherwiſe is very ſteep. Near the

Salt-mountain. mountain, where the chapel ſtands, is another, which runs upwards in form of a pyramid. It is compoſed of one entire maſs of the beſt and whiteſt ſalt that can be ſeen, and appears at a diſtance like a mountain covered with ſnow. Not far from hence is a chapel called *St. Lucy*, built behind the ruines of ſome old towers, where formerly the kings of *Ormus* uſed to keep their brothers priſoners, after they had bereaved them of their eyes. About half ways betwixt this and the city, was another chapel dedicated to *St. Lucy*, with ſome houſes about it, whither the inhabitants of *Ormus* uſed to retire during the ſummer ſeaſon, as likewiſe to ſome others built near the ſea-ſhore of reed only, and covered with palm-tree leaves.

From this chapel to the city is a large plain, where the inhabitants uſed to have their ciſterns to gather and keep rain-water in, which were always locked up; for not only hereabouts, but alſo all over the iſland the ground is brackiſh, which makes the rain-water which is kept in theſe ciſterns much better than what is gathered from the pools or ponds; yet does it not come near in goodneſs to the freſh water that is brought from the continent or the iſle of *Queixome*. The remaining part of this plain is taken up with the graves of the mahometans, pagans, and jews, which are buried here promiſcuouſly without any difference; ſome of theſe tombs are covered with a kind of a chapel, but open on all ſides. Hither you ſee great numbers of mahometan, pagan, and jewiſh women, of all ages and degrees, which come to bring their offerings of eatables in flat ſmall diſhes, to the ſouls of the deceaſed. And ſome of theſe are ſo zealous as to pay their conſtant viſits and devotions to the tombs of ſome of their pious men or ſaints, that are in great reverence among them, and their tombs ſumptuouſly adorned. 1662.

Ardemira. Not far from this plain is another extending from the mountains to the city, called by the moors by a peculiar name, *Ardemira*; i. e. *The proſpect over the plain* (in the ſame ſenſe as the *French* ſay *Bellvidere*) where the mahometan courtiers, and other officers of the king uſed to keep their turnaments and running at the ring on horſeback. This plain extends to the weſt as far as the ſea ſhore, the way that leads to *Karu*, from whence the city has the faireſt proſpect.

Turumbake. Behind the mountains, being the S. S.W. and the W. S.W. part of the iſland, called *Turumbake*, is the faireſt of all, tho' its compaſs is leſs betwixt the mountains and the ſea than that part beyond the mountains. Here you ſee a countrey ſeat of the old queen of *Ormus*, adorned with walks of palm-trees, and two large ciſterns or baſons, called from the place the *Ponds of Turumbake*, beſides ſeveral leſſer ones.

Their water is the wholeſomeſt and freſheſt of the whole iſland. There is another great baſon belonging to this ſeat, which is continually ſupplied with water out of three adjacent ponds and a ſmall brook; this water is not near ſo ſalt as that which is kept in the ponds more to the E. and N. N. E. where the ſun turns the water into ſolid ſalt. This countrey ſeat was already in a decaying condition 50 or 60 years before my coming here, having only a few apartments left, wherein the king of *Ormus* uſed to lodge during the ſummer ſeaſon; *Turumbake* had at that time not above 15 or 20 huts built of reed cloſe together, like a ſmall village, and covered with palm-tree leaves, after a wretched manner. Moſt of the houſes of this iſland are built after the ſame manner, notwithſtanding which, the inhabitants of *Ormus* retire thither with their families in the ſummer, being taught both by tradition and experience, that the open countrey air is much more wholeſome during the hot ſeaſon, than the city air.

On the north ſide of this iſle lies the city of *Ormus*, which before it was ſubdued by the *Portugueſe* was very populous, foreigners flocking thither daily from *Perſia*, the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Europe* itſelf, for the conveniency of traffick. To be ſhort, the city of *Ormus* was the moſt famous and richeſt trading city of the world, before the *Portugueſe* had found out the paſſage by ſea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, being inhabited and frequented by the *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Abyſſines*, *Armenians*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, and other mahometans; beſides the *Italians*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, *Poles*, and other *European* nations. It was much inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, but very few *Spaniards*, becauſe the firſt

1662. would not permit them to go thither by sea, and the *Turks* stop their passage by land, betwixt the *Mediterranean* and the *Persian* gulph; some few dwelt there under the name and protection of some other nations. The natives of *Ormus* are all mahometans, but of different sects, some being called *Kiays*, belonging to the sect of *Hali* son-in-law to *Mahomet*, whose doctrine is followed by the *Persians*; others are called *Suni's*, following the doctrine of *Mahomet*, *Osmar*, and *Osman*, as the *Turks* do; the king himself is of this sect; besides which, divers sorts of pagans, as *Banjans*, *Camboyans*, &c. inhabit here.

The city of Ormus *in the* Portugueſe *times.*

The city of *Ormus* whilst under the jurisdiction of the *Portugueſe*, and before the *Persians* made themselves masters of it 1619, was a very stately, rich, and magnificent place, of which the inhabitants used to boast, *That if the world were a ring*, Ormus *must be considered as the diamond.* For after the *Portugueſe* had conquered this city, they were very careful in adorning it from time to time with most magnificent structures, to such a degree, that all the iron belonging to their windows and doors were gilt; and it was the common opinion in those days, that if they had remained masters of it till now, they would have turned them into massy gold. They had built a stately church upon an eminency, dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, with an adjacent hospital called the *Misericordia.* Next to this was the exchange or custom-house, called by the *Persians Beneckſal*, this was a fine edifice, surrounded with galleries on the out side. They had likewise several monasteries, amongst which those of the *Austin* fryars and *Carmelites* were the chiefest. There is yet to be seen a very high steeple, a most noble piece of architecture, exceeding in magnificence all others of this city; the mahometans call it in the *Arabian* tongue *Alkoran*; on one side of the castle stood formerly a famous *Mosque*, which the *Portugueſe* caused to be demolished, as being too near the castle, which proved the occasion of the most inveterate hatred against the *Portugueſe*, not only among the moors inhabiting there, but likewise among the *Persians*, their king *Tahamas* or *Tahamas*, grandfather to *Schach Abas*, having been the founder of it. No sooner was this city fallen into the hands of the *Persians*, but she was by them despoiled of her ancient glory, and most of her inhabitants, many of whom were killed in the siege, the rest fled for shelter to some other place. All the churches, houses, and other publick edifices, were laid level with the ground, except some few shops in the *Bazar* or shopkeepers street. The *Dutch* ships which unloaded there, and returned commonly empty from thence, used to make it their practice at that time to ballast their vessels with the finest marble stones, the remnants of the stately structures of this city, and would questionless by degrees have taken all that was left, had not the *Persian* governour there prohibited the exportation of them under a severe penalty. For the *Persians* whose intention was to lay the foundation of the greatness of *Gamron* upon the ruines of *Ormus*, did remove all the best stones from thence, which they made use of in their best buildings at *Gamron.* The fortifications of the city of *Ormus* in the *Portugueſe* times, in 1619, were but in a slender posture, the ditch about the castle being filled up with dirt, having scarce 6 foot of water; besides that, it was not spacious enough for the garrison. Their commanders in chief, who were removed from thence every year, had according to the custom of the *Portugueſe*, but a slender share of knowledge in martial affairs, the governour at that time being an ancient man, not trained up in the wars, and not provided with experienced engineers and gunners.

Under the Perſians.

1662.

The caſtle of Ormus.

The old four-square castle was built on the utmost northern or north-west point of the land of the isle, where it approaches nearest to the *Persian* shore, two sides of it being washed by the sea, the other two facing the city; betwixt which and the castle is a very fair square of about 300 feet long, from whence you have a fine prospect into the sea. This castle, whilst in the possession of the *Portugueſe*, was not very large, being defended only by four bastions, which as well as the cortines, were built with a kind of small flint-stones mixt with mortar and sea-water; so that they were not proof against the thunder of the great cannon. The ditch was likewise very shallow, though it might have been made deeper without any great cost, by reason of the nearness of the sea, which waters it on two sides. In this condition was the castle of *Ormus* under the *Portugueſe*, of which the *Portugueſe* boasted that it was impregnable. After the *Persians* had made themselves masters of it, they were very careful to repair the old fortifications, and to add some new ones, especially on the point of the ditch, they made a half-moon, the cannon of which commanded the plain and a gallery; since which time they keep it always in a good posture of defence, and maintain a considerable garrison there, under the command of the governour of *Ormus*, who residing for the most part at *Gamron*, appoints a deputy for this place, who has his residence in the palace formerly belonging to the kings of *Ormus*.

The

1662. The harbour of this iſland is a certain bay, made by two points of land that jett out on both ſides; upon one of theſe capes ſtands the caſtle, on the other the *Portugueſe* had built a church, dedicated to our *Lady of Good-Hope*; but this point turns ſomewhat nearer towards the city, ſo that the harbour where the largeſt veſſels, galleys, and ſmaller veſſels uſed to caſt anchor, lies oppoſite to the north-eaſt part of the city, betwixt the two monaſteries built by the *Portugueſe*, one of which belonged to the *Carmelites*, the other to the *Auſtin* fryars. The tide where this bay is deepeſt riſes at high water, near four foot high above the foundations of the houſes; notwithſtanding which, at low water the ſhore is dry for above 200 paces; and 150 paces farther the water is not 3 feet high where it is deepeſt, ſo that the largeſt veſſels are obliged to caſt anchor at 600 paces from the city, and the galleys at 500, which renders this harbour very unſafe, eſpecially if a ſtorm ariſes from the eaſt, which often forces the ſhips aſhore; nay, this harbour would be much more dangerous, were it not for the nearneſs of the continent, which covers it on the N. and N. E. ſide, and the iſle of *Queixome*, which lies to the N. N. W. of it, and breaks the violence of the raging waves. Some tell us of two different bays belonging to the iſle of *Ormus*, which afford a ſafe harbour to ſhips, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt, being divided by a neck of land which jetts out betwixt them a conſiderable way into the ſea.

The harbour.

Scarcity of water. The whole iſland is deſtitute of water, except what ſome ſtanding pools or ponds afford, which is always brackiſh, tho' ſome more than others; ſome, eſpecially ſuch as are near the ſea-ſide, being tolerably fit for uſe; for the farther they are from the mountains, the leſs they participate of the ſalt. It does ſometimes not rain in *Ormus* for three years together; the only ſprings of freſh water they have being in the royal gardens. *Ferra Gutka* who reigned in 1596 in *Ormus*, found out a ſpring with freſh water in *Turumbake*. Not far from thence near the ſea-ſide, ariſes a ſalt water ſpring from among the rocks, called by the *Perſian* inhabitants *Abdarmon*, i. e. medicinal water, which has a purging quality, and cleanſes the bowels from all impurities. Here you ſee abundance of people drink the waters at a certain ſeaſon of the year, when they have a mind to be ſatisfied whether their bowels are thoroughly cleanſed, they cut a piece of an orange or citron, and if immediately after they go to ſtool, they reckon themſelves ſufficiently purged. 'Tis true, there are three ſprings here, which all having their riſe among the mountains, afford water ſufficient for three rivulets, but it is as brackiſh as the ſea water it ſelf. Thus ſeveral brooks are to be ſeen to the S. E. among the mountains which carry a very clear water, but ſo ſtockt with ſalt, that in the ſummer, when theſe rivulets are dry'd up, you ſee vaſt lumps of ſalt, which cover the banks on both ſides. The vaſt quantity of ſalt which is to be met with all over this iſland, being in ſome places burnt up and blackned by the violence of the ſun-beams, affords a dreadful ſight at a diſtance. They have alſo a kind of ſalt clay, out of which they make earthen veſſels. 1662.

The whole iſle is nothing elſe but a barren vaſt lump of ſalt, which ſcarce affords either graſs or trees, except what is brought forth by force in the royal gardens in the plains, neither does it afford any thing for the ſuſtenance of human life. It has however ſome few trees in certain places, but bear no fruit except dates, and another ſmall fruit growing on thorn buſhes with green leaves; another kind of theſe thorn buſhes they have with a pretty large ſtem, and ſmall red leaves. In the opening of the rocks you ſee now and then a large green and well ſpread tree, notwithſtanding ſeveral have poſitively aſſerted that this iſle did produce neither tree, herbs, nor graſs. The mountains are full of rock ſalt, which is very tranſparent, and contain likewiſe a conſiderable quantity of brimſtone. In ſome winters the ſalt is waſhed by the rains down from the mountains, which afterwards is again coagulated by the ſun, which is the only made uſe of here, for the rock ſalt being of too corroſive a nature, does conſume the meat inſtead of preſerving it. The *Dutch* tranſport abundance of ſalt from hence to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The iſle alſo affords a certain kind of white plaſtering called by the inhabitants *Gueche*, and another that is red of the ſame kind, but not ſo good as the white. They have alſo a certain way of preparing dung for plaiſter-work, which they perform in the following manner: They take the uppermoſt part of an old dunghill away, the reſt they make up in balls, and let them dry in the ſun. This done, they burn them to aſhes with fire; the aſhes they beat for a conſiderable time upon an even piece of ground, and immediately after mix it for uſe, for, if they let the aſhes be cold, or keep them only two or three days, they are not fit for their purpoſe; but this prepared and uſed keeps the water out of any place for many years. There are ſcarce any other ſtones to be met with here but flint-ſtones, of which the greateſt part of the fortifications of the caſtle are compoſed. There is alſo a kind of

black

1662. black gliſtering ſand to be found here, which the *Portugueſe* uſed to tranſport from thence to their factories in the *Eaſt-Indies*. No barley or oats is to be ſeen here. Their cattle they feed with a peculiar ſort of peaſe or beans, which they grind, and afterwards ſteep in water, being otherwiſe too hard to digeſt. Of theſe they give a certain quantity every night to their horſes. But in the morning they give to each horſe 2 pounds of black ſugar, mixt with a pound of butter and ſome flour, which they make up into balls; then they waſh the horſes mouth and teeth, becauſe this mixture ſticks very cloſe to their teeth and gums; in the day time they feed them with ſome herbs which they draw out of the ground with roots and all, and cleanſe them very well from all impurities.

Sinking wood. In the bay and all along the coaſt of the iſle of *Ormus*, they fiſh for wood, of which they find great ſtore in the bottom of the ſea, but not very large. This wood is by the violence of the currents of the rivers ariſing from among the mountains of the continent of *Perſia* (which is not above two leagues diſtant from hence) torn off and carried to the ſhore of *Ormus*; a thing moſt ſurpriſing, and contrary to what is obſerved of this kind in other iſlands lying near the continent, or ſome other great iſlands, whither the adjacent rivers force abundance of wood, which however always ſwims on the ſurface of the water, and commonly is found rotten, whereas the wood upon the coaſt ſinks to the bottom, and is not quite rotten, but affords the inhabitants great ſtore of fuel, which has induced ſome to believe that this wood did grow under water.

On the *Perſian* coaſt you meet alſo with certain kind of light porous ſtone under water, not unlike our pumice ſtones; eſpecially near thoſe places where ſubterraneous fires are; which makes theſe ſtones to be always white, in which they differ from the common pumice, which are either blackiſh or grey; they are found here in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they build their houſes of them, becauſe they mix very well with the mortar, by reaſon of their ſpongeous ſubſtance, and very light; and when well cemented with the mortar, reſiſt the violence of the winds, which blow here exceedingly about the change of the ſeaſons, better than any other ſtones. Some are of opinion that theſe ſtones were caſt out by a burning mountain, which ſeems not improbable, there being on the back ſide of a neighbouring mountain found vaſt quantities of theſe ſtones, as black as coals. The reaſon why thoſe on the ſea ſhore are white, ſeems to be becauſe they have for many years, nay, for many ages paſt, been ſcoured by the water of their impurities; the 1626. inhabitants call them *Sanchmay*, i. e. *Rock-Fiſh*, becauſe as many as are taken away grow again in a little time, and furniſh them with materials for building. They report that in former ages this iſland did burn for ſeven years together, of which they ſhew the marks to this day; the earth upon the mountains being red, and in the vallies ſpongeous like aſhes or quick lime; beſides that the whole iſland is ſubject to frequent earthquakes. The mountains are all over covered with ſalt, and the grounds are full of ſalt-petre. As often as the wind blows from the ſouth-weſt, there ariſes ſo violent a ſtink of brimſtone from the mountains, as infects the whole air. The heat is more intenſe at *Ormus* than at *Gamron*, for it continues at leaſt five months, *viz.* from *May* till *September*, and ſometimes till the beginning of *December*; in the winter ſeaſon the heat is ſomewhat allayed by the dew which falls all the night long, but in the ſummer the nights are ſo exceſſive hot, that it would be impoſſible for the inhabitants to abide here, if by ſeveral ways they did not aſſwage in ſome meaſure its violence. For on the tops of the houſes they ſet certain wooden veſſels like bathing tubs, big enough to contain two perſons at a time, in theſe they ſit and ſleep all night in the open air with the water up to their necks. The cauſe of this intolerable heat is attributed chiefly to the nature of the ſoil, which is not only ſandy, but full of ſalt-petre, which occaſioning a continual loſs of ſpirits, the inhabitants are forced to repair in ſome meaſure this defect, by continually keeping themſelves in cold water, notwithſtanding it be none of the beſt here; all the water that is brought hither from *Bandel Kongo*, or the iſle of *Queixome*, being taken out of ponds, and conſequently not purified from its dregs for want of motion; which is ſufficiently demonſtrable by its colour which is like milk, and its ſediment which is ſometimes two or three inches thick at the bottom of the veſſel it is kept in. During the violence of the hot ſeaſon you may ſee people of both ſexes and all ages, flock to the city walls; but the *Europeans* ſeldom venture at ſwimming in the ſea, the water being ſo exceſſive ſalt that it excoriates their bodies; but they allay the exceſſive heat of the nights by wetting their quilts and pillows with cold water. It is farther obſervable, that the winds are ſo changeable here, that you may in a quarter of an hours time remarkably feel their different effects; ſome by opening, others by obſtructing the pores of your bodies. During the ſummer ſeaſon the winds blow for the moſt part E. and S. E. or W. S. W. but ſeldom from the

1662. ſouth, the laſt of which is not ſo unwholeſome as the reſt; and what is more ſurpriſing is, that this wind always cools the water contained in any veſſels, but not the chambers or rooms where the water is kept.

Their Drink. The drink of the common people is water, thoſe of the better ſort drink *Spaniſh* wine, or *Perſian* wines of *Shiras*, but theſe are very ſcarce and dear. They diſtil alſo a ſpirit of rice and ſugar here, as well as in all other parts of the *Indies*. They have alſo a certain kind of drink call'd *Tari*, which is drawn from a tree, and as ſweet as muſk; this is the ordinary liquor ſold in publick-houſes, who pay a conſiderable tax for their licenſes to the king. This liquor is brought every day to town in caſks on horſe-back, each horſe carrying one on each ſide.

Origin of the Iſle of Ormus. The iſle of *Ormus* was in ancient times govern'd by its own kings or princes, deſcended from the race of theſe great kings that ruled all over *Arabia*, *Perſia* and the adjacent countries. The firſt famous in their hiſtories, was a certain *Arabian Emir* or prince, call'd *Mahamed Dramku*, of the race of the antient kings that ruled in *Saba*, or *Arabia Fœlix*. This prince being extremely deſirous to conquer new dominions, extended his conqueſts to the *Perſian Gulph*, where he landed with a great fleet from *Kalayatta*, a city of *Arabia Fœlix*, and laid the foundation of a city call'd *Ormus* or *Harmus* on the coaſt of *Perſia*. He left for his ſucceſſor *Solyman* his ſon, who was ſucceeded by the following kings. *Iſa* the third in rank, ſon of *Solyman*; the fourth *Lax Kari* ſon of *Iſa*, who left the court and embraced a private life. The fifth was *Katkobad* his ſon; the ſixth *Iſa* II. ſon to *Katkobad*, the 7th *Mamud* ſon of *Iſa* II. who ſuſpecting *Mir Xabadin Molong* his nephew, made him a priſoner in the caſtle of *Gati*; from whence he eſcaped to *Seugon*, and married the daughter of the governor of that caſtle. The 8th *Xaranta* ſon of *Mamud*, he engaged in a war againſt *Molong*, but was ſlain in an engagement with his enemy.

9th, *Mir Xabadin Molong* was declared king in his ſtead; his daughter *Sed Alkatum* was married to *Emir*, or prince *Seyfadin Aben Azar*, his brother *Aly*'s ſon, king of the iſle of *Keys*, who dying ſoon after, his ſon *Seyfadin* obtained the kingdom of *Keys*. *Mir Xabadin* dying likewiſe not long afer, his *Vizier Xarcar* made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Ormus*; and thoſe of *Keys* having at the ſame time depoſed *Seyfadin*, he fled to *Ormus*, where being well received by the inhabitants, he beſieged the uſurper *Xarcar* in the caſtle of *Karcan*, whom he kill'd, and thereby became maſter of the whole kingdom. After *Seyfadin* had well ſettled his affairs here, he undertook an expedition againſt thoſe of *Keys*, of whom he kill'd many, and made ſome of their chief men priſoners. From thence he went to the iſle of *Gerun*, (ſince call'd *Ormus*) where he cauſed all his priſoners to be ſlain upon a certain mountain, which from thence was call'd *Kay Kaſtaron*, *i. e.* The mountain of the dead. He returned at laſt victorious to *Ormus*, where he ſpent the reſt of his days in Peace. The 11th was *Xabadin Mamud*, ſon of *Iſa* II. who ſucceeded his uncle in the kingdom. The 12th *Emir Roknadin Mamud*, *Xabadin*'s nephew, ſon of *Hamud*, who was very victorious, and extended his conqueſts as far as *Safar*, a province of *Arabia Fœlix*. He reign'd 35 years, and died 1278. 1662.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Emir Sayfadin Nocerat*, but was ſoon after forced by *Emir Kodbadin Thahantam* and *Emir Moechzadin Fulad*, or *Pulad*, to fly the kingdom, and to ſeek for ſhelter, together with his mother, by ſultan *Gebaladin Suraget Mex*, governor of *Kernon*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was reſtored to his kingdom: But being a ſecond time vanquiſh'd, by his brother *Emir Kodbadin* was forced to ſave himſelf by flight in a ſmall bark, in the iſle of *Queixome*. In the mean while, king *Seyfadin*, who had aſſiſted *Kodbadin*, having cauſed him to be murthered, the ſoldiers conceived ſuch a hatred, againſt this *Seyfadin*, that they inſtantly recall'd *Emir Sayfadin Nocerat*, chaſed away *Seyfadin*, and reſtored him to the throne. Notwithſtanding which he was not long after murthered, by his two brothers, *Emir Maſaud*, and *Emir Turkonxa*, together with his two ſiſters, *Bibi Banek*, and *Bibi Neyty*, after he had reign'd 12 years, *viz.* 1290.

Maſaud the murtherer of his Brother, ſucceeded him in his throne, being a very courageous but cruel man, which brought upon him the hatred both of the nobility and common people, of whom he cauſed many to be killed. This made them implore the aſſiſtance of *Emir Bahadin Ayas Seyfin*, formerly a ſlave only of king *Nocerat*, but now governor of *Kalayatte*, a ſea-port of *Arabia-Fœlix*; who forced *Maſaud* to fly to *Kernon*, and from thence into *Syria*, where he died, after a reign of three years. He was ſucceeded by *Bahadin Ayas Seyfin*, who cauſed two brothers of *Maſaud* to be beheaded, for endeavouring to reſtore him to the kingdom. 1293

About that time a great ſwarm of *Turks*, came out of *Turkeſtan*, conquered a conſiderable part of *Perſia*, and by their frequent inroads, into the kingdom of *Ormus*, forced the inhabitants to ſeek for ſhelter,

1662. at the command of their king *Azaez*, in the isle of *Queixome*. Whilst they were roving about in the neighbouring seas, to find out a place where to fix their habitations, they happened to light upon a certain island, 2 leagues from *Queixome*, where meeting with a very ancient man, living just on the point of the isle, a fisherman by trade, he advised their king, to settle there. The king approving of his counsel, sent to the king of *Keys*, the proprietor of this, and all the other islands in the *Persian Gulph*, to desire him to sell him the said isle, for a certain sum of money, which being granted, he settled there a colony of his subjects, 1300, and gave it the name of *Ormus*, after his native country. His successors afterwards extended their conquests over a great part of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and over the *Persian* sea, as far as *Basora*; and maintain'd themselves in the possession of it, till this island was conquered by the *Portuguese*. This king died 1312, in the 22 year of his reign.

Some historians give us the following account of this and the succeeding kings of the isle of *Ormus*.

After this king had settled his new colony, he surrendered the government, to *Emir Ayzadin Gordonxa*, son of *Salhor*, and *Bibi Zeineb*, a nephew of the ancient king of *Ormus*, and retiring to *Kalayatte* in *Arabia*, there finish'd his days in peace. *Gordonxa* was engaged in war with the king of *Keys*, because he had intercepted some ships coming from the *East-Indies*, his dominions; *Ormus* he vanquish'd, and forced him to fly his dominions; but the king of *Keys* returning soon after, found means to make *Gordonxa* his prisoner, under pretence of an interview concerning a peace betwixt them; and *Bibi Sultan*, *Gordonxa*'s spouse, committed the administration of the government to *Malek Guaya Hadin Dinar*, son of her husband's brother *Xamxa*; scarce five months were expired, before the king of *Keys* came to *Ormus*, with *Gordonxa* his prisoner, where he was joyfully received by his subjects, except *Dinar*, who being used to rule, would not submit to *Gordonxa*, but forced him to retire to the castle of *Minab*, on the continent of *Persia*. Notwithstanding which, *Dinar* being sensible what affection the people bore to *Gordonxa*, and fearing his return, he thought it his safest way to retreat in time to the kingdom of *Makron*, betwixt *Persia* and the countrey of *Send* or *Ind*. After which *Gordonxa*, once more return'd to his kingdom, where he died 1318.

He was succeeded by his son *Emir Mobareşadin Bararon Xa*, who together with his brother, was by *Emir Xabadin Issuf* his general put in prison; *Issuf* afterwards mounted the throne, but was engaged in 1662. a war immediately after, with *Emir Xa Kodbadin*, brother to the imprison'd king: *Dinar* came likewise with a strong flying army, to his assistance, from *Makron*; but finding *Issuf* too strong for them both, he entred into a confederacy with him; and *Issuf* after having caused the imprisoned king, his mother, and one of his brothers to be slain, forced *Kodbadin* to retire to *Kalayatte*, with *Bibi Mariam*, the spouse of *Ayas Ceyfin*. But *Kodbadin* afterwards returned unexpectedly to *Ormus*, with a considerable force, and having made *Issuf* his prisoner, he put the crown upon his head, and caused him, his wife and his two sons, to be killed; after which he likewise made himself master of *Keys*. It happen'd that *Kodbadin* being abroad a hunting on the continent, 1345, *Rud Xur Nosomadin*, in the mean while got himself proclaim'd king of *Gerun* or *Ormus*; but finding most of the inhabitants averse to him, he quitted the countrey. However it was not not long before he return'd with a great power, and having gain'd *Homer Sojadin*, *Kodbadin*'s general, to join with him, he forced *Kodbadin* to fly to *Kalayatte*. He had scarce stay'd here a year, when word was brought him, that *Nosomadin* was dead, and that by his last will, he had enjoined his sons, *Xembe* and *Xady*, to throw themselves at the feet of *Kodbadin*, and to surrender the crown to him; but finding that the two young men, instead of performing their father's will, had seized upon the kingdom; he attack'd them and regained the crown of *Ormus*. He died 1347, in *Nakelstan*, a province of *Mogestan*.

He was succeeded by *Turonxa* his son, (who writ the lives of the kings his predecessors, both in verse and prose.) He vanquished *Xembe* and *Xady*, and died 1378, after he had reigned 30 years. After him his eldest son *Mazud* obtained the crown of *Ormus*, who was succeeded by *Xabadin*, the second son of *Turonxa*; after whom reign'd *Salgar*, *Turonxa*'s third son. Under his reign, *Sofi Hhalila* conquered all *Persia*, even to the continent, directly opposite to the island of *Gerun*, or *Ormus*, which escaped his hands for want of shipping; but *Salgar* lost all that he was possessed of on the continent. For the rest he reigned in peace, as did his successor *Xauwes*. Him succeeded *Seyfadin*, who reigned 1507, when the *Portuguese*, after they had discovered the passage by sea to the *Indies*, first set footing in the isle of *Ormus*, under the command of *Alfonsus Albuquerque*, the king being then yet in his minority, was under the protection of one *Atar* or *Kogear*, his father's slave, a brave but cunning man,

1662. whoſe chief aim was to let the young king bear the title of king, but to keep the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hands. *Albuquerque* being not ignorant of it, look'd upon this as a favourable opportunity to bring the city of *Ormus*, under the power of *Emanuel*, the then king of *Portugal*, or at leaſt to make it tributary to him, by erecting a fortreſs near it, by which means he might clear the *Perſian* gulph of all the *Turkiſh* and other Mahometan veſſels trading to the *Indies*, and conſequently entail that whole trade upon *Portugal*. He was about that time, with ſix ſtout men of war well mann'd, cruiſing in thoſe ſeas; but thinking it below himſelf at ſuch a juncture as this to lie privateering at ſea, he ſteer'd his courſe the 20th of *Auguſt* 1507 towards the *Perſian* gulph, and paſſing by the cape *Roſalgat*, came to an anchor before *Kalayatte*, (a noble city, and the firſt on that coaſt under the juriſdiction of the kings of *Ormus*) to provide himſelf with freſh proviſions. The inhabitants dreading the name of the *Portugueſe*, which was then already become famous throughout the *Indies*, entred into a confederacy with him, upon ſuch conditions as *Albuquerque* was pleaſed to preſcribe them. From thence he ſet ſail for *Kuriatte*, another city belonging to the kings of *Ormus*, on the *Arabian* coaſt. Here the inhabitants being of a different opinion with thoſe of *Kalayatte* choſe rather to defend themſelves by force, than to ſubmit to *Albuquerque*, tho' with very ill ſucceſs. For *Albuquerque* having landing his men, ſo vigorouſly attack'd the city, that the garriſon after ſome reſiſtance were forced to leave it to his mercy, which he burnt to the ground, with all their ſhips he found in the harbour. In the ſame manner he made himſelf maſter of the *Maſkate* and *Orfaſan*, two ſtrong and well fortified places belonging to the king of *Ormus*; and from thence directly taking his courſe to *Ormus* it ſelf, the chief aim of this expedition, he ſent word to king *Seyfadin* and *Atar* the protector, that *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* having taken a reſolution, out of an hereditary hatred to the mahometans, the declared enemies of *Chriſtendom*, to make war againſt them, which ſhould not end but with the total conqueſt of either ſide, he was come to tell them, that if they were ready, according to the example of ſeveral other *Aſiatick* and *African* kings, to pay his maſter a certain yearly tribute, he would leave them in the quiet poſſeſſion of the iſland, but if they refuſed to acknowledge the king of *Portugal* for their lord, he was come to denounce them war, which was not to end but with their total total deſtruction.

The Portugueſe *came firſt into the* Perſian *gulph.*

The king being ſorely frightned at the 1662.
laſt ſucceſs of the *Portugueſe*, and dreading the ſame fate, thought it his beſt way to cajole *Albuquerque* with fair words into a belief of his ſincere intentions of peace; but at the ſame time, by the advice of *Atar*, ſought to gain time, and to delay his poſitive anſwer, till the expected auxiliaries from the continent of *Perſia* were arrived. No ſooner had he received theſe ſupplies but he altered his note, and in plain terms ſent word to *Albuquerque*, that the kings of *Ormus* were not uſed to pay, but to receive tribute from foreigners; that in caſe the *Portugueſe* would be contented with the ſame privileges of trading other nations enjoy'd there, they ſhould be welcome; but that if they once came to hoſtilities, they ſhould be convinced to their coſt, what difference there was to fight with well appointed *Perſians* and *Arabians*, and with an undiſciplin'd rabble of *Moors*. By this time *Atar* the protector had got above 20000 men together, part of which he embark'd aboard the merchant veſſels then in harbour there, which he poſted in a line along the ſhore, to prevent the enemies landing, whilſt he with the men of war put to ſea with an intention to attack *Albuquerque* in the rear, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be engaged with the merchant men: But *Albuquerque*, inſtead of attacking the merchant ſhips, came up with *Atar*'s fleet, and engaged them ſo furiouſly, that that in a ſhort time he ſunk many of them, and burnt the reſt, with a great ſlaughter of men on the enemies ſide, whereas the *Portugueſe* loſt not above ten men during the whole engagement. King *Seyfadin* being ſenſible that the loſs of his fleet muſt of neceſſity draw that of the whole iſland after it, ſent immediately his deputies to *Albuquerque* to treat of peace; they were kindly received by the *Portugueſe* general, who gave immediate orders, that the fire which had ſeized by this time upon the merchant ſhips, ſhould be extinguiſhed immediately, and the next day a peace was concluded betwixt them upon theſe following conditions.

That *Seyfadin* king of *Ormus*, and all his ſucceſſors, ſubmit themſelves to, and ſhall acknowledge the king of *Portugal* their protector, and pay him an annual tribute of 15000 *Serafs*.

That *Albuquerque* ſhall have liberty to pitch upon a place, ſuch as he judges moſt convenient for the erecting of a fortreſs, for which purpoſe he ſhall be ſupply'd with ready money, and other neceſſaries by the ſaid king.

Accordingly *Albuquerque* apply'd himſelf with all imaginable ſpeed to the building of the fortreſs, but many of the gentlemen volunteers,

1662. volunteers and other *Portugueſe*, looking upon it as a great hardſhip to ſpend their time here in ſlaviſh drudgery, whilſt they miſs'd their opportunity of getting a rich booty at ſea from the *Mooriſh* ſhips, (the main intent of their voyage) began to murmur, and at laſt, with the conſent of their captains, embark'd themſelves aboard two men of war, and in ſpite of *Albuquerque* return'd to the *Indies*. He was vex'd to to the ſoul to ſee himſelf thus diſappointed in this great deſign, but being forced to comply with neceſſity he follow'd the reſt. But ſome years after he being ſent from the king of *Portugal* in the quality of viceroy of the *Indies*, he did, after the conqueſt of *Goa* and *Malacca*, bring it to perfection in the following manner.

He cauſed 1577, 22 men of war, and a good number of merchant ſhips to be equip'd at *Goa*, and to have it rumour'd abroad, that he intended to go with this fleet to *Aden* (a city at the entrance of the *Redſea*) to prevent thoſe of *Ormus* to conceive any jealouſy of this equipment. But no ſooner was he come to *Maſkate* but he changed his courſe, and ſteer'd directly for *Ormus*, where his arrival cauſed an incredible fear both in the king and people. For *Atar* being dead ſince, and king *Seyfadin* poiſon'd by *Noradin*, governor of the city, his brother *Toro* or *Torunxa* had uſurp'd the kingdom from his children. *Noradin*, who had both by this act, and before heap'd ſo many obligations upon this new king, got thereby the ſole adminiſtration of the government into his own hands, and daily appear'd in publick with a ſtrong guard, conſiſting moſt of his own kinsfolks. Thoſe that bore the chiefeſt rank among theſe were three brothers, among whom was one *Hamades*, *Noradin*'s chief favourite, a man of about 35 years of age, bold, prudent and very ambitious, and reſembling in every reſpect the late deceas'd protector *Atar*. He took effectual care by placing his creatures in all places of truſt, whereby he eſtabliſh'd himſelf in the management of the government, ſo that not only *Noradin*, but alſo *Toro* himſelf durſt not attempt to act contrary to his ſentimens. From hence it was, that tho' the league with *Portugal* had been kept inviolably hitherto, the *Portugueſe* had been civilly receiv'd there, and the yearly tribute punctually paid, yet was the power of *Hamades* ſo prevailing, as to have conſtrained *Toro* to accept of the *Perſian* turbant ſent him by *Iſmael Sophi*, an evident ſign that *Hamades* his inclinations were rather for the *Perſians* than *Portugueſe*. *Albuquerque* being not ignorant of what paſs'd at *Ormus*, reſolved, by delivering king *Toro* from the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion impoſed upon him by his ſubjects, to confirm him abſolutely in his fidelity and intereſt to the king of *Portugal*; for which purpoſe he ſurrounded the whole iſland with his fleet, to take away from them all hopes of relief, and immediately ſent word to the king, that he was come thither with no other intent than to enter upon a new league betwixt the kings of *Portugal* and *Ormus*. 1662.

King *Toro* being not a little ſurprized at the unexpected appearance of ſo great a fleet, diſpatch'd immediately his deputies to *Albuquerque*, to treat with him concerning the conditions of it; *Albuquerque* demanded, that beſides the annual tribute to be paid to the king of *Portugal*, liberty ſhould be given him to build a fortreſs, and a factory houſe to ſecure the trade of the *Portugueſe*; and king *Toro* being willing enough to grant what he deſired, the league was confirmed by a ſolemn oath on both ſides. But *Hamades*, who ſoon foreſaw that the building of this fortreſs would tend to the no ſmall detriment of his authority, left no ſtone unturn'd to prevent its accompliſhment, which *Albuquerque* being ſoon aware of, he cauſed this ambitious favourite to be kill'd. After his death, the *Portugueſe* meeting with no other obſtacle, the fortreſs was ſoon after brought to perfection; king *Toro* readily furniſhing them with materials and other neceſſaries. The next care of *Albuquerque* was, how to remove all the opportunities of a future revolt among the inhabitants of *Ormus*; for which purpoſe, after having taken the oath of fidelity from king *Toro*, he removed all the great cannon out of the city, and ſent about 30 perſons of the royal family, who had their eyes taken away before, and were maintain'd at the king's charge from thence to *Goa*, where they were to be provided for by certain perſons appointed for that purpoſe by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*. *Albuquerque* having thus ſettled the affairs of *Ormus* return'd to *Goa*, where he was no ſooner arrived but dy'd. The *Mahometans* call this *Albuquerque Malandy*, becauſe he was born at *Melinde* in *Africa*, call'd by them *Maland*. Albuquerque *dies*.

It was not long before king *Toro* refuſed to pay the uſual tribute to the *Portugueſe*, alledging that they did not defend him againſt the violences committed by *Mokrin* his vaſſal prince, of the iſland of *Baharen*, who hinder'd the ſhips from coming to *Ormus*. *Sequeira*, then governor of the *Indies* for the king of *Portugal*, ſent hereupon ſeven men of war (aboard of which were 400 *Portugueſe* ſoldiers) to the aſſiſtance of king *Toro*, under the command of *Anthony Korrea*, which were join'd by 200 barks of the king's, mann'd with 3000 *Perſians*, under

1662. the conduct of *Xaraf* his admiral. *Mokrin* brought together an army of 12000 men, consisting of three thousand *Arabian* horse, 4000 *Persian* archers, and the rest of *Turkish* firelocks, and some of his own subjects, arm'd only with scimeters and javelins; but being overthrown and slain in battle, the isle of *Baharen* fell into the hands of the king of *Ormus*, who gave it to one *Bardadi*, under condition that he should pay him an annual tribute of 40000 *Serafs*.

By this time *Sequeira* being sufficiently convinced, that the king his master was circumvented in his share of the customs and other taxes, appointed certain *Portugueſe* commissioners to have a watchful eye over them, which so exasperated the inhabitants, that king *Toro* in 1521 revolted, and caused all the *Portugueſe* at *Ormus*, except such as fled into the fortress, to be kill'd; the same treatment received the *Portugueſe* at *Kuriatte*, *Soar*, and in the island of *Baharen*, who were either all slain or imprison'd. Then he attempted the taking of the fortress, but meeting with a brave resistance from the *Portugueſe*, and dreading their return with a good fleet, he retired with all his subjects and their effects to the isle of *Queixome*, and set fire to the city of *Ormus*, which burnt four days successively. But not long after *Xaraf*, the chief adviser and promoter of this revolt, having received intelligence of the coming of the *Portugueſe* fleet, and fearing to be call'd to a severe account kill'd king *Toro*; and in his stead put *Mamud Scha*, one of the sons of *Seyfadin*, upon the throne. This king being but 13 years of age, made a new league with the *Portugueſe*, by virtue of which he was oblig'd to pay an annual tribute of 20000 *Serafs* to the king of *Portugal*: The inhabitants of *Ormus* were to restore to the *Portugueſe* all that they had taken from them; in consideration of which, the *Portugueſe* were not to intermeddle with their custom-house, or other courts of judicature. In the year 1550, the *Turks* made an inroad into the isle of *Ormus*, and laid it almost desolate. The king who in 1566 reign'd in *Ormus* was call'd *Siasiruſia* of *Xasiruxa Gialedin*; and in 1580 reign'd one *Ferraguixa*, who tho' very antient, had a great inclination to marry *Bisatme*, the widow of *Rex Bradadin*, his late governor of *Mogostan*, thereby to be master of her treasure, which was very great; she gave him for answer, *That she would comply with his desires as soon as he had perfected his new gardens at* Tarumbake, *and found out a new spring of fresh water*; both which the king having found means to effect in a short time, he was nevertheless disappointed in his expectation by the crafty widow. He that reign'd in *Ormus* in 1606 was *Xeque*, *i. e.* prince *Ajo*, or as some call him *Ajosia*, *i. e.* king *Ajo*. 1662.

For tho' the *Portugueſe* by the conduct of *Albuquerque*, had got into the possession of the island of *Ormus*, ever since 1507, nevertheless the succession of their kings from father to son, was kept inviolable under the protection of the crown of *Portugal*; for no sooner did the king of *Ormus* die, but the inhabitants set another of the royal family, tho' not without the consent of the *Portugueſe* governor upon the throne, who was oblig'd to take the oath of fidelity to the king of *Portugal*, after which he was invested with the crown and scepter by the said governor, who conducted him in great pomp to the royal palace, and afterwards gave him all the demonstrations of respect and honour, tho' at the same time he durst not stir from the island without his approbation.

Vast territories belonging to the kings of Ormus.

The antient kings of *Ormus* were masters of vast territories on the continent of *Persia* and *Arabia*; and among the rest of the countries of *Lar* and *Mogostan* in *Persia*, the last of which is commonly call'd the *Persian* coast, and the countrey of *Lar* being a mountainous countrey of very difficult access, serv'd them as a bulwark against the *Persians*. For after these had once taken from the king of *Ormus* the countrey of *Lar*, and what else they were possess'd of on the continent of *Persia*, (whose example was followed by the *Arabians*) the isle of *Ormus* was bereaved of its chief defence, and exposed to the insults of the *Persians*.

How they secur'd the sovereignty.

It was the custom of the antient kings of *Ormus*, in order to secure to themselves the quiet possession of the throne, to confine their next kinsfolks, or such as had any pretensions to the crown, with their wives and children, where they were well entertain'd, and kept till the king thought fit to dispose of them otherwise. They also used to blind their brothers, and others descended of the royal line, because it was a fundamental law amongst them, that no blind man could sway the scepter. It was performed thus; they made a copper bason red hot, which they, immediately after it was taken out of the fire, held frequently close before the eyes of him that was to be bereaved of his eyesight; which without any farther application, had the desired effect, without giving the least blemish to the eyes in outward appearance, which look'd as clear as before. Some will have it to have been done with a red hot iron.

Their riches.

The kings of *Ormus* possessed vast treasures in former ages; the customs they received from all goods exported and import-

1662. ed there, amounting to an immenſe ſum yearly, which empower'd them to extend their conqueſts on the continent of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, which they afterwards loſt again by their own neglect. For whilſt they themſelves were drowned in voluptuouſneſs, they left the ſole management of affairs to their favourites, who encreaſing in pride as they did in riches, at laſt left them nothing but the bare royal name, whilſt they acted in the government at their own pleaſure, diſpoſing of the treaſury and all other matters of moment, as it ſuited beſt with their own intereſt, whereby both the power of the kings and the ſtrength of the kingdom being weakned, they were no longer able to cope as before with their enemies, and at laſt were forced to yield themſelves tributaries to the *Portugueſe*, who were afterwards, *viz.* in 1622, chaſed from thence by the *Perſians*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, under the reign of their king *Schach Abbas*, which happened in the following manner.

The *Portugueſe* at *Ormus* had no ſooner been advertiſed of the taking of the fort of *Queixome* (ſituate upon the point of the iſland of the ſame name;) but they ſent deputies in the name of the king of *Ormus* and of *Goazi* to the *Perſian Chan* of *Schiras*, to come with them to an amicable compoſition, but with ſuch evident marks of fear, that the *Perſians*, who had lately received advice of a powerful incurſion made by the *Uſbeck* and *Nogayan Tartars*, and conſequently would have reſted ſatisfied with the conqueſt of the iſle of *Quiexome*, being ſenſible thereof, reſolved not to let ſlip this opportunity of plundering as it were *en paſſant* the city of *Ormus*. Accordingly the *Chan* of *Schiras*, without tarrying any longer in the iſland of *Queixome*, embark'd about 40000 *Perſians* and *Arabians*, under the conduct of *Emanculibey* his lieutenant, in ſome barks, who coming before the city of *Ormus*, found it deſerted by the *Portugueſe* and moſt of its other inhabitants, but met with a prodigious quantity of merchandiſe, which they either could or would not bring into the caſtle. The *Perſians* ſeeing themſelves thus maſters of the city without ſtriking a blow, and finding that under the protection of the houſes they might open their trenches, without any conſiderable danger from the cannon of the caſtle, fell to work without delay, and ſoon carried them on to the foot of the ditch, which being dry on that ſide, they paſs'd without much oppoſition. Then they attack'd the baſtions of *St. James*, which they undermin'd and made themſelves maſters of it in a few days; the garriſon all this while not making one ſalley, but were forced to ſurrender the place the 3d of *May*, after a ſiege of ten weeks. They conſiſted of 400 men, regular troops, beſides women and children, which were ſome days before ſent to *Maſkate*. The *Engliſh* had the chief hand in making the conditions for this ſurrender, which were,

Conqueſt of Ormus *by the* Perſians.

1662. *Goa.*

That all the ſoldiers ſhould have their lives granted them;

And that all ſuch as were willing ſhould be tranſported to Maſkate *in two* Engliſh *ſhips appointed for that purpoſe*, which was ſtrictly obſerved by the *Perſians*; they made the king of *Ormus* and *Goazil*, with their families, priſoners, and ſeized upon their whole treaſure, which in pearls and gold amounted to above two millions, beſides a vaſt booty of precious ſtones, and other riches belonging to the inhabitants, and 300 pieces of cannon, all which fell to the *Perſians* ſhare, who loſt a great number of men in the ſiege of this fortreſs. The *Portugueſe*, before they ſurrendered the fort, took care to make all the cannon uſeleſs by nailing of it up. The king of *Ormus*, with ſome other *Arabians* of note were carried priſoners into *Perſia*, together with the beforementioned *Goazil Raia Noradina*. This laſt was a young lord, a ſubject of the king of *Spain*, a very handſome perſon, and well verſed in the *Perſian* and *Arabian* hiſtories. He had at the beginning of the ſiege offered 100000 crowns in ducats and *Xerafins*, to the *Perſians*, to be tranſported to *Maſkate* or *Goa*; and the unfortunate king of *Ormus*, had likewiſe made an offer of his whole treaſure to the *Portugueſe*, to obtain the ſame favour, which was refuſed by the *Portugueſe*, notwithſtanding they were both vaſſals of the king of *Portugal*, which has given no ſlender cauſe of ſuſpicion to ſome, as if the *Portugueſe* had invited the *Perſians* thither, when they ſued for peace to them in the iſle of *Queixome*. The *Engliſh*, in conſideration of this ſervice, had the moiety of all the cuſtoms and other revenues granted them by the *Perſians*. The chief reaſon of the loſs of the fortreſs of *Ormus*, is attributed to the revolt of the garriſon in the *Portugueſe* fort of *Queixome*, who in ſpight of *Ruy Freira* their governor, ſurrendred it to the *Perſians*. It was alſo alledged, that if the governor of the *Portugueſe* fortreſs of *Ormus*, had, according to the advice of the other commanders, filled the ditch betwixt the city and the fortreſs with water, by opening the ſluices, the *Perſians* would have found it a much harder taſk to have approached ſo near to the baſtion of *St. James*.

Before the *Portugueſe* had diſcovered the paſſage by ſea to the *Indies*, all the *Indian* commodities were brought into *Europe* by the way of *Ormus*, whither they were firſt tranſported

Vaſt traffick of Ormus *in former ages.*

1662. transported out of all parts of the *Indies*, and from thence thro' the *Perſian* gulph, and along the river *Euphrates* to *Baſſora*, which city lies upon the confluence of the two great rivers the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. From *Baſſora* they were by land carried by camels to *Bagdad*, a city upon the *Tigris*. From hence they travelled with their merchandizes in caravans thro' the deſarts of *Syria* to *Aleppo*, being a journey of forty days; and from *Aleppo* to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, bordering upon the mediterranean (only three days journey) from whence they were tranſported by the mediterranean into all parts of *Europe*. From hence it is evident, that *Ormus* in former ages was the ſtaple of all the *Indian* commodities. But ſince the diſcovery of the ſea paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the *Portugueſe* by the cape of *Good Hope*, this way of tranſporting the *Indian* commodities by land is laid aſide, tho' even to this day, certain *Indian* merchandizes, but eſpecially *Perſian* ſilks, are brought from *Ormus* by land by the caravans, this iſland by reaſon of its ſituation, at the entrance of the *Perſian* gulph, and its two harbours, lying very commodious for traffick and ſhipping from the eaſtern parts of the world. After the city of *Ormus* was fallen into the hands of the *Perſians*, moſt of its traffick and the ſtaple of the *Indian* commodities was from thence transferred to *Gamron*, a city upon the *Perſian* coaſt, built upon the ruins of *Ormus*. We will now proceed to a ſhort deſcription of the iſlands of *Baharen*, *Queixome* and *Keſem*.

The Iſle of Baharen. Among a great number of other iſlands in the *Perſian* gulph, and under the juriſdiction of *Perſia*, one of the chief is the iſle of *Baharen*, or *Bahrem*, called by *Strabo* and *Pliny Tilos*, and is by ſome taken to be the ſame iſland, called *Ichara* by *Ptolemy*. It is ſituate in the ſtreights of *Baſſora* or the *Perſian* gulph, betwixt *Baſſora* and the iſle *Gerun*, or *Ormus*, about 60 leagues diſtant from each, near the *Arabian* coaſts, over againſt the harbour of *Katifa*. This iſland abounds in water, but is brackiſh, the beſt of all being found in certain ponds or pools in *Nanyah*, in the midſt of the iſland; next to which that which is taken out of the ſea is in moſt eſteem, which is performed in the following manner.

There are certain ſprings of freſh water ariſing in the bottom of the ſea, at three fathoms and a half deep. Near the city of *Manama*, certain divers go early in the morning in boats, about three muſket ſhot deep in the ſea from the ſhore, and dive to the bottom of the ſea, fill their earthen or leathern veſſels with the water that iſſues from the ſprings, and ſo come up again and return to the ſhore; this they do with a great deal of dexterity and nimbleneſs. 1662. Theſe ſprings are ſuppoſed to have been formerly on the ſhore, not far from the ſea-ſide, which ſince that time have been ſwallowed up by the inundations of the ſea, occaſioned by earthquakes. This iſle is very fertile, abounding in fruits of all ſorts, but eſpecially dates. But all the rice (which together with the dates, is the general food of the inhabitants;) is from the *Indies* tranſported to *Ormus*, and from thence into this iſland, which is famous throughout the *Indies*, by reaſon of the pearl fiſhery here, *Pearl fiſhery.* from whence the king of *Perſia* draws a vaſt revenue yearly, as may be gathered from thence, that after this iſland was fallen into the hands of one *Bardadin*, (who ſucceeded *Anthony Korrea Mokrin*, a vaſſal of the king of *Ormus*) he promiſed to pay a yearly tribute of 40000 *Serafs*. Beſides this, the pearl trade here produces yearly at leaſt 500000 ducats in ready money, not to reckon 100000 ducats more, which are ſhared betwixt the *Perſian* governor and the other officers: For there is a great reſort of merchants to this place, which come hither from all parts of the world to buy up pearls, and to tranſport them to the *Indies* and other places, the beſt and moſt precious pearls in the world being found near this iſland of *Baharen*, and the iſle of *Gionfar* or *Giolfar*, which both in bigneſs and roundneſs, far exceed thoſe found near the other iſlands of *Latif*, *Laſen*, *Barechator*, *Zezirafilhar*, *Alul*, *Seran*, *Dſiud*, *Daas*, *Emergocenon*, *Ancovi*, *Serecho*, *Delmefialmas*, *Sirbeniaſt*, *Aldane*, *Feſtebruatich*, *Cherizorn*, *Dibei*, *Sarba*, *Agiman*, *Ras*; *Emelgovien*, *Raſagiar*, *Daoin*, *Raſaelchimes*, *Sirkorkor*, *Kaſab*, *Konzar*, *Meſendenderadi*, *Lima*, *Debe*, *Chorf*, *Chelb*, *Sarar*, *Suet*, *Meſtar*, *Garajat*, *Teuji*, *Golaf*, *Furgatile*, *Sam*, *Gameda*, *Bacha* and *Jadi*. All which afford pearls, but they are not exactly round. Near *Maſkate*, about 33 or 34 leagues from *Ormus*, are likewiſe very good pearls to be found.

The pearl fiſhery near *Baharen* begins ſometimes in *June*, but generally in *July*, and continues till the end of *Auguſt*. About 200 barks go abroad together, *viz.* 100 belonging to the iſle of *Baharen*, 50 to *Pilfar* and 50 to *Nihely*; their rendezvous being commonly near *Katar*, a ſea port of *Arabia*, ſix leagues ſouth of *Baharen*. The pearls taken here exceed all the reſt in goodneſs, beauty, and weight, tho' not in bigneſs. They catch them by means of a ſtone, which by its weight is let down 12 or 18 fathom under water. They ſell the pearls by *Karats* and *Abas*, three of which make one *Karat*; and by *Matikals*, or *Mitigals*, each of which contains 42 *Karats*; the ſmall pearls are ſold by *Mitigals*. Beſides this general

1662. fiſhery near *Katar*, which continues for two months, there are ſeveral other particular fiſheries, near *Nihely*, *Baharen*, *Julfar*, *Maſkate*, *Teude*, and *Rozalgate*, in the *Perſian* gulph, which though not of ſo great conſequence as the firſt, yet are commonly greatly beneficial to the owners. As they take up the oyſters they open them, when the pearls drop out. It is generally believed that theſe pearls are progenerated by the *May* dews, during which month the oyſters riſe up to the ſurface of the waters, and opening themſelves, receive a ſmall quantity of dew, which being coagulated, afterwards produces theſe pearls. Certain it is, that if theſe oyſters are opened before *June*, the pearls are ſoft and pliable like pitch. Moſt of the inhabitants of the iſle of *Baharen* are *Arabians*, but the garriſon conſiſts of *Perſians*, under the command of a vizier ſent thither by the king of *Perſia*. Formerly this iſle was under the juriſdiction of the kings of *Ormus*, and in 1602 taken from them by the *Portugueſe*. But when the *Perſian* ſultan of *Xiras* had laid ſiege to the *Portugueſe* fortreſs of *Comoran*, he made himſelf maſter of *Baharen*. The king of *Perſia* alledging that he had not taken it from the *Portugueſe*, but from a vaſſal of the king of *Ormus*, who was his vaſſal; ſo that ever ſince 1602 the *Perſians* have been in poſſeſſion of it.

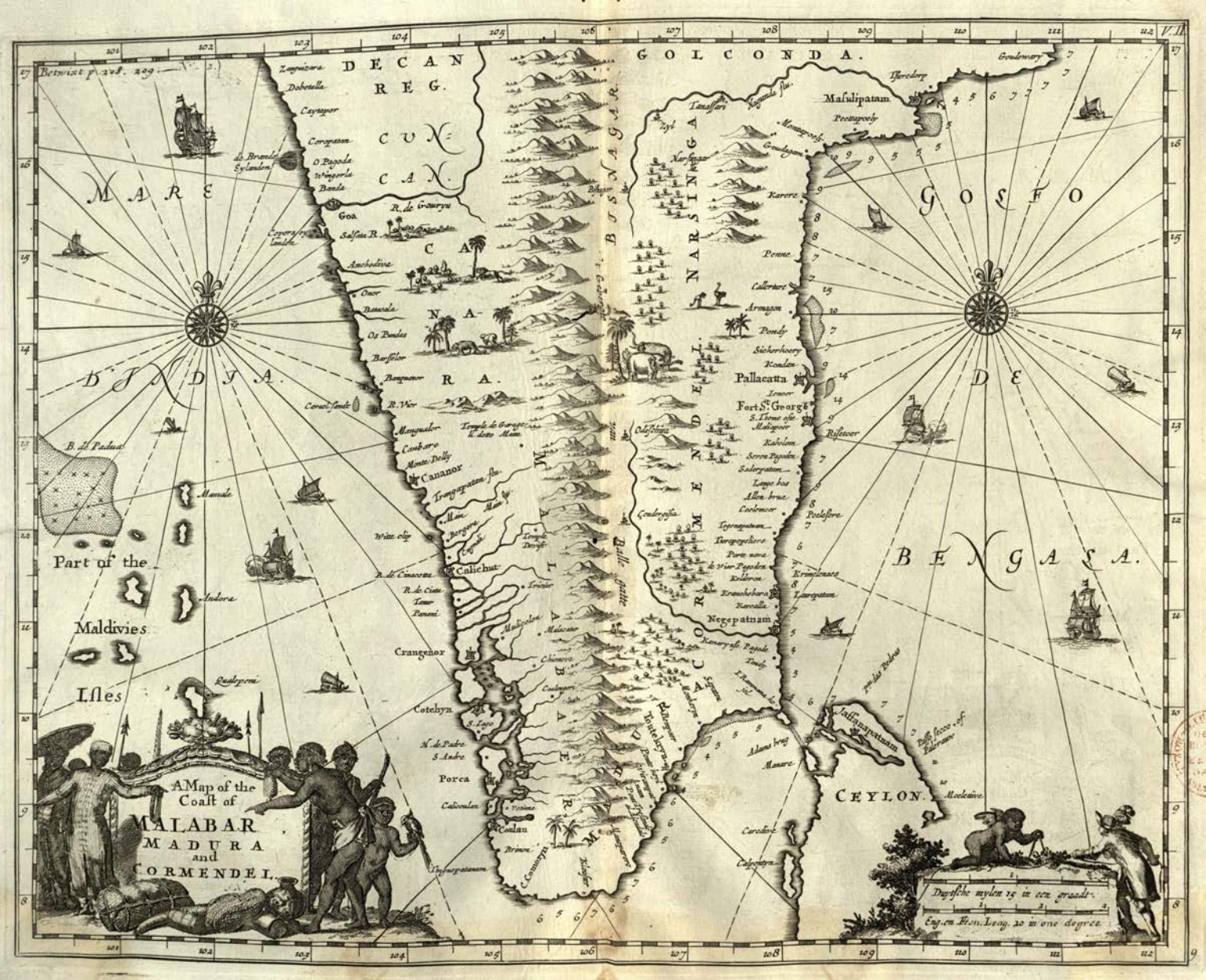
The iſle of Quiexome Kechmiche.

The iſle of *Queixome*, or *Queixume*, or *Quezome*, otherwiſe called *Kechmiche*, and by the inhabitants *Brokt*, lies cloſe to the continent of *Perſia*, being ſeparated from it only by a ſmall branch of the ſea: It has about two leagues in circuit, and is three leagues diſtant from *Ormus*. Its two chief places are *Arbez* and *Homeal*, where the king of *Ormus* at the time when *Albuquerque* firſt appeared hereabouts, had ſtrong garriſons. The other places of note are *Lapht*, the beſt harbours of this iſland, *Darbaga* not far from the *Lapht*, *Chau*, and *Sirmion*, or *Sermion*. It bears plenty of corn, but eſpecially barly, without which the inhabitants of *Ormus*, who are ſupplied from hence with it for their horſes, could ſcarce ſubſiſt there. Here is alſo a moſt excellent ſpring of freſh water; to ſecure which the *Perſians* had erected a fort hard by for fear of the *Portugueſe*, who were then as yet maſters of *Ormus*. If we may believe ſome hiſtorians, this iſland was not inhabited in ancient times; partly by reaſon of the frequent earthquakes that happened there, partly by reaſon of the vaſt numbers of ſerpents and other venomous creatures, which infected both air and ſome trees, ſo as to render the iſland uninhabitable. Among theſe trees is one called *Baxama* or *Baxana*, the fruit of which is ſo poiſonous, that the leaſt taſte of it kills in an inſtant, and its ſhadow is ſo peſtiferous, that it kills thoſe who abide there in leſs than a quarter of an hour. The root of this tree is in ſeveral other parts eſteemed as the greateſt antidote that can be, but here it is mortal, as are its leaves, and fruit called *Rabuzit*. 1662.

The *Portugueſe* in 1622 conquered this iſland from the *Perſians*, and on the point oppoſite to *Ormus* erected a fort, fortified with a wall, and ſurrounded with a broad and deep ditch, but the wall was very ſlight, being ſuſtained from behind only by ſome looſe earth. In ſhort it was a place of no defence, without any great cannon, neither in a condition to bear the weight of them. It had three ponds within its precinct, being chiefly built by the *Portugueſe*, for that purpoſe, becauſe the inhabitants of *Ormus*, were from thence ſupplied with water. Scarce had the *Portugueſe* finiſhed this fort, but the *Perſians* out of the countrey of *Lara* in 1622, beſieged it by land, as the *Engliſh* did at ſea; the *Portugueſe* commander *Ruy Freira de Andreada* defended himſelf bravely for ſome time, and killed many of the *Perſians*, who would have bought it perhaps at a dear rate, had not the *Engliſh* threatned to bring their great cannon againſt it, which obliged the garriſon who were not provided with them, to capitulate, and to ſurrender the fort upon honourable conditions, which were not performed on the enemies ſide. There are ſome others who have given us the following account of the occaſion of this ſiege.

The king of *Perſia* had 1612 taken the iſles of *Queizome* and *Baharen*, and the fortreſſes of *Bandel* and *Mogoſtan* on the continent, from the king of *Ormus*, which he refuſing to reſtore, the king of *Portugal* ſent his expreſs orders to *Ruy Freira*, that in caſe the king of *Perſia* would not reſtore the iſle of *Queixome* and the fortreſs of *Bandel*, he ſhould declare war againſt him, and erect a fort on the point of the iſle of *Queixome*. Accordingly *Ruy Freira de Andreada*, who in the beginning of *June* 1620, came to *Ormus*, cauſed a fort to be built on the point of the ſaid iſland, ſurrounded only with a ſlender wall made of ſtone and clay, or loam, being ſcarce to be compared in ſtrength to ſome private buildings: The *Perſians* with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* having erected a ſmall battery againſt it, did play upon the fort with their cannon, which did ſtrike ſuch a terror into the garriſon that they refuſed to ſtand the brunt any longer, but forced *Ruy Freira* to capitulate. For *Emanchulican* governor of *Schiras* being juſt then come with 5000 men to *Bandel* or *Gamron*, he ſent part of his forces under the command of *Emanculi-*

bey



Betwixt p. 208. 209.
DECAN
REG.
CUN-
CAN.
GOLCONDA.
MARE
DINDIA.
GOLFO
DE
BENGALA.
CANARA.
BISNAGAR.
NARSINGA
MALABAR
MADURA
CORMENDEL.
Part of the
Maldivies
Isles
Goa
Canonor
Calichut
Crangenor
Cotchyn
Porca
Coulan
Negepatnam
Pallacatta
Fort St. George
Masulipatam
Jaffanapatnam
CEYLON.
Duytsche mylen 15 in een graadt.
Eng. en Fran. Leag. 20 in one degree.
A Map of the
Coast of
MALABAR
MADURA
and
CORMENDEL.

1662. *hey* to the ſiege of the fort of *Queixome*; *Ruy Freira*, as I told you, being forced to ſurrender, had obtained certain conditions from the *Engliſh* for himſelf and the garriſon, among which the chiefeſt was, that the whole garriſon as well *Portugueſe* as *Arabians* (the laſt of which were come thither from *Zulfa* upon the coaſt of *Arabia*, under the command of *Emir Alikamai Zemur Mahomet*, and had done ſignal ſervices by ſallies and otherwiſe) ſhould be ſafely conducted to *Maſkate*, a city on the coaſt of *Arabia* belonging to the *Portugueſe*; but this was but ill performed by the *Perſian* general, who before the *Portugueſe* were embarked, cauſed all the *Arabians* to be beheaded, in ſpite of the proteſtations of *Ruy Freira*, who accuſed the *Engliſh* with breach of faith, but theſe excuſed themſelves, alledging that theſe *Arabians* having formerly been ſubjects of the king of *Perſia*, it was not in their power to prevent it: No more than 20 out of 250 *Arabians* eſcaped with life, who were hid by the *Engliſh* ſeamen. The commander in chief of theſe *Arabians Emer Genedin* being brought before the *Perſian* general, was by his orders ſtabbed in his preſence by *Xarial* his ſon-in-law, and then governour of *Mogoſtan*; but the *Portugueſe* garriſon conſiſting of 200 men, were by the *Engliſh* inſtead of conveying them to *Maſkate*, ſet on ſhore in the iſle of *Ormus*, from whence they got ſafe into the *Portugueſe* caſtle.

The iſle of Jarek.

The iſle of *Jarek* is ſituate three leagues from the coaſts of *Arabia*, to the ſouth of the iſle of *Ormus*, and to the eaſt of the iſle of *Kechmeche*. It is deſtitute of inhabitants, and very ſmall in compaſs, the *Dutch* who reſide on the behalf of the *Eaſt-India* company at *Gamron*, have planted there only a garden near a certain pond, whither the wild boars and ſtags which are here in great numbers, come to drink; they alſo keep here ſome tame fowl for their recreation. It is now time we ſhould leave *Gamron* and *Ormus*, and proceed on our voyage.

After we had taken in our lading at *Gamron*, we ſet ſail from thence the 2d of *June*, and with a favourable gale paſſed along the coaſt of *Malabar*, towards the iſle of *Ceilon*; for before you come to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, you are obliged to ſail round all that vaſt tract of land. I had letters by me for the governour of *Punto Gale*, a city of *Ceylon*, which I delived to a certain maſter of a ſmall veſſel, without going aſhore myſelf. After we had provided ourſelves with freſh water here, that the rendezvous of the *Dutch* ſhip was appointed to be at *Punto Pedro*, where Mr. *Rijklof van Goens* commanded a body of troops in order to beſiege the city of *St. Thomas*, whither we

They came to Punto Gale *in* Ceylon.

alſo directed our courſe. But whilſt the great train of artillery was embarking, and the troops ready to go on board for this expedition, we received intelligence that the *Portugueſe* had ſold the city of *St. Thomas* to the *Jentyves* or *Pagans*, which made us alſo alter our meaſures; and I went to *Jafenepatnam* to diſpatch my buſineſs. 1662.

The city of St. Thomas.

The city of *St. Thomas* is ſituate under 12 or 13 deg. 30 min. of northern latitude, 26 *German* miles from *Nagapatnam*, one and a half off the river *Ganges* near cape *Komorijn*, and a days journey or five *German* miles to the ſouth of *Paliakatte*, on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, cloſe to the ſea-ſhore. The city of *St. Thomas* was otherwiſe called *Kalamina*, and by the natives *Meliapor*, which name the *Portugueſe* changed into that of *St. Thomas*, in honour of that apoſtle, which name it retains to this day, not only among the chriſtians, but alſo the *Turks* and *Indians*. *Meliapor* ſignifies in their language as much as a peacock, intimating that as this bird is the moſt beautiful of all others, ſo this city did in beauty excel all the reſt of the eaſt. Some will have the city of *St. Thomas* or *Meliapor*, to be the ſame called *Mapura* by *Ptolemy*. This city was quite deſolate when the *Portugueſe* firſt came there, who rebuilt it in 1545, ſince which time it has encreaſed to that degree, that not many years after ſhe was accounted one of the fineſt cities in all the *Indies*, both in reſpect of the magnificence of its building, and the number of rich inhabitants. It is fortified with ſtone wall, ſtrengthned by ſeveral baſtions; and had under its juriſdiction above 300 villages and towns. It is one of the richeſt ſea ports of all the *Eaſt-Indies*, its ſituation being in the midſt of all the beſt harbours of thoſe parts, which renders it the more convenient for the *Eaſt-India* trade. Whilſt this place was in the hands of the *Portugueſe*, it was at firſt incorporated with the dioceſe of the biſhop of *Cochin*, but afterwards erected into a biſhopdom, under the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of *Goa*. They had a church here dedicated to *St. Francis*, belonging to the *Capuchins*, and two others, one dedicated to *St. John*, the other to the virgin *Mary*, where the *Mahometans* and *Pagans* were inſtructed and baptized. In the ſuburbs was the church of *St. Lucy*, and in the city the monaſtery of *Charity* and *Lazarus*, beſides three others. The jeſuits, of whom there was a conſiderable number here, had a goodly college within the city, wherein the children of the *Portugueſe* and of the chief *Malabars*, were inſtructed in the fundamentals of the chriſtian religion. Next to this college was a very large pariſh inhabited by chriſtians, ſuch as were by the jeſuits con-

1662. verted from paganiſm and mahometaniſm, of which 120 were baptized in 1604. Here you ſee alſo the famous church of *St. Thomas*, this apoſtle, as the *Portugueſe* pretend, being buried here; his ſepulchre is ſhewn to this day on the top of a mountain near a city, over which they have built a ſmall chappel, which may be diſcovered at ſome diſtance at ſea. Cloſe to this college upon a pretty high hill is a chappel, which as they ſay, was *St. Thomas*'s uſual ſleeping place. The jeſuits to ſhew their reverence to this place, have adorned that part of the chappel where *St. Thomas* uſed to ſay his prayers, with gilt iron ſteps.

St. Thomas's *chappel.*

Here you ſee alſo a ſtone croſs, which they ſay is the ſame that in the apoſtles time did fall from heaven; for which reaſon they have covered it with an arch, as they have done with the adjacent ſpring, which ariſing from a rock is covered by another arch reſting upon four columns. The whole chappel is likewiſe adorned with many ornaments, and the wood of the chappel being looked upon as a precious relick, is frequently ſet in gold and carried away by the devout pilgrims.

We continued our courſe along the coaſt till we came to *Negapatnam*, where we were to unload part of our cargo.

Negapatan.

Negapatan or *Nenapatnam* is compoſed of *Naga*, which in the *Malabar* tongue ſignifies a ſerpent, and *Patnam* or *Patan* a city, becauſe round about this place uſed to be ſeen a certain kind of very venomous ſerpents called *Cobros Capellos*, i. e. *Head-ſerpents*. It is ſituate under the 9 deg. 45 min. and the adjacent cape under 11 deg. of northern latitude; beyond the rocks of *Romanankir*, over againſt the iſle of *Manar*, juſt oppoſite to *Tripalikorin*, three leagues from the city of *Tranguabar*, and about 39 leagues from the cape *Comorin*, at the beginning of the coaſt of *Biſnagar* and *Coromandel*. This city as well as its caſtle call'd *Ragu*, acknowledge the *Portugueſe* for its founders, the caſtle being built for their better ſecurity againſt the attempts of the *Naik* or *Neyk*, lord of the circumjacent countrey. They had ſeveral goodly churches here, and a very fine monaſtery belonging to the *Franciſcans*, which was maintained at the charge of the chiefeſt of the inhabitants. There are to this day remaining divers fine churches and other large ſtructures, with ſpacious apartments and galleries according to the *Portugueſe* faſhion. Next to the jeſuits college ſtood the church of *Tranguabar*. The city is pretty well fortified with defenſible towers, ſurrounded with a good mote: It is very populous in proportion to its bigneſs, but moſt of the inhabitants are of a tawny complexion, being generally either *Meſtices*, i. e. ſuch as are born of a *Portugueſe* father, and a ſhe blackamoor; or *Kaſtices*, i. e. ſuch as their fathers were blackamoors and their mothers *Portugueſe* women. It is alſo inhabited by *Banyans* and *Mahometans*, who are the chiefeſt traders here. 1662.

This city was the 23d of *July* 1658, ſurrendered to the *Dutch* by compoſition. For Mr. *John Vander Laen* then commander in chief of the *Dutch* forces in thoſe parts, did purſuant to his orders from Mr *Rijklof van Goens* admiral general of the *Dutch* fleet, ſet ſail from *Jafenepatan* in the iſle of *Ceylon*, on friday the 19th of *June*, to *Punto Pedro*, where he caſt anchor in the evening, and found the yachts *Workum*, the *Morning-ſtar*, *Manaer*, *Waterpaſs*, *Narſapour*, the galliot the *Amſterdam*, and the chaloop *Japara*, ready to join him; but the *Pidgeon* yacht was run aground, and the *Workum* was fain to ſtay behind, having loſt 3 of her anchors. He took care to provide the fleet immediately with as much meat and other refreſhments as the place would afford; and on the 20th was likewiſe join'd by the yachts the *Goes*, the *Pidgeon*, and the *Workum*; next day Mr. *Lucas Vander Duſſen* took a review of the land forces, which conſiſted of 500 men, divided into 11 companies, beſides the ſea-men. Mr. *Vander Laen* having ſummoned all the captains aboard the admiral's ſhip, where he gave them the neceſſary directions how every one ſhould behave himſelf in his poſt at their arrival before *Negapatan*.

Surrendered to the Dutch.

The 21ſt of *July* the fleet ſet ſail from *Punto Pedro*, and arrived the 22d early in the morning in the road before the city of *Negapatan*, where he met with the yachts the *Pipelen*, the *Naiſepour*, and a *Daniſh* chaloop. Mr. *Vander Laen* ordered to be ſet up the white flag in the yacht *Vander Goes*, and ſent Mr. *Lucas Vander Duſſen*, with 3 captains and an interpreter in a chaloop, and credential letters to *Caſpar Alphonſo de Karvalho*, the *Portugueſe* governour of *Negapatan*, and his council, to ſummon the ſaid city to a ſurrender upon honourable conditions. About noon Mr. *Vander Duſſen* returned; and gave an account to the admiral, that the *Portugueſe* governour and his council, refuſed to admit any of the company, except himſelf and the interpreter; that he was very civilly received, and admitted to appear before the council, where he had made uſe of all the arguments he thought might induce them to ſurrender, deſiring that they would ſend aboard the admiral their plenipotentiaries to treat about the conditions. They deſired time till the next morning to conſider of the matter, and that the admiral would be pleaſed to ſend another

The Dutch come before Negapatan.

Summon the city.

1662. another chaloop to morrow, becauſe the *Jentyves* or natives did ſtop the paſſage of their boats at the mouth of the river. Accordingly the 23d Mr. *Vander Duſſen*, with two enſigns return'd to *Negapatan* in the ſame chaloop, with a white flag, and brought back from thence *Manuel Karvalho* a jeſuit, *Lewis de Quintal Parſire* and *Diego Beriſero* two captains, and *Antonio d'Almeyde* a lieutenant, inſtructed with credentials and full power from the *Portugueſe* governor, to treat about the ſurrender of the city to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company upon reaſonable terms. The conditions propoſed by them were theſe; that a church ſhould be allow'd to ſuch *Portugueſe* as were willing to remain there, with as many prieſts as were requiſite.

The Portugueſe *ſend deputies to treat.*

That the inhabitants ſhould have liberty to retire to *Bengal*, and that they might carry along with them all what belong'd to the poor.

Their demands.

After ſome conteſts on both ſides, it was agreed to ſurrender the place upon theſe following conditions.

Conditions agreed upon betwixt them and the Dutch.

That the city of *Negapatan* belonging to his *Portugueſe* majeſty, ſhould be ſurrendered on *Wedneſday* the 24th of *July*, to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, with all its territories, cannon, ammunition or arms, as likewiſe the keys of the magazines and other ſtore-houſes thereunto belonging.

That immediately as many ſoldiers of the *Eaſt-India* company ſhall be admitted into the city, as ſhall be thought requiſite by them and the *Portugueſe* governor, for their mutual ſecurity; and all merchandizes or what elſe may belong to the crown of *Portugal*, ſhall at the ſame time be delivered without the leaſt fraud.

The *Portugueſe* garriſon now in the city ſhall march out with beat of drum, matches lighted and bullets in their mouths, to a certain place to be appointed by the *Dutch* admiral Mr. *Vander Laen*, where they ſhall be diſarm'd, except that the officers even to the enſigns ſhall have liberty to retain their ſwords.

All the inhabitants, whether clergy or laymen, married or unmarried, ſhall be left in the free poſſeſſion of all their goods, except their arms, as well moveable as unmoveable, houſes, gold, ſilver, merchandizes, ſlaves of both ſexes, till the laſt day of *October*, of the ſame year; againſt which time they ſhall be provided with convenient ſhipping, at the charge of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, in order to carry them to *Goa*, or further to the north, if they pleaſe.

The clerymen ſhall then be at liberty to carry along with them all the church ornaments, or what elſe belong'd to the exerciſe of the divine worſhip, except the bells, as likewiſe all the moveable goods belonging to them. 1662.

The laymen, ſoldiers and merchants, may, without the leaſt exception, tranſport all their moveables, money, gold, ſilver, jewels, ſlaves of both ſexes, and all their merchandizes, provided the ſame don't belong to the king of *Portugal*.

The day of their departure being come, the *Portugueſe* ſhall have their ſwords reſtored to them.

Gaſpar Alfonſo de Karvalho the *Portugueſe* governor, ſhall be tranſported to what place he ſhall think fit.

Accordingly the 24th about noon, ſeven companies of *Dutch* ſoldiers, one of *Bandaneſes*, and one of *Laſkaryns*, under the *Modlier* of *Negombo*, took poſſeſſion of the gates of the city, at which time the *Portugueſe* drew off from the baſtions, and proclamation was made immediately, not to moleſt, much leſs rob the inhabitants, under pain of death.

The Dutch *take poſſeſſion of the City.*

Mr. *Vander Laen* himſelf was received by the *Portugueſe* governor, who was not very well at that time, at the entrance of one of the gates, where he had the keys of all the city gates deliver'd to him. From thence he went to take a view of the baſtions, and after having given the neceſſary orders, he commanded the inhabitants to appear the ſame afternoon in the court of the *Stadthouſe*, in order to be diſarmed, purſuant to the laſt agreement. They were no more than 670 ſtrong, divided into 17 companies, conſiſting of *Portugueſe*, *Meſtices* and *Topaſſes*, being all inhabitants, not in the king of *Portugal*'s pay. Their artillery conſiſted in 28 braſs, and 53 iron pieces of cannon ſmall and great, their ammunition in 8000 pounds of gunpowder, lead, and other things of this nature in proportion; beſides which, there were ten large and eight ſmall bells in the town.

Much about the ſame time the *Dutch* appeared before the city, the *Kapado Negape*, or general of the *Neyk*, or lord of the countrey came to lay ſiege to it; but underſtanding that the *Dutch* were got into poſſeſſion of it, he deſired to be admitted into the city to confer with them, concerning the ſudden ſurrender of it. His requeſt being granted, he took a great deal of pains to perſuade the *Dutch* that both the city, and all the *Portugueſe* ought immediately to be deliver'd to the *Neyk* his maſter, to make ſatisfaction for what they ſtood indebted to him; but this requeſt was civilly refuſed by Mr. *Vander Laen*, who told him that he was very ready to cultivate a good underſtanding with the *Neyk* and his ſubjects, but that both in point of conſcience, as he was a chriſtian, and in honour he could not recede

1662. cede from the articles of the ſurrender. By this time the hour approaching when the inhabitants were to be diſarm'd at the ſtadt-houſe, he invited the *Kapado* to go along with him, which he courteouſly accepted of: The inhabitants earneſtly intreated Mr. *Vander Laen* to permit them to be tranſported to *Bengal* inſtead of *Goa*, unto whom he gave for anſwer, that he would intercede for them in writing with the *Dutch* admiral general *Vander Goens*. The 25th publication was made by beat of drum, that every one, without any exception of perſons or quality, ſhould deliver forthwith all his arms at the ſtadt-houſe, unleſs they would be excluded from the benefit of the capitulation; which was punctually perform'd the next day, which was ſpent altogether in receiving their arms.

In the mean while the *Neyk*'s army had ſo incloſed the city, that we began to have ſome ſcarcity of proviſions; and the *Dutch* living at *Tranguabar*, a *Daniſh* colony, began to be ſorely afraid of being attack'd by *Wardarasje Purmal*, who, as it was given out, was ſent for from the countrey of *Tanjaor*, by the *Neyk*, to chaſtiſe thoſe of *Tranguabar*; the governor of which, *Eſbeck Anderſon*, had promiſed to cruiſe before the bar of *Negapatan*, with three ſtout yachts well mann'd, inſtead of which he had ſent only one ſmall chaloop; ſo that the inhabitants fearing the worſt, fled daily with their beſt moveables into the fort of *Daneſburgh*. The 17th the *Kapado Negapa*, ſent by the *Neyk* with an *Ola* or letter from *Maniegul*, appeared in the city of *Negapatan*, where he delivered the following letter to Mr. *John Vander Laen*.

A letter from the Neyk *to Mr.* Vander Laen.

THE 16th *day of the year* Welenby. *I* Aſſy Para Neyk *ſend to the* Dutch *commander* Moor *this letter; by which I would have them to underſtand, that the* Portugueſe *inhabitants of* Negapatan *have for theſe* 12 *years laſt paſt not pay'd their uſual taxes, but are run much behind. It is for this reaſon I ſent my army to attack them in the city of* Negapatan, *to demoliſh its fortifications, and after the inhabitants were reduced under my obedience, to grant them liberty to live as before, under my juriſdiction; having always lived in a good correſpondence with the* Dutch Eaſt-India *company, I deſired their aſſiſtance by ſea; but now I am credibly informed, that you have made an agreement with the* Portugueſe *of* Negapatan, *who have deliver'd the city into your hands, which is very diſpleaſing to us; if you had a mind to maintain a good underſtanding with us, you ought firſt to have given us notice of it, and obtained our conſent; but now you muſt ſurrender the city to us, therefore ſend one of your deputies to treat with me, and he ſhall be honourably received, and receive all the ſatisfaction that may tend to the maintaining a farther good correſpondence betwixt us. If you do otherwiſe, you will have occaſion to repent it; but as I know you to be perſons of wiſdom, I don't queſtion but you will ſurrender the city to our people; in witneſs of which I have ſent our* Kapado Negapa *with this letter.* 1662.

Unto which Mr. *Vander Laen* ſent this anſwer.

Mr. Vander Laen's *Anſwer.*

THE Ola *or letter deliver'd to us by your highneſs's envoy* Negapa, *I received with all imaginable reſpect, under the diſcharge of three pieces of ordnance; out of which having fully underſtood your highneſs's intentions, I am obliged to tell your highneſs, that the* Portugueſe *having ſurrendered to us the ſtrong city of* Negapatan, *without making the leaſt oppoſition, and under certain conditions, agreed on betwixt both parties; we are bound by our duty, as chriſtians, to obſerve punctually in all reſpects the ſaid articles, it being unqueſtionable that without any injuſtice to your highneſs, we have power to annoy the* Portugueſe, *our enemies, wherever we can meet with them, which makes us live in hopes that the friendſhip eſtabliſh'd betwixt your highneſs and the* Eaſt-India *company will not ſuffer the leaſt detriment upon this account. What has the undertakings of the ſaid company not long ago againſt the* Portugueſe *in the countrey of the* Neyk *of* Madura *and in other neighbouring countries and kingdoms, which were never interpreted to their prejudice, makes us believe that your highneſs will not be diſpleaſed with the advantages obtained by us againſt the* Portugueſe, *which as they tend to no other end than to increaſe our trade in your highneſs's dominions, ſo they muſt in time turn to your own advantage: In the mean while we have communicated your highneſs's ſentiments, by two ſeveral yachts ſent for that purpoſe, to the directors of* Jafenepatan, *from whence we hourly expect an anſwer, which we don't queſtion will be to your highneſs's ſatisfaction.*

In the mean while *Kamerapanijk* the adviſer of this ſiege was fallen in diſgrace with the *Neyk*.

The 30th Mr. *Vander Laen* received letters from *Rijklof Goens*, dated the 29th, with the ratification of the capitulation, with orders to ſend the *Portugueſe*, to the number of 150, according to their requeſt, to *Bengal*, where they were likely to do them

Betwixt Pag. 13.214.

The City of PELLACATA with its CASTLE.

1662. the leaſt miſchief, and they might ſooneſt rid their hands of them. As to what concerned the difference with the *Neyk*, he adviſed to endeavour to compoſe the matter by the means of ſome preſents; but if that would not ſucceed, to make his forces to retire deeper into the countrey; in the mean time to give all the courteous entertainment to his deputies, and to aſſure them, that he intended in a few days to be with them in perſon, to adjuſt all matters in queſtion betwixt them and his highneſs; but if he committed any hoſtilities againſt the city, to ſtand upon the defenſive, and to proteſt in writing againſt his proceedings. In the mean while the *Neyk*'s forces continued in their camp, which extended to the very ditch of the city; and as it increaſed daily in number, ſo it occaſion'd great ſcarcity within. The 1ſt of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Vander Laen* was inform'd that the commander in chief of the *Neyk*'s forces before *Negapatan* had received a letter from the *Neyk*, directed to Mr. *Van Goens*; and in the afternoon three perſons were ſent into the city, to give notice of the ſaid letter and ſome preſents, which they deſired might be received with all imaginable demonſtrations of reſpect. In compliance with which Mr. *Vander Laen* commanded immediately captain *Waſh* with his company, and the *Modlier* of *Negombo* with his *Laſkarins*, to poſt themſelves in good order without the gates of the city, in order to receive the preſents with all imaginable reſpect, under the diſcharge of three pieces of cannon. They kept their poſt till evening, without ſeeing any body, when a certain perſon belonging to the *Neyk*'s camp came privately to the *Modlier*, and told him in the *Singaleſe* language (for fear of being underſtood by others) that there was no *Ola* or letter, nor any preſents ſent from the *Neyk*, the whole being only a ſtratagem contriv'd on purpoſe to draw ſome of our forces without the gates into an ambuſh, which they had been diſappointed in, by our forces not ſtirring from the gates, upon which the *Modlier* and captain *Waſh* return'd with their troops into the city, and the *Neyk*'s forces retired back into the countrey. This *Neyk* beſieged *Negapatan* a ſecond time, 1660, in *September*, but the *Dutch* garriſon making a vigorous ſally, in which they kill'd 400 of his men, they came to a compoſition for that time; notwithſtanding which, he appeared before it again in the next following year.

The countrey hereabouts bears ſuch great plenty of rice, that abundance of it is tranſported from hence to other places. But they have great numbers of lewd women and idle fellows here.

Not far from the city is a *Pagode*, with a ſtone ſteeple, call'd *Tzina*, the pinacle of which reaches to the very clouds; the inhabitants believe that it was built by the devil, and that in one night. In the ſuburbs to the north, which are of magnificent houſes, there are likewiſe many *Pagodes* or pagan temples, wherein you ſee many idols of a terrible aſpect, made only of clay. Thus far concerning *Negapatan*. 1662.

The Temple of Tzina.

From hence we purſued our voyage towards *Paliakatte*, and ſaw the lofty and moſt ancient *Pagode*, call'd *Tyripopeliri*, which ſtands within the precinct of a fort at a little diſtance from the ſea-ſhore, and of which I had the curioſity to take a full view. It is an ancient ſtructure, the front of which is adorned with many ſtatues artificially cut in ſtone. It is ſurrounded by a wall with a gallery on the top of it, over which are placed a great number of large coffins, which reſt upon ſtatues of divers figures, ſome repreſenting a horſe, others ſomewhat elſe. The walls are made of large blue ſtones, which are brought thither a vaſt way out of the countrey, and moſt artfully joined together. The *Indian Pagodes* or temples ſeldom have any light but what comes through a hole in the frontiſpice; notwithſtanding which I ventur'd in, and found ſeveral lamps burning there; by the light of which I aſcended by a pair of ſtairs of wood, to the top of the temple, from thence to take a view of the circumjacent country. But ſcarce was I come to the ſtairs-head, when I ſaw my ſelf in an inſtant ſurrounded by thouſands of bats that were ſtriving to get out thro' the hole in the frontiſpice, ſo that I was glad to get away from this unwelcome company, which, to avoid the brightneſs of the ſun-beams, ſhelter themſelves by day in theſe dark lurking holes.

The temple of Tyripopeliri.

We ſoon ſet ſail again, and coaſted it along the ſhore, which is flat and ſandy here, till the 15th of *June*, when we arrived at *Paliakatte*, where I delivered our whole cargo of gold and ſilver we had taken in *Perſia*, to the director *Lawrence Pit*.

They come to Paliakatte.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* company has a ſtrong fort here, with four baſtions of ſtone work, call'd *Geldria*, of which they have been poſſeſs'd ever ſince the year 1619. Without the caſtle is a plantation or town, which to the land-ſide is defended by an earthen wall, which is but indifferently kept, but the houſes within are very cloſe and well built. It is inhabited partly by *Hollanders*, partly by *Jentives* or pagan natives; the laſt of which live for the moſt part upon trade with painted and white callicoes and linen. The rice which grows in this countrey in great plenty, is as well as all

The fort of Geldria.

1662. other ſorts of grains brought weekly to market here. The fort is on one ſide waſh'd by a river, which ſwells very high in the rainy ſeaſon, when the merchandizes may be unloaden here by the help of lighters. But in the ſummer ſeaſon the river being quite dry'd up, the goods are forc'd to be carried aſhore on their backs. This river abounds in fiſh in the winter-time, moſt of which die in the ſummer, which makes the inhabitants catch them before that time, and dry them in the ſun, and ſo tranſport them to other places. The north *Monzon* begins here in *October*, and holds all the *November* and *December*, with ſuch violence, that the ſhips can ſcarce ride in the road. In *January* the *Monzon* changes, and the fair ſeaſon returns.

As to the city of *Paliakatte*, its inhabitants are for the moſt part *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*; *Meſtices* are ſuch whoſe parents were married with foreigners; as for inſtance, when an *Hollander* marries an *Indian* woman, or an *Indian* man a *Dutch* woman; but the children of the *Meſtices* are call'd *Kaſtices*. Thus many of the natives, eſpecially of the *Thioles* have married *Dutch* women, as on the other hand, ſeveral *Hollanders* are married to women of the *Thioles*, from whence is come a numerous off-ſpring of *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*. Many *Bramans*, *Banyans* and *Panekayers*, or *Thomiſts* and *Jews* live here, of great traffick; for every month comes hither the *Kaffila* or caravan of *Agra*. The *Banyans* and *Jews* are the chiefeſt of all the traders here, this city being a place *Golconda*, *Suratte* and *Cambaia* by land; both *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* bring to this place their merchandizes from the *Red-Sea*, the *Perſian Gulph*, from *Suratte*, *Goa*, *Malabar*, *Sumatra* and *Malacca*. There is great plenty of fiſh at *Paliakatte*, and a neighbouring country furniſhes them with all other ſorts of proviſions.

They leave Paliakatte. After we had diſpatch'd our buſineſs here, we purſued our voyage towards the great city of *Maſulipatnam*, where we were to load wood and other materials for the building of our fort at *Paliakatte*. We ſet ſail the 20th of *July*, and came to an anchor before *Maſulipatnam* the 22d, I went aſhore the ſame evening to take care of our loading, which conſiſted for the moſt part in timber and other materials for building, beſides ſome callicoes, which took us up till the 14th of *Auguſt*, when we were ready to ſet ſail again. In the mean while I had ſufficient leiſure to take a full view of the city of *Maſulipatnam*. It lies near the ſeaſhore, upon a branch of the great river *Kiſna*, a few leagues from *Negenapatnam*, being ſurrounded on all ſides with water. It is cloſely built and well peopled, it being

Arrive at Maſulipatnam.

A deſcription of this city.

the only place of traffick in callicoes, indigo, diamonds, and other precious ſtones, in the kingdom of *Golconda*. To the land-ſide, north-weſt of the city, is a ſtanding pool, over which is built a bridge of 2000 paces long, in the midſt of which ſtands a houſe for the conveniency of the paſſengers to repoſe themſelves there. This bridge reſts upon very thick poſts, which are covered with ſhells of 12 or 14 feet long, without any leanings on either ſide. Moſt of the inhabitants are *Pagans* and merchants. The *Perſian Mahometans* have here likewiſe a moſque built of white ſtone, after a very antique faſhion, in the very center of the city. The houſes are all of wood cover'd with pantiles, the king having expreſly forbid the building of ſtone houſes, for fear of encouraging his ſubjects to revolt; who, tho' *Pagans*, wear white callicoe veſts and turbants like the *Moors*. They uſe rice inſtead of bread, and drink commonly water; they have alſo great plenty of all ſorts of fiſhes, ducks, geeſe, and tame and wild fowl. Both the *Dutch* and *Engliſh East-India* companies have each a houſe here, with their reſpective flags on the top of them. The *Franciſcans*, who are all *Portugueſe*, have here a Monaſtery over againſt the city; on the continent is a village, where the governor has a country-ſeat, where he diverts himſelf ſometimes.

1662. *Its bridge.*

The river Kiſna. The river of *Kiſna* ariſes very deep in the countrey, and exonerates itſelf with one branch about five leagues below the city of *Maſulipatnam* into the ſea, where it is but ſhallow, but the other turns to *Maſulipatnam*, which is much deeper. This river is not join'd to the city by a bridge, but they paſs it in boats; it has plenty of fiſhes, as likewiſe crocodiles; it ſwells ſometimes to ſuch a heigth during the rainy ſeaſon, that you may paſs in boats thro' the ſtreets of the city, but in the ſummer ſeaſon it is ſo ſhallow, that near the city it is ſcarce four foot deep. About half a league to the weſt is a champaign countrey, and on the eaſt-ſide the countrey is planted with palm and ſyry trees, behind which you may diſcern the tops of the mountains. We left *Maſulipatnam*, and the 29th return'd to *Paliakatte*, where meeting with ſeveral ſorts of commodities that were wanting at *Batavia*, I made all the haſte I could to have the ſhip loaded; but when we were almoſt ready to depart, the yacht call'd the *Parroket* arrived in the road, with advice, that the ſhips *the Houſe of Zwieten*, the *Sea Horſe*, the *Exchange*, the *Stadthouſe of Amſteldam*, the *Riſing Sun*, and the *Encreaſing Moon* were at ſea, being ſent from *Holland* with men and all ſorts of ammunition, to aſſiſt in the expedition againſt the coaſt of *Malabar*.

The Dutch *lay a deſign againſt the coaſt of* Malabar.

10.2

A Mestice Wooman

Hen. cause sculp.

Betwixt p. 214, 215. V. II.

1662. *labar.* This ſoon made us alter our meaſures, every one having received orders to join the ſaid fleet, ſo that after we had unladen our ſhips, we ſet ſail the 10th of *September* for *Colombo*, the general rendezvous of our fleet. We ſtop'd at *Pedro Punto*, where having provided ourſelves with freſh water and fuel, we came to an anchor the 7th of *October* before *Colombo*, where we were employed among the reſt to take the great train of artillery aboard of us. The commodore *Roodhaes* in the mean while went out before the reſt with ſeven ſhips only, ordering the reſt to follow him to *Manepara*, one of the ſeven ſeaport villages on the coaſt of *Madure*, where all our ſhips were to meet, which we did accordingly on the 15th of *November*. Mr. *John vander Werf*, Mr. *Symonſon*, and myſelf, were made not only ſuperviſors, but alſo treaſurers of the whole train of artillery: Being provided with every thing requiſite for ſuch an expedition, we ſet ſail from thence, and came with the whole fleet the 7th of *December* to an anchor, about two leagues to the ſouth of the city of *Kolang* or *Koulang*. The remaining part of the day was ſpent in landing our ſoldiers and other neceſſaries, and bringing the ſhips as cloſe as poſſible could be to the ſhore. The 8th we march'd in battle array into the country, and the *Negroes* had thrown up a ſmall redoubt within half a league from the city, from whence they fir'd thick upon our yachts, but without any great loſs, yet they ply'd us ſo warmly near the ſhore, that we were forced to cut our way thro' the woods to attack them from behind. Immediately all our carpenters were ſet to work to cut down the buſhes and trees, whilſt the ſeamen were employed in levelling the grounds to make way for our artillery. After we were advanced a little way into the wood, we came into a ſmall plain, to the left of which, leading to the ſea-ſide, we ſaw a ſtone-houſe, where we halted a little to take breath, becauſe the ſeamen had been hard put to it, in drawing the cannon thro' the deep ſand along the ſea-ſide. The enemy at the ſame time kept within his ſtrong hold, but as we advanced farther they charged our vanguard, who were order'd to break in upon them; they bravely ſtood the firſt brunt, but afterwards retreated again to their fort. In the mean time our cannon having joined us, we prepar'd for a general attack, which was carried on ſo vigorouſly, that the *Negroes* deſerted the fort, in hopes of ſaving themſelves by flight, but were moſt of them either kill'd upon the ſpot or in the flight. A ſtrong party of them happen'd accidentally to fall in with captain *Polmans* company of firelocks, who were ſent thro' the woods to attack the fort from behind; here you might have ſeen them fight like deſperate men, the engagement was very terrible conſidering the number of men on both ſides; at laſt they were overcome with above 100 kill'd and as many wounded on their ſide; we had no more than three kill'd, but a great many wounded, who were ſent aboard the ſhips to be taken care of. We found two iron pieces of cannon in this fort, which we nail'd up, and beat the carriages in pieces: After we had placed guards in all convenient poſts thereabouts, the ſoldiers repoſed themſelves under the ſhadow of trees; but within two hours after we continued our march to the city of *Kolang*, paſſing all the way by a great many fine plantations, ſurrounded on all ſides with walls, the road betwixt them being very narrow. As we advanc'd to the city, the enemy fired briſkly upon us from a ſmall fort near the water-ſide, where they had ſet up the *Portugueſe* ſtandard, but perceiving us notwithſtanding this to march undaunted towards the walls, their hearts began to fail, and betaking themſelves to flight, left the city to our mercy, which we took without the leaſt reſiſtance. All the officers and ſoldiers, each according to their reſpective qualities, had their quarters and poſts aſſign'd them; we reſted the next day, but every one being animated by the laſt ſucceſs in taking ſo conſiderable a city without oppoſition, long'd for action, ſo that before the morning the whole body being put in battle array without the watergate, the chief miniſter of the camp, Mr. *Baldeus*, made a ſhort but very fervent ſpeech, and the commanders exhorted them to fight couragiouſly for the honour of their countrey and religion; which being joyfully accepted by the ſoldiers, who promiſed to hazard all for the ſervice of the company, the drums and trumpets began to ſound the march. Mr. *Yſbrand Goſkeled* commanded the van, and commodore *Roodhaes* the rear, being both perſons of known bravery; Mr. *Riiklof van Goens* commanded the main battle; we carried ſome field pieces along with us to ſerve us upon occaſion. We were forced to march thro' narrow ways, where ſcarce four could march a-breaſt, and finding that the enemy gall'd us from an adjacent ſmall fort, ſome companies wheel'd to the right, and the reſt to the left, whilſt the ſeamen undauntedly approach'd with their ſcaling ladders, and mounting the walls, took the fort with little reſiſtance. We found here no more than two iron pieces of cannon ready charged; notwithſtanding all this they ſkirmiſh'd briſkly with our foremoſt troops as they were advancing beyond the fort, but gave way by degrees and retreated

Their fleet meets at Manepara.

Come before Kolang.

Kolang taken.

1662. ed to the royal palace, where they made another halt, and engaged our troops a ſecond time, but with no better ſucceſs; for being once ſeiz'd with a panick fear, they ſoon gave ground, and left the place to our mercy, which we plunder'd and deſtroy'd. They had however in the mean while attack'd our rear ſeveral times, becauſe our heavy cannon could not come up ſoon enough with us, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the way; the enemy making uſe of this advantage, attack'd us very furiouſly, but were bravely repuls'd by the help of our field pieces, which being charged with ſmall ſhot, were diſcharged among them with ſuch ſucceſs, that many of them remained dead upon the ſpot; and by this means we kept them ſo long in play, till we received a ſeaſonable reinforcement, when they betook themſelves to their heels, and left us abſolute maſters of the field. In the mean while our troops were advanced to the river, where they made themſelves maſters of another fort, in which they found 2 braſs and 10 iron pieces of cannon. In a certain *Pagode* next to the royal palace, call'd *Matta del Reyne*, we found a great cheſt with gunpowder, which being ſet on fire, in an inſtant blew up and deſtroy'd this antient ſtructure, covered on the top with braſs. Then our troops beat the countrey both to the right and left, burning and deſtroying all they met with. In an inſtant we ſaw whole woods in a flame, the *Bambo* canes making a moſt terrible noiſe, and burning like brimſtone, a miſerable ſpectacle to the enemy, who from the other ſide of the river, ſaw the flame conſume in an inſtant, what had coſt them many years labour. *John Piccard* my nephew, a captain lieutenant, and *William van Teylingin* were ſent with ſome chaloops up the river *Arwick*, to purſue the flying enemy on that ſide, but theſe took another way; moſt of them wading thro' the river, where they could not come near them with their chaloops. Mr. *Piccard* then landed his company on the other ſide, where he ſet 40 houſes on fire, which occaſion'd a freſh conſternation among the flying enemy. After we had thus ravaged the countrey, we return'd to the before-mention'd *Pagode*, where our troops repoſed themſelves for a while, and the ſame evening return'd conquerors to the city of *Koulang*. The 12th, all the ſhips carpenters were ſent for aſhore to cut down the trees that ſtood upon the city walls, and orders were given for breaking down part of it, and to bring it into a narrower compaſs, which was put in execution immediately. About the ſame time the natives ſent ſome deputies to ſue for peace; by what we were inform'd, that at the time of our arrival there were not above 30 true born *Portugueſe* in the city, who fled immediately, and that the *Negroes*, who were near 800 ſtrong, having had ſome notice of our deſign near 15 days before, had reſolved to kill all the *Hollanders* they met with except a few, whom they intended to preſerve to ſend them aboard their gallies, but the ſcene was altered; in the mean while we continued with breaking down and removing, which had almoſt proved fatal to the ſhip the *Sea-Horſe*, which happened to take fire, and was in great danger of being burnt by the violence of the flame, had not the ſeamen quenched the fire. 1662. *Cruel deſign of the* Negroes.

By this time it being reſolv'd to proſecute the career of our victories, the commodore *Roodhaes* with eight ſhips ſail'd towards the city of *Cranganor*, to block up the entrance of that river, the reſt being to follow with all convenient ſpeed. The 19th I went on board the commiſſary *James Borchorſt*, with whom I had ſome earneſt buſineſs, but ſcarce was I come thither, but on a ſudden there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt, that with much ado I could get aſhore again, for the wind aroſe firſt from the land-ſide with moſt violent rains, but ſoon after chop'd about with ſuch violence, that it tore roots of trees out of the ground, and untiled abundance of houſes. By this ſudden change of the wind, our whole fleet conſiſting of thirty ſhips great and ſmall, were in no ſmall danger of being ſhipwrack'd. The ſhip the *Stadthouſe* was driven among the rocks, where having loſt her rudder, ſhe gave the ſignal of being in utmoſt diſtreſs, but no body durſt venture to bring her off. The ſhip the *Achilles* was likewiſe forced from her anchors among the rocks, but by good fortune happened to caſt anchor again, not far from the *Stadthouſe*. The ſhip the *Eraſmus* was alſo got adrift, and was in great danger of running upon the ſhelves; ſeveral of our ſmall craft were beaten to pieces by the ſea, and many others much endamaged. The ſhip the *Stadthouſe* continued in great diſtreſs all that day and night, ſtriking ſeveral times againſt the rocks, but next morning the fury of the tempeſt being ſomewhat appeas'd, we ſent out ſome boats to her aſſiſtance, which brought both her and the *Achilles* ſafe from among the rocks into the open ſea. So that at laſt, thro' God's mercy, all our great ſhips eſcap'd the danger of this ſtorm without any conſiderable damage, except what was in their rigging, which however fell moſt upon the ſmaller veſſels.

The 24th the garriſon of the conquered city of *Koulang*, conſiſting of 663 men, both ſoldiers and mariners, under the command of captain *Cox*, and *Henry Walling*, being provided

1662. provided with all neceſſaries, during our intended ſtay before *Cranganor*, Mr. *Van Goens* ſet ſail the ſame day with the ſhips the *Walnut-tree* and the *Ulieland* towards *Cranganor*, commodore *Gotſke* being to follow with the reſt; we were in the mean while buſy with refitting the ſhip the *Stadthouſe*, and I ſtay'd aſhore with Mr. *Gotſke* till ſuch time that the gunpowder of the *Stadthouſe* and ſeveral other ſhips, which had got wet in the laſt ſtorm could be dried again; about the ſame time we were inform'd, that the negroes had receiv'd a good ſum of money to fight againſt us, but when they perceived we were in earneſt, they left the *Portugueſe* in the lurch, who as we told you before, left the city of *Koulang* the ſame afternoon, when we landed. The 29th we ſet ſail in the ſhip the *Exchange* to follow the fleet; by an expreſs ſent us from ſome of the *Malabars*, we were deſired to ſtay till the next day, which we refus'd, it being not our buſineſs to tarry here for matters which might well be deferr'd till another time. The next following day we paſs'd by *Kalkoulang*, the governor of which came aboard of us, with a preſent of freſh proviſions, which we accepted. The 31ſt we coaſted it along the ſhore, where we caſt our anchor, becauſe one of our yachts approach'd ſo near to the ſhore, that we feared ſhe would run herſelf into danger, which made us detach 20 ſoldiers in a boat to her relief, if occaſion ſhould require. The 1ſt of *January* 1662, by break of day we found ourſelves within a league of the city of *Cochin*, and ſoon after ſail'd ſo near the ſhore, that we could hear the centinels ſpeak. We ſaw five ſhips lying in the road, the foremoſt of which carried *Engliſh* colours. The ſame day about noon we came into the road, at the entrance of the river *Palliport*, and the next day having embark'd our men in boats, and our ammunition with two field pieces in another, we landed them without any oppoſition, except that the enemy diſcharg'd ſome of his great cannon againſt us from *Cranganor*, but without any loſs on our ſide.

The Dutch land near Cranganor. We had poſted our forces in three ſeveral places, the better to cut off all correſpondency betwixt the enemy and the countrey. The next following day we brought two tuns of rice, and two braſs guns aſhore, and ſoon after our whole train of artillery, with all other neceſſaries requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. For ſome time we had kept the place block'd up both on the land and river ſide, but now we began to open our trenches, with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time we carried them on under the cannon of the city, the garriſon being all this while not idle on their ſide, but endeavouring to hinder our approaching by their continual fire out of their cannon and fire-arms, which they did with ſuch dexterity, that they kill'd many of our men in the trenches; among the reſt, a certain ſoldier had his arm and ſhoulder ſhot off at once, notwithſtanding which, Mr. *Van Goens* order'd him to be dreſs'd, which the ſurgeon did accordingly, who told me at the ſame time, that ſince he muſt infallibly die, he would give him ſomething that might eaſe his pain; I aſk'd the poor wretch how he did, he anſwered me without any alteration in his countenance, *Pretty well, I don't find myſelf very ill*, tho' he died in a few hours after. Fourteen days after we had carried our trenches to the body of the place, during which we had ſeveral ſmart ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, it was reſolv'd to venture a general aſſault; purſuant to this reſolution, I was ſent with two ſervants to confer with commodore *Gotſke* and Mr. *Roodhaes*, concerning the moſt convenient place the aſſault was to be made in. I was ſometimes to wade up to the middle in water, and met with captain lieutenant *Piccard*, who had the advanced guards. He forewarn'd me not to approach too near the city, from whence they fir'd without intermiſſion, but I was forc'd to venture at all, being oblig'd to be with the admiral general again the next morning. I went cloſe under the walls of the place, the centinels aſk'd me in *Portugueſe*, *who was there?* I anſwered in the ſame language, *a friend*, and ſo eſcap'd the danger. Mr. *Gotſke* and *Roodhaes* had been before inform'd concerning the condition of the place by a certain *Negroe*, and where it might be moſt conveniently aſſaulted, of which they having given me a circumſtantial account, I return'd forthwith, and was with the admiral by next morning, who thereupon reſolv'd to aſſault the city, and as he left me ſaid, *To morrow the city ſhall be ours*. So ſoon as every thing was prepar'd for the intended aſſault, I went on board the fleet to keep a watchful eye over the ſhips, which were of the utmoſt conſequence to us all.

Conſultations about the aſſaults.

In the mean time our forces mounted the breach, and aſſaulted the town with great fury under the favour of the ſmoak of their cannon and fire arms, which by the wind was forced toward the city; I ſaw from on board the ſhips the ſmoak approach nearer and nearer to the place, which I looked upon as a good omen on our ſide; the enemies defended themſelves with a great deal of bravery for a conſiderable time, but our men puſhing on the aſſault with the utmoſt vigour, they were at the laſt forced to give way, and to leave us maſters of the city. Mr. *Polman* and *Shuilenburgh*, two of our captains,

1662. captains, were dangerouſly wounded, 80 common ſoldiers were killed in the aſſault, and a great many more wounded. The loſs of the enemies ſide was much greater, 200 *Portugueſe* being ſlain during the action, beſides a great number of negroes, who were all thrown into the river, and carried back and forwards ſeveral times by the tides, a moſt terrible ſpectacle to behold. For we found the taking of this place to be another piece of work than that of *Koulang*, and we were upon the point of ſounding the retreat, had not the commanders by their own example animated the ſoldiers to do their utmoſt; it being almoſt ſurpriſing how with ſo ſmall a force we were able to attack and conquer ſo ſtrong a place as this.

Cranganor taken by ſtorm.

Is laid deſolate.

After the city was plundered it was laid level with the ground, except one ſtone tower, which ſtanding upon the river, was preſerved entire, and a garriſon put into it for the ſecurity of the river.

A deſcription of this city.

This city of *Cranganor* (for there is another on the coaſt of *Malabar*, nearer to the ſea ſhore) lies about four or five leagues to the north of the city of *Cochin*; being the capital city of a kingdom of the ſame name, bordering to the north upon *Cochin* and to the ſouth upon *Koulang*. It was very famous among the *Indians*, by reaſon of its antiquity; being ſituate upon the banks of a river, about a league from the ſea ſhore, defended by a wall of earth, and a ſtone breaſt work; which had ſeven baſtions and the wall of earth three more. At the point near the river is remaining to this day a ſtrong ſtone tower for the defence of the river, which ſerved inſtead of a bulwark on that ſide; on the other point was a ſmall fort which commanded the river, and all ſhips going out or in. Several goodly ſtone houſes were in this city, and among the reſt a church, excelling all the reſt; on the oppoſite ſide of the river, towards the ſide of *Cochin*, is the redoubt called *Palliport*, built for the better defence of the river; upon a long iſland called *Baypin* extending to the river of *Gochin*. The royal palace is not far from hence, in a very pleaſant countrey; the king then reigning being a prince of great bravery, and well verſed in military affairs, in the flower of his age.

The redoubt Palliport.

After the taking of *Cranganor*, it was concluded by the majority of voices to attack likewiſe the famous city of *Cochin*, not queſtioning but that the fame of our late victories would open us likewiſe a way to the conqueſt of this place, before the enemies of this could recollect themſelves from the fear they were in at that juncture. Accordingly we decamped from thence, and ſet down before *Cochin*, our forces as in the laſt ſiege were again poſted in three ſeveral places, from whence the attacks were to be carried on againſt the city; Mr. *Isbrand Gotſke* had his poſt aſſigned him near the ſea ſhore; Mr. *Roodhaes* upon the bank of the river; and the admiral general's quarter was betwixt both. But the garriſon of *Cochin* was not ſo much frightned as we had flattered ourſelves, but made a brave reſiſtance. We did all we could to perſuade the negroes that we were not come hither with an intention to hurt them, but the *Portugueſe*, our enemies; but in vain, for they all appeared in arms againſt us, and ſeveral times attacked us like madmen, throwing themſelves in among our ranks, tho' they were ſure to die in the attempt, and thruſting themſelves upon our ſwords and pikes, not like men, but rather like wild boars or enraged bears. Not far from the royal palace was a very large *Pagode*, where the negroes had fortified themſelves: Our men, notwithſtanding their fury, attacked them in this advantageous poſt with ſo undaunted a courage, that they chaſed them from thence with the loſs of 400 negroes, and many more wounded. The old queen would fain have hid herſelf in a corner on the top of the *Pagode*, but was found out, and brought a priſoner by captain *Henry Rede* into our camp. But after we had ſpent near two months in the ſiege, the waters beginning to riſe more and more every day, which filled up our trenches to the middle, and our forces by the ſeveral loſſes we had ſuſtained in divers engagements and attacks, and thro' the garriſons we had been obliged to put in the conquered places, being conſiderably diminiſhed in number, it was thought moſt expedient to raiſe the ſiege for this time, and to return with a greater force againſt next ſpring. Accordingly we decamped without any noiſe, and in one night got all our men, artillery, and ammunition aboard, without being perceived by the enemy, who were not ſenſible of our departure till next day about noon, as looking upon our motion only as a feint to draw them out of the town into an ambuſh. But when they found how matters ſtood, they diſcharged all their cannon round the walls, unto which we gave no anſwer for that time, but delayed it till a more convenient opportunity. The next thing the enemy had to do was to ſlight our works and trenches, which they did immediately, and to cut down all trees and edifices which they had found to be an obſtacle to them during the ſiege, they alſo took effectual care to have their fortifications repaired and ſtrengthned, as not queſtioning but that we ſhould give them another viſit with the next fair opportunity, in which they found themſelves not deceived.

1626.

The ſiege raiſed.

Cochin *beſieged.*

After

1662. After the raiſing of the ſiege of *Cochin*, our land forces and ſhips were ordered to ſuch places where their preſence was judged to be moſt neceſſary at the preſent juncture, Mr. *Yſbrand Gotſke* ſailed with a ſquadron of ſhips to *Batavia*, and the reſt ſteered their courſe to other places thereabouts; I went aboard the ſhip the *Exchange*, and paſſed by the city of *Kalkoulang*, in my way to *Koulang*, where I was appointed chief director of the company: At the ſame time it was thought convenient to ſtrengthen the fortifications of *Kalkoulang*, and to put a good garriſon into it under captain *Polman* and ſeveral other commanders, till we could diſpoſe our forces in more convenient quarters.

The author comes to Koulang. I arrived at *Koulang* the 7th of *January*, where I gave immediate orders for the repairing the caſtle, and ſuch houſes as belonged to thoſe that were in the company's ſervice; and ſettling every thing that might tend to the re-eſtabliſhment of traffick with the queen of *Koulang*, and other neighbouring princes, unto whom I was ſent as a deputy, to treat with them concerning the moſt convenient methods, and to enter into a confederacy with them for that purpoſe.

Treaty with the queen of Koulang. The firſt treaty that was ſet on foot after the taking of the city *Kalkoulang*, was with the queen of *Koulang*, which was ſoon concluded upon theſe conditions; that her palace and great guns ſhould be reſtored to her, for the rebuilding of which, and other damages ſuſtained, ſhe was to have a certain ſum of money to be paid her by the company, whoſe intereſt it was, rather to purchaſe a peace upon reaſonable terms, than be at the charge of a war.

A deſcription of Koulang. The city of *Kolang*, or *Koulang*, or *Koulon* and *Koylang*, the capital of a kingdom bearing the ſame name, is ſituate upon the ſea ſhore of the coaſt of *Malabar*, under 9 deg. of norrhern latitude, about 13 *French* leagues (*Linſhot* ſays 24) to the ſouth of *Cochin*. It is fortified with a ſtone wall of 18 or 20 foot high, and 8 baſtions; its ſuburbs which are very large and ſtately, are by the *Portugueſe* called *Colang China*. For *Koulang* is ſeparated into two bodies, one of which is called the *Upper* or *Malabar Koulang*, the other the *Lower Koulang*; in the firſt the king and queen kept their ordinary reſidences; the laſt was formerly in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, as lying nearer to the ſea ſide; here the fryars of *St. Paul* and the *Franciſcans* had each a monaſtery, adorned with ſtately chappels and ſteeples. Beſides which there were four other *Portugueſe* churches here, dedicated to as many *Romiſh* ſaints; they had no leſs than ſeven goodly churches, among which was the famous church built many ages ago by the Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, which was 1662. left ſtanding, after we reduc'd the place into a narrower compaſs; in this church is the tomb of a certain great *Portugueſe* captain, who was governor of *Koulang* 60 years. The houſes of the inhabitants were very ſtately and lofty built of freeſtone; among which the ſtadthouſe ſurpaſs'd all the reſt; it was two ſtories high, and had very curious ſtone ſteps on each ſide. But the caſtle, the reſidence of the *Portugueſe* governor, ſurmounted all the reſt in magnificence; this I took up for our own lodgings, it lies very near the ſea-ſide, at one end of the city, being cover'd on the top with coco-leaves, as likewiſe two of its turrets, the third being tiled with pan-tiles. Juſt upon the ſea-ſhore is another four-ſquare tower, where I ſet up the company's flag on the top of a maſt. In the midſt of it is a very lofty edifice, which the *Portugueſe* uſed for a chapel, which I order'd to be made up into divers convenient chambers, and to be fitted for the uſe of the company's officers. This caſtle is the ſtrongeſt the *Portugueſe* ever were maſters of on the coaſt of *Malabar*, being built ſome hundred years ago, by the famous engineer *Hector de la Caſa*.

This city, as I told you before, was drawn into a leſs compaſs by the *Dutch*, which they fortified on the land-ſide with two half and one whole baſtion. Moſt of the churches and other publick edifices were pull'd down, except the caſtle, *St. Thomas*'s church, and ſome monaſteries, which remain'd ſtanding within the ſaid precinct. Behind moſt of the houſes here are very pleaſant gardens, planted with *Cocoa*, *Mangoes* and other *Indian* fruit trees; and about the city you ſee very fine baſins cut out of the rocks, unto which you aſcend by ſteps. They have alſo ſome ponds with freſh water, their water being elſe for the moſt part brackiſh and full of ſalt-peter. The air is very wholeſome in this countrey, which is low and full of rivers, which afford a convenient paſſage from hence to *Kalkoulang*, *Cochin* and *Cranganor*; and is accounted the beſt both for fruitfulneſs and its pleaſant ſituation in all the *Indies*. This part of the countrey affords abundance of pepper, which twiſts itſelf round the trees; the fruit is gather'd in *January* and *February*. The harbour is very convenient for ſmall veſſels, but not for great ones, becauſe the ſouth wind blows directly upon the ſhore, and forces the waves with great violence thither; they call it *Coydanel*. Near the ſea-ſide you ſee great ſtore of ſtone-like rocks, but they lie looſe upon the ſand, and are frequently waſh'd away by the ſea. About a league to the weſt of *Koulang*, the great river *Eguick* diſembogues into the ſea.

The

1662. The *Dutch* were once before maſters of the city of *Koulang*, till the *Negroes* took the opportunity of murthering captain *Henry Glunning* their governor there, as he was taking a walk without the gates, and afterwards maſſacred all the *Dutch*; ſince which time the *Portugueſe* got into poſſeſſion of it. On the ſide of *Koulang China*, along the ſea-ſhore, the jeſuits had built a great village for the *Parvees*, a poor ſort of *Malabars* living upon fiſhing, where the governor of the king of *Travankor* and Prince *Baryette Poele* kept their reſidence, which are about a mile in circuit, and ſurrounded with an earth wall, with ſome points like baſtions, on which are mounted good ſtore of great cannon, which command the roads, without which there is ſcarce any acceſs to them. If we may believe the *Malabars*, the *Maldive* iſlands, which lie about 60 leagues deep in the ſea, juſt over-againſt the palace, were formerly part of the continent and torn from thence by the ſea; and as a confirmation of their opinion, ſhew certain rocks betwixt the ſhore and theſe iſlands, upon which they aſſure us ſtood at that time a goodly church. The beſt houſes are built along the river-ſide, with very good gardens, ſtock'd with all ſorts of trees, fruits, flowers and herbs, but eſpecially with citrons, which grow here not on trees, but ſhrubs; their houſes are ſeldom above two ſtories high, their ſtairs within of ſtone, their rooms above ſtairs are pav'd with green and yellow four ſquare ſtones, the ceiling of which is commonly of *Indian* oak, ſome being finely carved, others painted. They commonly have an arbour or ſummer-houſe belonging to each garden, which is commonly near the river-ſide, where they ſpend generally their evenings, and divert themſelves with angling.

The river Kalchan. The mouth of the river *Kalchan* or *Mangal*, or *Mangar*, upon which this place is built, is a very large bay, where yachts of 300 tuns may come cloſe to the ſhore and unload, being 28 feet deep at high water; but of very difficult entrance, if the winds be not favourable, becauſe they blow the waves directly upon the ſhore. In the midſt of this bay you ſee three vaſt rocks laying all together in a ridge. During the rainy ſeaſon this river frequently overflows the neighbouring countrey, and carries away a great deal of the adjacent grounds; theſe violent rains are occaſion'd by the clouds, which gathering among the tops of the mountains, break out into ſudden ſtorms and tempeſts. The countrey is flat and marſhy hereabouts, and the air not altogether ſo wholeſome as at *Koulang*.

By this time the ſeaſon for action drawing near, and every thing being prepar'd for a vigorous expedition, the ſiege of *Cochin* was reſolv'd upon the ſecond time; for which purpoſe Mr. *Jacob Huſtart*, one of the member's of the great council of *India*, with captain *Peter de Pon* and *Henry Van Rode* ſet ſail the 25th of *October* 1662, with 11 ſhips from *Batavia*, Mr. *Van Goens* being ordered to follow with three more, with all imaginable ſpeed. No ſooner had they landed their men, but they began to form their attacks, notwithſtanding they found the place much ſtrengthen'd by ſome additional fortifications, ſince the laſt ſiege, and put them ſo to it, that the beſieged being encloſed on all ſides, and beyond all hopes of relief, were forced to capitulate, and to ſurrender the city, after a ſiege of three months; after the *Portugueſe* had (with the conſent of the king of *Cochin*) been in poſſeſſion of it above 150 years. The *Portugueſe* had not long before forc'd *Momadavil*, the lawful king of *Cochin* to leave the city, in whoſe ſtead they had ſet up an aunt of his of the houſe of *Godarme*; but whilſt our forces lay before *Cochin* the dethron'd king ſtay'd with me at *Koulang*, in order to his ſolemn coronation after the taking of the place. I had taken all imaginable care to have his room hung with tapeſtry, and furniſh'd with other moveables, the beſt the place afford; he came often to viſit us, being commonly clad in white callicoe, with his hair tied in a knot on the top of his head, rings on his fingers, and a gold chain hanging down before him. He ſpoke the *Portugueſe* and *Malabar* tongues, and was of a pleaſant converſation. But ſcarce a few days were paſs'd, when finding himſelf not very well, he deſired to go to the Queen of of *Koulang* for his diverſion; which I was very unwilling to grant, being ſenſible that his perſon being committed to my care, I might be call'd to an account by his ſubjects, who much eſteem'd him, if any ſiniſter accident ſhould befal him; but at his reiterated inſtances, and the earneſt requeſt of the queen of *Koulang*, who was an excellent good natur'd perſon, and engag'd her word to bear me harmleſs, I conducted him thither, but he found no conſiderable alteration in his health, for when not long after a yacht was ſent to *Koulang* on purpoſe to fetch this prince to the camp before *Cochin*; he was ſo very weak that he would fain have avoided going thither, but there being poſitive orders given for his coming, I ſent him my *Palakin* or letter, and conducted him with ſome of our officers aboard, but before he could reach *Cochin*, his ſickneſs encreaſed to that degree, as to put an end to his life. His brother

1662.

Siege of Cochin.

Is ſurrender'd.

Momadavil *king of* Cochin.

Dies aboard.

Is ſucceeded by his brother.

Batwist p. 209. 220.

The Taking of the City
of
COTCHIN
in
MALABAR
C. Dukker fe.

1662. then, who was aboard the ſame yacht, being the next heir to the crown, was, after the taking of the city, crowned king of *Cochin*, by the *Dutch*, his crown, which was of gold, having the cypher of the *Eaſt-India* company, engraven on one ſide. He kept his reſidence not far from *Cochin*, in a place ſituate in a very pleaſant countrey, call'd by the *Dutch Malabar Cochin*, had his guards, muſicians, and all other things belonging to a royal court, according to the cuſtom of that countrey.

The city of Cochin. The city of *Cochin*, by the *Portugueſe* call'd *Cochin*, and generally *Kakochin*, is the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, and indeed of the whole coaſt of *Malabar*. It is ſituate under 10 deg. of northern latitude, 4 or 5 leagues to the ſouth of *Koulang*, extending along the bank of the great river *Koulang* or *Kolchan*, or *Mangat* or *Mangar*. Some authors make mention of two different *Cochins*, *viz.* the *Old Cochin*, lying about a league and a half from the ſea-ſhore; the *Portugueſe* call it *Cochin Dacima*, or *Arabia*, *i. e.* the *Higher Cochin*, becauſe it lies higher up the river; by the *Dutch* it is call'd the *Malabar Cochin*, where the king keeps his reſidence; being ſituate upon the banks of a river, and pretty well peopled, and adorn'd with ſeveral goodly ſtructures and *Pagodes*, according to the cuſtom of the *Malabars*. The other *Cochin*, call'd commonly the *New Cochin*, is ſcarce a league diſtant from the ſea, juſt at the entrance of the ſame river; it was for many years together in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, who had fortified it with a ſtone wall, and ſeveral bulwarks, and beautified it with ſeveral fine edifices, churches and monaſteries. In the ſuburbs towards the land-ſide were ſeveral goodly churches, and a little nearer to the ſea-ſhore the monaſtery of *St. John*. Here the *Auſtin Fryers*, *Franciſcans* and *Jeſuits* had likewiſe their ſeveral convents, all magnificently built, with very pleaſant gardens and walks, the place being inhabited only by *Portugueſe*. But ſince this city was conquer'd by the *Dutch*, the greateſt part of it was laid deſolate, and the reſt fortified with regular ſtone, baſtions, curtines and a very broad ditch, ſo that it is now look'd upon as impregnable. Among other ſteeples, that of *St. Paul* being magnificently built of ſquare ſtones, exceeded all the reſt as well in height as beauty, which is ſince demoliſh'd with all the other churches, except one, where divine ſervice is exerciſed according to the tenets of the reform'd religion. The houſes here are cover'd with tiles of about the breadth of a hand, and are faſtned to the laths by ſmall hooks. Some make their windows only of a kind of lettice-work, others of canes very artificially twiſted together; others make uſe of large ſhells in which the pearls grow, theſe they ſhave and flatten, and make windows of them, as we do of glaſs. 1662.

After we thus had made our ſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the *Malabar* coaſt, and had taken all imaginable care, to re-eſtabliſh the commerce in thoſe parts, it was judg'd neceſſary for the better obtaining of this end, to enter into ſtrict alliances with the kings and princes of the adjacent countries; for which purpoſe Mr. *James Huſtart*, chief councellor of the *Indies*, of *Ceylon* and the *Malabar* coaſt, having ſent me the neceſſary inſtructions and credentials, I provided my ſelf with all things requiſite for ſuch a journey, and the 21ſt of *January* 1664, embark'd aboard a ſmall veſſel, with one ſerjeant, ſeveral ſoldiers, an interpreter, and divers mariners, which carried us up the river, as far as to the city of *Kalkolang*, where we arriv'd ſafely the next day. So ſoon as I had provided my ſelf with a convenient lodging, I gave notice of my arrival, by our interpreter to the king, who ſoon after returned in company of a *Reſidoor* from the king, to fetch me to court. Accordingly I and Mr. *Willing*, who reſided there in the quality of under factor of the *Eaſt-India* company, were introduced by the ſaid *Reſidoor* into the kings preſence, whom we found ſurrounded with a good number of courtiers, that conſtantly attend his perſon. After the firſt ceremonies and compliments, ſuch as are uſual in this place, were paſſed, I ſurrender'd my credentials to the king, who received them with a great deal of reſpect and ſeeming ſatisfaction. After he had peruſed them, he gave orders to one of his *Reſidoors*, one of his chief favourites to treat with me concerning ſuch points as I ſhould propoſe to him, tending to the maintaining of a good correſpondence betwixt us and them, and to make his report to him. This prince had the character of a very ſincere perſon, which appeared both in his countenance and actions; but leaves the chief management of all affairs of moment, to the beforemention'd *Reſidoor*, who knows how to make his advantage of it. After I had treated with the *Reſidoor*, as far as my commiſſion would give me leave, I deſired to be diſmiſs'd, under pretence of fetching new inſtructions, which being granted, I took leave of the king, and with Mr. *Willing* purſu'd my journey to *Porka*, whither I had ſent a ſerjeant with ſix ſoldiers before. But at our arrival there, being inform'd that the king of *Porka* was ten days before gone to his palace call'd *Kudda Malair* or *Koramallur*, or *Koromallo*, about ten leagues diſtance from hence, I

The author ſent to treat with divers Malabar *Princes.*

His audience of the King of Kalkolang.

Departs from thence to Porka.

1662. reſolv'd to go thither. We were forced to go by water through ſeveral channels and rivers, the countrey thereabouts being full of both, like the province of *Holland*, which affords ſcarce any paſſage by land, but by the dikes, all the reſt being rice fields, curiouſly planted with trees on all ſides.

We were forc'd to have our *Manſtool* (veſſel) drawn through a narrow ſluce, which open'd us the paſſage into a large lake, which to the north is about two leagues broad; from thence we enter'd into a channel of about a league in length, its entrance is ſomewhat narrow and ſo full of flags, that there was ſcarce room enough to manage our oars. At the end of this channel you ſee very pleaſant rice-fields, which extend to the foot of the mountain, and are ſtock'd with prodigious quantities of wild and water fouls. The inhabitants hereabouts have a certain way to drain their fields, which makes them bear rice all the year round; ſo that whilſt they are ſowing and planting in one field, in another the rice is half ripe, and in another its come to its full maturity, which renders this countrey both very fruitful and populous. The mountains produce ſome pepper, but in no great quantity. This part betwixt the channel and the mountains is water'd by a very fair and large river, beautified on both ſides with many fair houſes, gardens and trees, which afford a very agreeable ſpectacle to thoſe that paſs by that way, the houſes being all built among ſmall groves. After we had ſpent ſeveral hours in coming up the river, we in the afternoon caſt anchor before the court of the king of *Porka*, ſituate upon the right ſide of the ſaid river, near a village inhabited by chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, who enjoy great privileges here. As we were paſſing up the river, not far from the court, we ſaw a large crocodile ſunning himſelf upon the the ſandy bank; I order'd our ſoldiers to fire at him, which they did, but he eſcaped under water. This creature was uſed to ſet upon the people as they paſs'd by that way, and conſequently much dreaded by them. The king of *Porka* was at this time rebuilding his palace, in which they ſay he had already beſtow'd 20 years; it was but an odd old faſhion'd piece of ſtructure, ſurrounded with walls of earth and a dry ditch; I ſent our interpreter to notify our arrival, and to provide us a lodging, who being return'd, we ſcarce had ſet a foot aſhore, but the chief *Reſidoor* of the king came to conduct us to court, where he introduced us into his preſence. After the uſual compliments I deliver'd him my credentials, which he receiv'd with extraordinary marks of reſpect, ordering the *Reſidoor* to entertain me till he had read and conſider'd of them. In a little while after he return'd with ſome of his attendants into the ſame apartment, where he ask'd me whether I had any other commiſſion to treat with him, and I anſwering that I had, he declared to me, that his inclications had been always for us, even whilſt we appear'd in arms on that coaſt, though at the ſame time he was not inſenſible, that ſome had endeavour'd to perſuade us to the contrary, but that time and opportunity ſhould diſcover the good ſentiments he had for us. He told us farther, that he had cauſed the flags of the *Engliſh* and ſome other nations to be taken down, and the *Dutch* flag to be ſet up, for which they threaten'd him with an open war, in his own territories, and refuſed to quit the countrey, which made them to be look'd upon but with a very indifferent eye by all the neighbouring princes. Having afterwards given him a farther account of the occaſion of my coming, he told me that he ſhould be very glad now he was convinc'd of the intentions of the company, which were agreeable to his, to ſpeak with Mr. *Huſtart* himſelf: I return'd for anſwer, that the company was ſenſible of his favourable ſentiments to them, and had always put a great value upon his perſon, inviting him at the ſame time to *Cochin*, to viſit Mr. *Huſtart*, the laſt of which he modeſtly declined, alledging that for ſeveral reaſons he could not come to *Cochin*, but that if Mr. *Huſtart* would come either to *Porka*, or any other place under his juriſdiction, he ſhould be very ready to treat with him concerning ſuch matters as tended to their mutual advantage. The king farther ask'd me, whether I deſir'd an account of my negotiation in writing, which I having accepted of, he ſaid it ſhould be ſent to my lodgings, and at my departure conducted me in perſon to the door of his apartment, from whence the *Reſidoor* carried me to his lodgings, and treated us with all ſorts of refreſhments, a very welcome entertainment to ſome of my attendants, who had not met with the like ſince the beginning of our journey. Towards the evening the *Reſidoor* brought me the writings, with whom whilſt we were taking a view of the court, I had abundance of diſcourſe concerning the intended treaty.

1662.

Has audience of the king of Porka.

This palace of the king is a four ſquare ſtructure of about 40 paces in the ſquare, in the midſt of which is a court, about which the apartments (of which there is a great number) are built; they are all four ſquare, their chief ornaments within being the carving of leaves and other work in all ſorts of fine wood; in ſome of theſe lodgings you ſee fine ciſterns for the conveniency of bathing; you aſcend to them by

Palace of the king of Porka.

1662. by certain broad ſtone ſteps, like our grave-ſtones. In one of theſe lodgings is a very large baſon, ſurrounded with ſuch ſtones, which are about 20 feet broad, and a foot and a half thick, which have been brought thither with incredible pains and charges, a great way out of the countrey. The palace it ſelf is cover'd with ſmall tiles of a hand broad, the windows being made either of twiſted canes or ſhells, which tranſmits the light.

After my return from thence to *Koulang*, I went farther to *Cochin*, to give a verbal account of my tranſactions to Mr. *Huſtart*, who thereupon order'd me to go once more to the court of the king of *Porkà*, in order to ſet matters there upon a ſure foundation; accordingly I ſet out the 3d of *February*, with ſome of my former attendants from *Cochin* to the king of *Porka*'s court, where within an hour after giving notice of my arrival, one of the king's *Reſidoors* came to introduce me to the king, whom that time I found in a moſt magnificent array, (after the *Malabar* faſhion) in the midſt of his courtiers. After the uſual reſpect paid, I deliver'd to him my credentials, which he having received, he order'd all his attendants and my interpreter among the reſt to withdraw, becauſe he had a mind to diſcourſe with me alone in *Portugueſe*, which he underſtood very well. I told him that I was ſent on purpoſe by my maſters to his majeſty, to aſſure him of their friendſhip, and to pay the money ſtipulated by the laſt treaty, which ſum, though it much exceeded the value of the thing receiv'd, yet notwithſtanding all this my maſters had thought fit not to recede from what had been promiſed in their name. The king gave for anſwer, that it never had been a cuſtom to weigh the pepper at *Cochin*, (which I had deſired ſhould be done) and that therefore he hop'd the company would not introduce any novelties in his territories; aſſuring us withal, that he would be ready to aſſiſt the company and their officers upon all occaſions, beſides ſeveral other aſſurances too tedious to be inſerted here. I ſoon underſtood his meaning, to wit, that he would not have the pepper trade tranſferr'd to *Cochin*, which was a matter of no great conſequence, ſo I did not inſiſt any longer upon it, but agreed, that the pepper ſhould be receiv'd and weigh'd at *Porka*; aſſuring him, that the company had never had the leaſt intention to impair any body's right, as his majeſty might eaſily be convinc'd as well by this as ſeveral other tranſactions and treaties made lately with other kings and princes. The king appeared to be highly ſatisfied thereat, deſiring that a factor might be ſent thither forthwith, to buy and receive the pepper; which I having promiſed to the king, he order'd the *Reſidoor* to receive the money, and granted me leave to depart. 1662. *Departs from thence.*

The next following day, juſt as I was ready to depart, a *Reſidoor* come to my lodgings, which was an old chapel, and preſented me, from the king, with ſeveral refreſhments, according to the cuſtom of the countrey, and knowing this *Reſidoor* to be a perſon in great eſteem with the king, I requeſted his favour in behalf of the company, which he promiſed to do.

The author goes a ſecond time to the court of Porka. *Has audience.*

The king then reigning at *Porka* was a perſon of 30 years of age, very ſtately and well made. He was adorn'd with many jewels of diamonds and rubies, which he wore on his hands, arms and ears, according to the *Malabar* faſhion. He is a moſt abſolute prince, acknowledging no ſuperior, every foot of the country being his own, and at his diſpoſal. Juſtice is adminiſtred here with extraordinary ſeverity, eſpecially on the account of theft, which makes this crime ſcarce ever to be heard of here, of which I ſaw the following inſtance myſelf; whilſt I was paying the money to the before-mention'd *Reſidoor*, I was call'd away to the king, and ſeeing above 50 perſons in the ſame room, I charg'd one of my attendants to take care of the money; the *Reſidoor* having taken notice of it, laugh'd heartily, and told me, *You need not give yourſelf that trouble, no body will dare to touch the money, tho' it was untold and unguarded, for we know ſcarce what thieves are*, which ſurpriz'd me not a little, knowing that the *Malabars* in general are the erranteſt thieves in nature. *The king of Porka and government.* *Theft unknown in* Porka.

The kingdom of *Porka* or *Porkah*, otherwiſe *Perkatti*, has borrow'd its name from its capital city; it borders to the north upon the kingdom of *Cochin*, to the ſouth upon that of *Kalkoulang*, it has *Takken Berkenker* to the north-eaſt, and the ſea to the weſt, being about 12 leagues in length; its capital city is *Porka* or *Porkah*. Another of the chief cities is *Koramallur* or *Koromallo*, ſituate upon the ſame river with the cities of *Cochin* and *Koulang*. The kings of *Porka* were in antient times great idolaters, who worſhip'd at leaſt 900 idols, unto each of which daily ſacrifices were offer'd, and viſits made them about ſix or ſeven a clock in the morning till twelve at noon. It was not till the year 1590, that the *Romiſh* religion was openly profeſs'd here with conſent of the king. Tho' many years before, the Chriſtians call'd of *St. Thomas* liv'd in theſe parts. This king granted conſiderable privileges to the jeſuites; ſuch as the building of churches with croſſes on the top of them, and the neceſſary bells, near unto which no *The kingdom of* Porka.

Pagodes,

1662. *Pagodes*, *Jewiſh* ſynagogues, or *Mahometan* moſques were to be erected; they had alſo liberty to baptize as many as were willing to embrace the chriſtian religion, all which was punctually obſerv'd. The king of *Porka* who reign'd 1599, was call'd *Nambrale* or *Numbrane*, which implies as much as the high prieſt in the *Malabar* tongue. In the year 1640, one *Siam Baatſhery Vaubaar* reigned over *Porka*. They claim a ſuperiority over the king of *Cochin*, againſt whom they waged heavy wars in former ages; but now adays the kings of *Porka* are under the juriſdiction of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, being forc'd thereunto by their victorious arms; the chief ſtrength of the king of *Porka* conſiſts in his ſmall frigates, of which he has 500, and are made uſe of, when the fields are overflown with water; formerly the *Portugueſe* were maſters of the pepper trade here, with the king's conſent; but finding that they intended to fortify themſelves in ſeveral places, he engaged in a war againſt them, which laſted three whole years. The *Dutch* never came to *Porka* till 1642, under the reign of *Siam Baatſhery Vaubaar*, being then not above 24 years old; they were very kindly receiv'd by him, a treaty being concluded betwixt them at that time, by which the *Dutch* had the pepper trade granted to them. This part of the countrey is very fruitful, but unwholeſome, moſt of the inhabitants being afflicted with thick ſwell'd legs, occaſioned by the drinking of brackiſh water; blindneſs is alſo a common diſtemper here, which by ſome is aſcrib'd to their feeding ſo much upon hot rice. Moſt of the inhabitants live by huſbandry, tho' during the rainy ſeaſon, moſt of the rice fields hereabouts, as well as all along from the cape *Comarin*, as far as *Pokare Biarbar*, lay under water. This countrey produces alſo a conſiderable quantity of pepper yearly, which is for the moſt part bought up by the *Engliſh*, who have had a factory here many years ago. Deeper into the countrey live abundance of chriſtians, who were formerly converted by the *Portugueſe*, theſe buy up the pepper in the countrey, which they are oblig'd to deliver to a certain merchant, appointed for that purpoſe by the king.

The author goes to Marten.

From hence we went to the king of *Marta* or *Marten*, the capital city of the ſame name, three leagues to the ſouth of *Cochin* upon the ſame river. I and Mr. *George Henry Willeng*, under factor of *Koulang*, got on horſeback early in the morning, and arriv'd at 10 a clock before noon at *Carnopoly*, where we took up our lodgings in a houſe near the river ſide, which the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company ſome years before had purchaſed from the king. It is pretty large, but not very convenient, being built according to the *Malabar* faſhion, with abundance of corners and inlets oddly contriv'd: The gardens are well planted with palm-trees, for the uſe of the houſe. I had no ſooner given notice of my arrival, but I was ſent for to the king. After the uſual compliments to be paid to the *Malabar* kings, I deliver'd the following *Ola* (letter) from Mr. *Huſtart* to the king. 1662.

James Huſtart *councellor of the* Indies, *governor and director of the iſle of* Ceylon, *and the* Malabar *coaſts, ſends his* Ola *to the king of* Marten.

Illuſtrious prince,

Admiral Huſtart's *letter to the king.*

NOthing could be more welcome to me, than to underſtand at my firſt arrival in theſe parts, that your majeſty had always liv'd in a good correſpondency with our company. To ſhew your majeſty what an extraordinary value we ſet upon your friendſhip, we have ſent Mr. John Nieuhoff *captain of* Koulang, *in order to enter with you into a more ſtrict league and friendſhip. We hope your majeſty will give him entire credit, in what he ſhall propoſe to you, which I ſhall be ready to acknowledge upon the like occaſions.*

God preſerve and give your majeſty a long and a happy life.

Cochin
2 *Feb.* 1664. James Huſtart.

After which I gave the king a more particular account of my commiſſion, unto which he anſwer'd, that he would conſider of it till the next day; accordingly I was ſent for at the appointed time, when I found the king ſurrounded with a great number of his courtiers, and among the reſt ſome mahometan merchants; he order'd immediately two of them, and one of his captains, who was in great eſteem with him, to treat with me concerning the propoſitions made on behalf of the company; but as I was ſufficiently inform'd that moſt of the mahometan merchants here drove conſiderable traffick to *Cananor*, to the no ſmall prejudice of our company, I did not think fit to treat with them, if poſſible I could avoid it, which made me to tell the king, that *I had no commiſſion to treat with the mahometan merchants, but with his majeſty; that the company at preſent offer'd peace to the whole coaſt of* Malabar, *in which, if his majeſty was deſirous to be included, and to enjoy the benefit of a flouriſhing trade, he might himſelf treat with me, but if not, grant me leave to depart.* The king after a little pauſing, deſired that my propoſitions might be drawn up in writing, which I did accordingly: Our demands were,

To

1662. *To forbid the importation of amſion, the peeling of the wild cinamome, and the exportation of pepper.*

Theſe propoſitions the king order'd to be read aloud in our preſence, which the mahometan merchants endeavour'd to oppoſe with all their might; and the greateſt part of the day being ſpent in meſſages betwixt the king and us, by the *Reſidoors*, who gave an exact account of all what paſs'd to the king, he gave leave for us to return to our lodgings, and order'd us to attend him again the next day. But early in the morning a certain perſon of quality, who bears the ſecond rank in that kingdom, came along with the before-mention'd captain, to tell us, that what we deſired, was abſolutely to the prejudice of the king and kingdom, which I endeavour'd to put out of their heads, by telling them, that we were come with no other intention, than to eſtabliſh a free commerce with them, as we had done with moſt of the other *Malabar* kings and princes before, and which would turn to their great advantage; notwithſtanding this they were for making ſeveral alterations in each point, and five or ſix meſſages paſs'd betwixt the court and us; at laſt they ask'd what quantity of pepper we deſired yearly? We anſwer'd them, that it was no matter about the quantity, ſince we were for buying all. This point was vigorouſly oppoſed by the mahometan merchants, who fain would have perſuaded the king to reſerve part of it for them; but by degrees we overcame all theſe difficulties, the king having granted us all we demanded, except the peeling of the wild cinnamome, which we did not ſo much inſiſt upon, being a thing uncertain whether it would quit the coſt to the undertakers or not, becauſe it was in the kings power to ſet what price he pleaſed upon it.

The kingdom of Marten.

The kingdom of *Marta* or *Marten* is very near as big as that of *Kalkolang*, extending to the north as far as *Porka*; to the ſouth it borders upon the *Indian* ſea, and to the eaſt it is ſurrounded by high mountains, and waſh'd by the ſame river, upon which *Cochin* and *Koulang* lie: The capital city is likewiſe call'd *Marta* or *Marten*. But to the ſouth near the ſea-ſhore is another city call'd by the inhabitants *Panderatoutte*, and *Peſſe* by the *Portugueſe*; here we built a houſe by the king's conſent, for the conveniency of the pepper trade, which is always weigh'd here. There is another city belonging to this kingdom call'd *Podiogabo* or *Maulikara*. This king poſſeſſes ſome parts of the countrey in common with the king of *Kalkolang*, a thing not uſual on this coaſt, where are ſo many petty kingdoms, that it requires no ſmall time, to diſtinguiſh and know them from on another. The country is well peopled here, abounding in pepper, peaſe and beans, and the fields near the river-ſide in rice and ſalt-pits. The king is a ſoveraign prince; he that then reign'd being of about 60 years of age, very large of body and a ſtern countenance; upon his head he wears a bonnet of ſcarlet cloth lined with callicoe; he keeps conſtantly 1200 negroes in pay; his reſidence is at *Carnapoly*, a place ſurrounded with an earthen wall of 20 foot high, but appeared much decay'd at that time. This kingdom has long ago been inhabited by chriſtians, which however were forced to live there 12 whole years without a church, *viz.* till the year 1581, when the king then reigning, not only gave them liberty to build a church, but alſo to cut wood in the adjacent foreſts dedicated to the pagan idols. He alſo gave permiſſion to his ſubjects to turn chriſtians, and the jeſuits had full power granted them to exerciſe the church cenſure, and to inflict it upon thoſe that were baptiz'd by them. The ſaid church was dedicated to St. *Andrew*, becauſe it was finiſh'd upon that ſaints day. 1662.

Upon the banks of the ſame river, where the kingdom of *Marten* lies, is alſo the kingdom of *Batyma*, with its city call'd *Katyapery*. It is commonly reported in theſe parts, that the kings of *Batyma* made a law, by which a man was impower'd to kill any woman that ſhould refuſe him a kindneſs.

By this time our negotiation being brought to an entire concluſion, I offer'd the uſual preſents to the king, which he order'd to be taken by him who bears the ſecond rank in the kingdom, who as well as ſeveral others of his courtiers having been very inſtrumental in promoting the treaty, we thought fit to engage to our party by ſome ſmall preſents. At laſt we were appointed to attend before the court in the open air, where the king firſt, and I afterwards ſign'd the treaty with our own hands, in the preſence of a great multitude of people, that were flock'd thither on purpoſe to be ſpectators of this ceremony. This done I took my leave of the king and his chief courtiers, and the ſame evening went aboard our veſſel, which about a league from thence did ride at anchor in the river. A certain lord commanding over the countrey here, a vaſſal of the king of *Marten*, came on purpoſe to meet and compliment us and preſented us with ſome fowls, *Pyſang* and other refreſhments, of whom I likewiſe took my leave and return'd to *Koulang*, where I arriv'd the 9th of *February*,

The author leaves Marten.

Returns to Koulang.

Whilſt I was negotiating with the king

1662. of *Porka*, the king of *Kalkolang* ſent for me to his court, where he preſented me with a very fine *Brocado* ſilk gown, made according to the *Indian* faſhon, teſtifying his joy for the good ſucceſs we had had in our negotiation with his neighbour; I return'd my hearty thanks to the king for this and other favours I had receiv'd at his hands, and went back again to the king of *Porka*.

Is preſented by the king of Kalkolang.

But to return to *Koulang*; no ſooner was I arrived the 9th of *Feb.* at *Koulang* but the queen of the ſame name, ſent the next day her chief captain to receive the cuſtoms and cannon ſhe pretended to be due to her by virtue of the late treaty; I was willing to ſurrender the cannon, according to our agreement, but could not conſent to the other; and in the mean while we were preparing our *Manſio* (veſſel) for a voyage to the king of *Travankoor*'s court, the *Reſidoors* of the king of *Goenree* and *Bariiette Pule* deſir'd an interview with me, whom I gave a meeting accordingly in company of Mr. *Cher de Venne*, book-keeper of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company. We ſaw above 300 negroes all in a body, who with one voice cry'd out for the cuſtoms, which made me, after many debates and diſputes, tell them, that I would go home, with an intention to return the next day to them, provided they would deſiſt from theſe things, that were not granted them by the treaty, nor were ever likely to be granted, and ſo return'd to *Koulang*.

The 12th of *February*, I embark'd at nine a clock in the evening for *Attingen*, where the king of *Travankoor* kept his reſidence then, being come thither ſome days before. With break of day we found our ſelves near the village of *Mappul*, about five leagues to the eaſt of *Koulang*, but not daring to approach the ſhore with our veſſel, we were forced to hire an *Indian* boat, which carried us ſafely aſhore, notwithſtanding the violence of the waves that rowled againſt the ſhore. We travell'd for about a league along the ſea-ſide, till we came to a large river, which carried us in three hours rowing to the court; here we underſtood that the king was juſt then ready to go to *Kalkolang*, I gave immediate notice of my arrival to his majeſty, who ſent for me by one of his *Reſidoors*; he met us on the ſtairs-head, with many of his courtiers; where I preſented him with the uſual reſpect, the letter, with ſome preſents, which he receiv'd and cauſed the letter to be read aloud before all there preſent, telling me, that he would forthwith let me know his intention, and that in the mean while I might take a walk into the garden of the caſtle, with ſome of his *Reſidoors*; and diſcourſe with them farther in a certain grove, which he pointed at with his fingers. Accordingly I begun to talk more at large, concerning my propoſitions, with the four *Reſidoors*, who were for treating with me immediately upon the ſubject in hand, which I told them I had no orders to do, my buſineſs being to treat with the king in perſon. They having given the king an account of what I ſaid, brought me word, that his majeſty, in a matter of ſuch conſequence could not take a reſolution till next day, deſiring me to have patience till then, and preſented us with *Pyſang* and ſome other refreſhments. On the weſtern-ſide of the palace is a pleaſant houſe at the foot of a hill, in the midſt of a very pleaſant grove, from whence there is a proſpect into a very fruitful valley full of rice-fields, hedg'd in with palm-trees; this place was aſſign'd us for our lodgings, our hoſt appearing to be a very honeſt man, but ſo miſtruſtful withal, that when we were going to ſupper, he refuſed to let us have diſhes or any other utenſils; their ſoldiers being exaſperated at this uſage, the whole houſe began to be in an alarum, and I enquiring the reaſon, could get no other anſwer from him, than *That the devil and his ill fortune ow'd him a ſhame, when they brought ſuch lodgers into his houſe*, deſiring us at the ſame time to look out for another lodging. With much ado I perſuaded him, that we were no ſuch fellows as he imagin'd us to be, and ſo at laſt with the help of a little money, he let us have what we had occaſion for.

Goes to Attingen.

1662.

The next day, being the 14th of *Feb.* about eight a clock in the morning the king ſent for me to court again by a negro, where we met the before-mention'd four *Reſidoors* at the gate, ready to receive us, we went together into the garden, where I cauſed a carpet to be ſpread under the ſhadow of ſome trees, as they did their *Indian* mats; and being ſeated, the chiefeſt of the *Reſidoors* told me, *That his majeſty was not a little diſſatisfied at our burning the royal palace of* Koulang, *and that he had given him orders to treat of that as well as the other ſubject with me. That the letter ſent to admiral* Huſtart *had been written with no other intention, than to treat concerning the pretenſions of prince* Gondormo, *and that therefore they would be glad to hear what inſtructions I had about that matter.* As I thought it not for our purpoſe to tergiverſate in the matter, I told them bluntly, that *Gondormo* might thank himſelf for his misfortunes; for that when our fleet and forces, about two years ago appear'd near *Cochin*, to attack the *Portugueſe* our enemies, the *Dutch* admiral had ſet up a white flag, to ſhew his willingneſs to treat with the

Is call'd to court.

Propoſals made to him.

His anſwer.

1662. queen of *Cochin*, which *Gondormo* had not only prevented, but alſo attack'd our forces, and oppoſed and ſtill did oppoſe all our deſigns tending to the re-eſtabliſhment of the government of *Cochin* upon its true foundation. I further told them, that, when about two years ago, I had the honour to ſee his majeſty at *Kalikoli*, I aſſured his majeſty that we had conquer'd *Cochin*, and were engaged in an everlaſting alliance with *Monta Davila*, their legal ſovereign; and that therefore *Gondormo* need not flatter himſelf with the leaſt hopes of his re-eſtabliſhment. Of this they gave an account to the king, who ſoon ſent them back with another propoſition, to wit, whether he might not be admitted as a ſecond or third perſon in the kingdom? To make an end at once of this diſpute, I aſk'd them whether they did acknowledge *Monta Davila* lawful king? They anſwer'd they did? I demonſtrated to them, how unreaſonable it was, to demand that one who had ſet up againſt his legal ſovereign, ſhould be receiv'd in ſuch a ſtation in the ſame kingdom, and conſidering the ill conſequences which muſt needs enſue from thence, I told them it was in vain to ſay a word more of it. This made them inſiſt no more upon the buſineſs of *Gondormo*, they only told us, *That we had beſt be upon our guard*, Gondormo *and his three brothers being reſolved to live, and to be buried in the kingdom of* Cochin. I anſwer'd him careleſly, that I had travelled thro the greateſt part of that kingdom; and that I was ſure there was room enough for 100000 of them. I aſſured them farther, that his majeſty of *Travankoor*, had been always in great eſteem with our company, that they never doubted of his friendſhip, notwithſtanding he ſeem'd to bear ſo great a ſhare in *Gondormo*'s buſineſs; that I was ſent thither on purpoſe to enter into a more ſtrict league with him, in the ſame manner as had been done with ſeveral other kings his neighbours. Whilſt they were debating this matter, an envoy arriv'd from the queen of *Koulang*, with a letter, in which ſhe complain'd, that ſhe had not receiv'd any ſhare of the cuſtoms, nor were the cannon reſtored to her; the *Reſidoor* ask'd me what the meaning of it was, and whether we would do leſs than the *Portugueſe* had done? I anſwer'd him, if we ſhould follow the footſteps of the *Portugueſe*, we muſt be guilty likewiſe of the ſame enormities, in murthering, plundering, *&c.* things not cuſtomary among us, the intention of our company being to maintain every one in his right, and to eſtabliſh a free commerce without interruption; and theſe, ſaid I, are the main contents of my commiſſion, according to which I am to treat with all the kings and princes of the coaſt of *Malabar*. After ſeveral other debates, finding them full of tergiverſations, I roundly told them, that I found them very backward in what had been propoſed; that for my part, I had done all what I could to procure a peace, but that they ſeem'd to be rather inclinable to war; and finding them ſomewhat puzzel'd by their ſilence, ſaid, that if as yet they could find out any expedient, to compoſe matters upon reaſonable terms, I ſhould be willing to hearken to them, and that, if it was for a yearly preſent, or a ſum of money, once for all, they ſhould have it. The king being inform'd of this reſolution, ſent me word back, that in a thing of this nature, in which ſeveral others beſides himſelf were concerned, he muſt take ſome leiſure to adviſe, which done, he would ſend one of his *Reſidoors* to *Koulang*, to treat farther of the matter. I inſiſted upon having all things diſpatch'd here, but the *Reſidoors* telling me, that they durſt not urge it any more to the king, for that time, I was fain to acquieſce, and to defer it till our next meeting at *Koulang*, tho' I very well foreſaw that this negotiation would meet with no ſmall difficulties, unleſs ſomething more were granted than had been offer'd hitherto. About the ſame time the before-mention'd queen, ſent me underhand word, that ſhe was very inclinable to a farther treaty, but that it could not be done till the king of *Travankoor* was gone, which as it was no unwelcome news to me, ſo I deſired the *Reſidoor* whom ſhe ſent to me, to uſe his utmoſt intereſt with her majeſty to bring it to paſs, being ſenſible that it was the intention of my Maſters to live with her in a good correſpondence. 1662.

The countrey about *Attingen* has hitherto not been deſcrib'd by any that I know; it abounds in pepper, of which a great quantity is brought thither out of the circumjacent parts. The ancient race of the kings of *Travankoor* owed its origine to *Attingen*, but for want of male heirs, one of the princes of *Cochin* was placed in that throne; the king who then reign'd, being deſcended from the *Cochin* race of *Rammerankoil*, and elected king of *Travankoor*. The ground where the pepper grows, is hereabouts ſtrong and red, which makes the pepper not full ſo large here, as in the valleys about *Koulang* and *Cochin*. On the deſcents of the hills you ſee very pleaſant rice-fields, cut out like ſteps, and water'd from the top by ſmall rivulets. The king and queen's palace are directly oppoſite to one another, with ſome rice-fields betwixt them. Attingen.

The next following day about 10 a clock

1662. clock in the morning, I was call'd to court again, where the king told me in perſon, that it would be better to reaſſume the treaty at *Koulang*, which I being fain to be ſatisfy'd with, I took my leave of his majeſty and the *Reſidoors*, who offer'd me a preſent from the king, according to the cuſtom of the countrey, which I accepted off, and went directly to the river-ſide, where we found our boat, and ſailing down the river, came juſt before ſun-ſet to *Maypule*, where I was met by the reſident of *Tengepatnam*, whom I had given notice of my coming that way. The next following day, *viz.* the 16th of *February* we reimbark'd our veſſels, and ſteer'd our courſe by ſea to *Koulang*, from whence I immediately diſpatch'd our interpreter to *Pule de Margaty*, to inform himſelf where the queen of *Goenree* at that time kept her court; he return'd the next day with advice, that a month before ſhe was gone deeper into the countrey, to a place call'd *Peretaly*, about four days journey from thence.

Is call'd to court again, and departs from thence.

The kingdom of Travankoor.

The kingdom of *Travankoor* (thus call'd from its capital city) begins at the cape of *Comory* or *Comorin*, and extends all along the ſea-coaſt as far as *Koulang*, comprehending a tract of ground of 20 or 24 leagues in length; the famous village of *Paru*, belonging to the queen of *Singnaty*, being only in the midſt. To the eaſt it borders upon the kingdom of *Madure*, and to the weſt upon the countries of *Peretaly* and *Kotarkery*. It has ſeveral conſiderable villages which are inhabited by the moors, ſuch as *Tengepatnam*, *Kuletture*, *Koritypatnam* and *Allage*. About the year 1544, above 30 villages, inhabited by the *Makaos*, who live for the moſt part upon fiſhing, and by the mahometans, were upon this coaſt. But the chief cities lie deeper in the countrey, which is of a great extent all along the mountains to *Naynar*, near the cape of *Comorin* and toward *Travankoor*, in all 29 great cities and villages. About a league and a half to the north of the cape *Comorin* is the city of *Kotate* or *Kokatti*, a place of great traffick; the populous city of *Simintira* and *Matadavalur*, famous for its bigneſs, being ſurrounded by ſix or ſeven other towns; *Verrage* is not above a quarter of a league diſtance from *Kotate* and *Tatikury*, the two moſt conſiderable places of the whole countrey. *Kalkolang* is a very large city, being a league and a half long, upon the confines of the *Neyk* of *Madure*. It is ſituate upon a high hill, 3 leagues from *Tengepatnam*, and 12 from *Koulang*; being on one ſide ſtrengthen'd by inacceſſable mountains, on the other by a wall, the undermoſt part of which is of ſtone, the uppermoſt of brick-work, in all 24 foot high; the royal palace ſtands at the weſt end, being ſurrounded by a ſtone-wall. On the eaſt-ſide you ſee the ruins of an old caſtle, built on the top of a hill, fortified with a triple wall. The city of *Kalkolang* is the chief reſidence of the king, who conſtantly keeps a garriſon of 10000 negroes here, to ſecure it againſt the *Neyk* of *Madure*, whoſe power is much dreaded here. It is a very fertile countrey, abounding in pepper, rice and other grains. It alſo produces wild cinnamome, the beſt, the whole coaſt of *Malabar* affords, but it wants ſeveral things requiſite for the conveniency of life. One of the chiefeſt rivers which water this countrey, is the river *Mannikorin*, it exonerates itſelf into the ſea, near cape *Comorin*. The king of this countrey is by ſome ſtiled the *great king*, becauſe he poſſeſſes larger territories than any other of the *Malabar* kings. He is ſerved in great ſtate, and maintains abundance of commanders, whom they call *Mandigals*, and many councellors, call'd *Pullas*. Some aſcribe to him a ſuperiority over neighbouring princes, but of this I am convinced to the contrary by my own experience; it is true they reverence him, as a potent king, but pay him no obedience. Others will have him to be a vaſſal of the king of *Narſinga*. The whole countrey is well ſtock'd with people, who appear very well cloth'd according to the *Malabar* faſhion.

1662.

The author goes to Goenree.

The 18th of *February*, I ſet out from *Koulang* in company of Mr. *Siewert Baker*, for the kingdom of *Goenree*. But ſcarce were we come to *Kaligoli*, but one of the *Reſidoors* told us, that the queen of *Goenree* was a month ago gone into the countrey, and would not return very quickly, by reaſon of a certain religious ceremony, ſhe was obliged to perform there, before her return; I deſired a guide, becauſe I had ſomething of moment to communicate to the queen, but they excuſed it, telling me that the ways were ſo rocky and impaſſable, that it would be impoſſible for me to get thither, it being five tedious days journey to the countrey of *Peretaly*, bordering upon the territories of the *Neyk* of *Madure*. Being made ſenſible that this journey could not be undertaken without great difficulty and charge, I thought it moſt expedient to leave a letter with the *Reſidoor*, to be deliver'd to the queen, the contents of which were as follows.

His letter to the queen.

THat I was come hither to offer a ſmall preſent to her majeſty, and to enter into a ſtrict and everlaſting alliance with her; but tho' I was ſo unfortunate, as not to meet with her

1662. *her majeſty, I liv'd however in hopes, that ſhe would not be backward in entering into a general league, which the company had lately concluded with all the* Malabar *princes; to accompliſh which as we ſhould be ready to contribute every thing on our ſide, ſo we did not queſtion, but that her majeſty would be pleaſed to let us know her ſentiments by the bearer of this letter.*

Whilſt I tarried here, I underſtood that the *Reſidoor* of the king of *Travankoor* was arriv'd the 20th at *Koulang China*, and had notified his arrival by our *Petangatin Thome Bottancho*, deſiring to confer with me, concerning certain matters commanded him by the king his maſter, ſince my departure from thence. The place appointed for our interview, was the church of the chriſtians of *St. Thomas* in *Koulang China*, where I was preſent at the appointed hour, but finding them to trifle away the time in altercations and tergiverſations; I was ready to mount on horſe-back again, in order to return to *Koulang*, which when they perceiv'd, they deſired me to ſtay and give them another meeting, which I agreed to do. At laſt, after abundance of conteſts, the following agreement concerning the ſhares of the cuſtoms, the importation of amſion and the exportation of pepper, was made betwixt the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, by their deputy Mr. *John Nieuhoff* on one, and the kings of *Marten*, *Singnaty*, *Goenree*, *Travankoor* and *Barrigetta Pule* on the other ſide.

Articles of agreement.

I. *NO body ſhall import, ſell or exchange any amſion into theſe countries, except the* Dutch Eaſt-India *company.*

II. *No body, without any exception, ſhall be permitted to export any pepper or cinamome out of this countrey, or to ſell them to any body, except to the ſaid company.*

III. *A certain price was ſettled, betwixt both parties, and what ſhare each ſhould have in the cuſtoms, whereby all former pretenſions and exceptions ſhould be annulled.*

February 21, 1664. *Sign'd in the court* Matta del Reyne.

In my return from *Koulang*, in the road leading to *Matta del Reyne*, I found guards poſted upon all the croſs roads, which made me enquire of *Matta del Pule* chief commander of the negroes, what the meaning of it was, who told me with a ſorrowful countenance, that the prince *Barrigetta Pule*, had cauſed one of the queen's *Reſidoors* to be ſlain by his ſoldiers, who had alſo laid about 80 houſes in aſhes, and cut down many palm-trees. That they had been ſent to beſiege him in his caſtle, but that at the interceſſion of the king of *Travankoor*'s *Reſidoor*, who had promiſed that the ſaid prince ſhould be call'd to an account by the king his maſter, they had delay'd the execution of it for three days; but he much fear'd he ſhould ſcarce withhold them much longer, from taking a direful revenge of him. He was very inquiſitive concerning our late tranſactions with the king of *Marten*, but I excuſed the matter, telling him only, that I hoped it would be brought to a concluſion, to both ſides ſatisfaction. 1662.

Troubles raiſed by Barrigetta Pule.

The 22d I ſent a letter by Mr. *Sebaſtian Ferdinandi*, our interpreter, to the queen of *Singnaty*, in which I gave her an account of what had been tranſacted betwixt the *Reſidoor* of the king of *Travankoor* and my ſelf. In the mean while the king's and prince's ſoldiers were come to blows, ſeveral being kill'd and wounded on both ſides: Whereupon the prince finding himſelf beſieged in his caſtle, ſent one of his moſt truſty ſervants to deſire aſſiſtance, and ſome powder and ball for his maſter, which I thought fit to refuſe, for weighty reaſons; for whatever may be the opinion of thoſe who think it a maxim of ſtate to fiſh in troubled waters, I was too well acquainted with the perfidiouſneſs of the *Malabars*, who make not the leaſt account of faith or leagues, unleſs they are forced to it, than to put the leaſt confidence in them.

In the mean time the beforementioned *Reſidoor* of the king of *Travankoor* not appearing at the time and place appointed for the removing of ſome remaining differences, I ſent him the following letter, by *Topaes Nicolaes da Coſta*.

The captain of *Koulang* ſends this letter with his ſervice, to *Narrano Poly*, *Reſidoor* of *Travankoor*.

The author's letter to the Reſidoor *of* Travankoor.

PUrſuant to our mutual agreement, I came to Koulang China, *in order to bring the treaty begun before to a happy concluſion. But your highneſs did not perform your promiſe, neither had I the leaſt account ſince, how the queen of* Singnaty *was likely to reliſh our tranſactions. And as the nature of the thing would admit of no delay, I ſaw my ſelf obliged to ſend my interpreter to the queen of* Singnaty, *and* Topaes Nicholaes da Coſta, *to the* Goenree *and* Barrigetta, *to be inform'd concerning that point. They bring me for anſwer, that the ſaid queen pretends to the cuſtoms*

1662. *without the leaſt diminution, which is not in my power to agree to. As I am ſenſible, that I have left nothing unattempted, which might reaſonably and honeſtly be expected from me, for the terminating of theſe differences, but all in vain, I have nothing left to do, but to proteſt once for all, according to the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice, in the name of the whole company, againſt your* Narrano Poly, *and your tranſactions, and all others who take part with you, that we will, and hereby declare our ſelves innocent, and guiltleſs of all the troubles and miſeries of a future war.*

Koulang Feb. 26, 1664. John Nieuhoff.

In the mean while I had given an account of the whole matter to Mr. *Huſtart*, deſiring him to come in perſon, and to endeavour by his preſence to put a happy concluſion to the negotiations. He ſent me an anſwer dated *Cochin* the 24th of *February*, intimating that he had intended to ſet out from thence within two days after, of which he order'd me to give notice to the king of *Travankoor*, and queen of *Singnaty*, which I did accordingly by an expreſs ſent with letters to both their majeſty's. The 27th the reſidoor of *Travankoor* ſent me word by *Topaes Nicolaes de Coſta*, that he was willing to treat with me once more about the cuſtoms, but that no body except the queen muſt be privy to the matter; for which reaſon he could cauſe a quite different rumour to be raiſed among the people; but conſidering with my ſelf that the negroes, who are in great eſteem here, might get ſcent of the matter, and that (as the king had told me himſelf before) ſeveral perſons in the firſt rank were concern'd in the cuſtoms, I did not look upon this underhand treaty as advantageous for the company; which made me write to the *Reſidoor*, that I was willing to contribute all what in me lay, towards the compoſing of the differences betwixt us, provided it could be done in the ſame nature as with the other *Malabar* princes, who had not refus'd to read the treaties in the preſence of their ſubjects, to ſhew that their words were altogether conſonant to their deeds. I receiv'd an anſwer the ſame evening, in which the *Reſidoor* deſired an interview with me in *St. Thomas*'s church the next day. Accordingly I went thither on horſe-back with Mr. *James Cher de Venne*. After many conteſts on both ſides, we agreed at laſt, and the *Reſidoor* promiſed to return to morrow to finiſh the treaty. About this time I receiv'd a letter from the queen of *Singnaty*, in anſwer to that I had ſent her before; as follows.

Another interview with the Reſidoor *of* Travankoor.

1662.

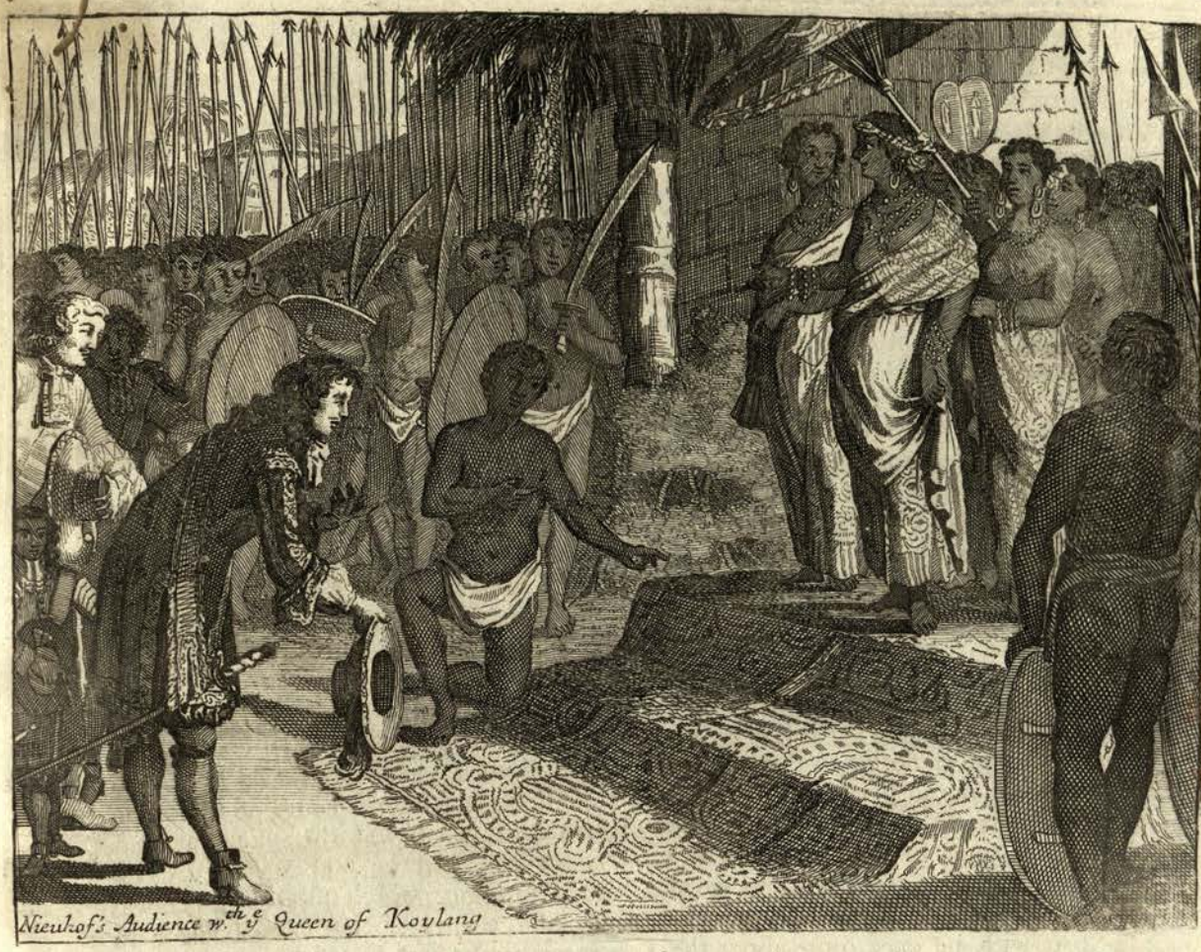
The queen of Singnaty's *letter to the author.*

I *Receiv'd and ſaw the contents of the letter ſent to me from Mr.* John Nieuhoff, *captain of* Koulang, *concerning the propoſed treaty; I will ſend word in the Month of* March *to* Kottekkery, *where we will meet together, and I ſhall be ready to rectify what my plenipotentiaries ſhall agree to. For which reaſon I order'd this letter to be written to captain* John Nieuhoff.

The next day the *Reſidoor* of the king of *Travankoor* came to *Koulang*, who was receiv'd by us with all imaginable reſpect; he began among other things to renew his former diſcourſe about the prince *Gondormo*, upon which it was agreed to delay the laſt concluſion of the treaty till the coming of Mr. *Huſtart*, who was expected every day at *Koulang*.

The 2d of *March* with break of day, the vice-roy of the king of *Travankoor*, call'd by them *Gorepe*, the chief commander of the negroes, call'd *Matta de Pulo*, and my ſelf, ſet out for the court of the queen of *Koulang*, which was then kept at *Calliere*. We arriv'd there about two a clock in the afternoon, and as ſoon as notice was given of our arrival, we were ſent for to court, where, after I had deliver'd the preſents, and laid the money down for pepper, I was introduced into her majeſty's preſence. She had a guard of above 700 ſoldiers about her, all clad after the *Malabar* faſhion; the Queen's attirement being no more than a piece of callicoe wrapt round her middle, the upper part of her body appearing for the moſt part naked, with a piece of callicoe hanging careleſly round her ſhoulders. Her ears, which were very long, her neck and arms were adorn'd with precious ſtones, gold rings and bracelets, and her head cover'd with a piece of white callicoe. She was paſt her middle age, of a brown complexion, with black hair tied in a knot behind, but of a majeſtick mein, ſhe being a princeſs who ſhew'd a great deal of good conduct in the management of her affairs. After I had paid the uſual compliments, I ſhew'd her the propoſition, I was to make to her in writing; which ſhe order'd to be read twice, the better to underſtand the meaning of it, which being done, ſhe aſk'd me, whether this treaty comprehended all the reſt, and whether they were annull'd by it; unto which I having given her a ſufficient anſwer, ſhe agreed to all our propoſitions, which were accordingly ſign'd immediately. This done, I recommended Mr. *James Cher de Venne*, who was to ſucceed me at *Koulang*, to her majeſty, deſiring her to ac-

The author goes to the queen of Koulang.



Nieuhof's Audience w.th y.e Queen of Koulang

1662. knowledge him as ſuch, and to continue in a good correſpondency with our company, by whom I was order'd to go to *Toutekorin*, which ſhe promiſed to do. I then deſired leave to depart, becauſe I expected Mr. *Huſtart* every hour at *Koulang*, which ſhe readily granted, and at the ſame time took a golden bracelet from her arms, which ſhe preſented me as a token of her good inclinations to the company. She order'd one of the *Reſidoors* to faſten it to my arm, but it being too ſtreight, ſhe cauſed it to be fitted for me, ſhe having once before, *viz.* when I firſt gave her notice of Mr. *Huſtart*'s coming, preſented me with another golden bracelet, for which and all other honours, I had received from her majeſty, ſince my reſidence at *Koulang*, I returned my hearty thanks, deſiring her once more not to withdraw her favour from the company. Thus I return'd to *Koulang*, about two a clock in the night, where I was let in through one of the gates, the admiral *Huſtart* being the day before arriv'd there with two ſhips, the *Eraſmus* and the *Niewenhoven* from *Batavia*. The next morning I paid a viſit to the admiral at his lodgings, where I gave him an ample account of my negotiations, and other matters relating to our factory here, wherewith he was highly ſatisfied, and gave me ſome farther orders about certain matters to be tranſacted before my departure.

Returns to Koulang.

1662.

About the ſame time the viceroy of the king of *Travankoor* came back to the city of *Koulang*, to compliment the admiral, and to conſummate the treaty. The admiral ſent him aftewards ſeveral preſents, and let him know, that if the king his maſter did give any aſſiſtance of men or arms to prince *Gondormo* againſt *Cochin* and the company, he muſt expect to be treated as an enemy; he return'd for anſwer, that he was ſure his maſter would not do it, but always maintain a good correſpondency with the company, upon which he was diſmiſs'd, and left *Koulang* the ſame night, as did the admiral ſoon after, who ſet ſail for *Cranganor*, leaving the commodore *Bitter* behind him, who with his wife and family was come aboard the ſhip the *Niewenhoven* to load pepper here. His wife being very deſirous to ſee the queen of *Koulang*, I caus'd her to be carried thither in my *Palankin*; the queen receiv'd her very courteouſly, being extremely well pleas'd with the ſight of a *Dutch* woman; and many of the *Malabars* were ſo curious as to peep into the *Palankin* to ſee her; they being no leſs ſurpriz'd at the ſight of the *Europeans* than we were at them. Commodore *Bitter* having by this time got his full cargo, ſet ſail again for *Batavia*,

1662.

The viceroy of Travankoor *comes to* Koulang.

1662. *Batavia*, as I did the 11th to the court of *Gonree*, and so to the prince *Baryette Pule*, where I introduced Mr. *Cherde Venne*, who, as I told you before, was to manage the affairs of the company after my departure; they receiv'd him very civilly, and promis'd to maintain an everlasting correspondence with our company. At parting, prince *Baryette Pule* presented me with a golden bracelet curiously wrought, and the viceroy with a silken suit of cloaths, and so I return'd very well satisfied to *Koulang*, where I prepar'd for *Toutekorin*; for within four days after, *viz.* the 12th of *March*, having first surrendred all my accounts, and what also belong'd to the company, and given the best instructions I could to Mr. *James Cherde Venne*, taken my leave of the chiefest officers belonging to the company, I set out for *Toutekorin*, after a stay of two years at *Koulang*, considering that my appointed time was near expiring, and I had settled our traffick at *Koulang* upon a good foot. I could have been very glad to have stay'd the remainder of my time here, for which purpose I sent a letter to *Colomba*, but the chief director of *Toutekorin* being order'd to *Persia* upon some urgent business, I was forc'd to supply his place. And upon this occasion I think it not amiss to give the reader an account of what I have observ'd most remarkable during my stay on the coast of *Malabar*, together with the products, beasts and inhabitants of this countrey.

The author takes his leave of the court of Gonree *and prince* Baryette Pule.

Cape Kouang.

Limits of the coast of Malabar.

The coast of *Malabar* is properly called that tract of ground where the *Malabar* tongue is us'd, beginning 50 leagues to the south below *Goa*, and extending to the south to the cape *Comorin*, under 7½ degree of northern latitude, about 80 leagues along that coast. On the west-side it borders upon the *Indian* sea, and to the east it is surrounded by a ridge of high mountains, which divide it from the coast of *Coromandel*. It is commonly divided into five kingdoms, *viz. Cananor*, *Calicut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Koulang*, unto which some add the kingdom of *Porka*, *Tanakor* or *Tanor*, *Koulang* and *Travankoor*; not to mention here the petty kingdoms of *Kota*, *Mountingua*, *Badara*, *Chambaya*, *Marta*, *Materte*, and several others among the mountains. It is situate almost in the midst betwixt the line and the tropick of Cancer; which makes the days here excessive hot, notwithstanding which, it is a pleasant, extraordinary fertile and healthful countrey. It is full of very fine springs, pools, rivers and channels, even as far as the mountains, but most towards the sea-side; in which it resembles the province of *Holland*, being scarce passable without boats; tho' most of their rivers are shallow, and consequently unfit for ships of burthen. Here grows great store of the best pepper, exceeding all the rest in goodness; formerly the inhabitants us'd to exchange the pepper with the foreign merchants for silver, gold, amsion and other commodities; but since the *Dutch East-India* company have made themselves masters of the kingdoms of *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Koulang*, and forc'd the *Portugueſe* from thence, they have by entering into several leagues with the neighbouring princes, got the monopoly of pepper on that coast into their hands, and have so well provided the three before mention'd places with strong fortifications and garrisons, that they are look'd upon as impregnable. Besides this, the countrey of *Malabar* is full of cocoe trees, especially in the marshes, where these trees thrive better than in any other place in the *Indies*, there being some trees here of 95 and more foot high. They drive a considerable trade with the oil and bark of this fruit, neither do they want wood fit for the building of houses and ships. The air is very pure here, and very cold in the night time, during the three months of *January*, *February* and *March*; and when the nights are very foggy, which questionless occasions the cold, the days being excessive hot. The winter begins here in *April*, or at the most in *May*, and ends in *September* or *October*, with thunder, lightnings and storms: This season produces the most fruits, by reason of the warm rains. Then begins the summer season, which continues till *April* or *May* with intolerable heat, and commonly without any rains, which renders the sandy grounds so hot, that they cannot pass over them with their bare feet, but are forced to make use of a certain sort of shoes, call'd by them *Siripous*. Every morning about nine or ten a clock, the land wind blows from the *East*, and immediately after sunset the west wind from the sea, both which contribute much towards the cooling of the air, as well here, as in all other adjacent islands. What is most observable is, that the land wind never reaches above ten leagues in the sea; an observation which has never been known to miss. The seasons here are quite of a different nature from ours, for whilst during the summer months every thing is dried up in the hot climates of *Europe*, here the fruits appear most florid and green, because this is the winter season in *Malabar*, where it rains continually for six months, during which time you not as much as see the least glimpse of the sun, but in the other six months it never rains. During the months of *October*, *November* and *December*, they are much afflicted with dreadful storms. There is another thing which is

Its divi-sion.

1662.

Its pro-ducts.

Its air.

Seasons of the year.

1662. is moſt ſurprizing here, that when it is ſummer on the coaſt of *Malabar*, it is winter on the coaſt of *Coromandel*. This is occaſioned by the mountains call'd *Gate*, which ſtop the paſſage of the winds; for whilſt on the eaſt-ſide of theſe mountains, which extend all along the coaſt of *Malabar*, they have great heats and droughts during their ſummer ſeaſon, thoſe on the weſt-ſide have their winter with violent rains. Thus on the ſouth-ſide of the cape *Comorin*, they have their ſummer during *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *Auguſt* and *September*, whilſt at the ſame time, thoſe on the north-ſide have their winter, it being very ſtormy and rainy on one, and fair and calm on the other ſide at the ſame time.

Houſes. Their ordinary houſes are of bamboe canes, cover'd with leaves of coco-trees; ſome are plaiſtered with carving, without any cellars, garrets or windows. They never lock up their houſes, becauſe their houſhold-ſtuff is not worth ſtealing, unleſs they be perſons of an eminent rank; their doors are ſo low, that you cannot enter without ſtooping, tho' they have alſo ſome houſes cover'd with lead, copper and tiles, and built otherwiſe and well fitted up, according to their faſhion; their private buildings don't approach in height to ours, they commonly have two or three apartments within one another; within the compaſs of the middlemoſt of theſe apartments is a ſmall ſquare, with ſome ſmall galleries round about it, which receive the water from the tops of the houſes. At the entrance of all their houſes, whether rich or poor, are court-yards ſurrounded with high walls and ditches, and one of ſtrong palliſadoes. Theſe court-yards are for the reception of travellers, who eat, drink and ſleep here, with more conveniency than if they were lodged within, being ready at all times to proceed on their journey when the reſt of the company goes. Their royal palaces and pagods are commonly built of ſtone, ſurrounded with a mud wall, on which are mounted ſome great cannon. Moſt of their princely palaces are erected in large ponds or lakes, ſome having a league and a half in circumference. They have moſt excellent carvings in wood, with all ſorts of images in their houſes; their ceiling is of a plain poliſh'd wood; among the marſhes are to be ſeen many ruins of old houſes, which appear to have been built many ages ago. Some tell us, that *Alexander* the great coming into thoſe parts, after he had order'd his admiral to enter by the way of the river *Ganges* the ſea, and from thence by the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, had laid theſe countries deſolate; others aſcribe this devaſtation to *Tamerlane*.

The *Malabars* eat and drink ſitting upon the ground, after the *Mahometan* faſhion, almoſt like our taylors. Their cups, diſhes and ſpoons are made of coco-nuts; people of quality have them made of metal. Inſtead of bread they uſe nothing but rice; beſides which, they feed upon fleſh, fiſh, ſpices, fruits, milk and eggs. They drink abundance of water, as likewiſe the juice of the coco-trees; ſome of which give 30 quarts of this liquor in 24 hours, but if they are drain'd too much, the trees periſh. They alſo diſtil a ſpirit call'd *Arack* out of this liquor, but it is not near ſo good nor wholſome as our brandy. When they drink they don't touch their lips with the cup, but pour the liquor from above into the mouth; ſome eat neither fleſh nor fiſh, but live purely upon the products of the ground. 1662. *How they eat and drink.*

They uſe amfion very greedily. They take the quantity or the bigneſs of a pea, this they either mix with *Arack*, or chew it alone, ſometimes till they fall aſleep; they pretend that this makes them have very preſent dreams of the *Elyſian* fields and ſuch like. When they are to attack an enemy, they take a good quantity of it, which makes them fall on like enraged wild beaſts, and the virtue of the amfion being gone, they don't remember what has paſt, which ſhews that it is very obnoxious to the memory. Some have accuſtomed themſelves to uſe amfion every day, ſome every two or three days; and before I knew the effects of it, I have been often ſurpriz'd, that they ſhould be ſo forgetful in ſuch matters as I had treated with them of before. The queen of *Koulang* aſking me once among other things, what was the reaſon the *Dutch* were more active and perſeverant than the *Malabars*, who were generally fickle and unſettled, I laid the fault upon the uſe of the amfion, telling her withal, that the *Malabars* ſhould imitate the *Dutch*, and drink wines, which uſed with moderation, did acuate the underſtanding, made the ſpirits active, and often diſcovered the truth. *They uſe amfion.*

Among theſe ſeveral ſects of the *Malabars*, that of the *Brahmans* is moſt reverenced, and maintains a peculiar manner of living. They are generally very wiſe, ready, active, modeſt and charitable, and ſtrict obſervers of their promiſes. They betake themſelves to divers employments at pleaſure; ſome are ſoldiers like the natives, and wear the ſame clothes, except that they are diſtinguiſh'd from them by the cord they wear round their middle, and abſtain from fleſh. Others are prieſts, whoſe buſineſs it is to offer ſacrifices to their idols, no other ſect being admitted to that ſervice. *The* Brahmans.

1662. Some alſo encreaſe traffick, and tho' they grow very rich, yet obſerve the ſame rules of living. Some there are among them who addict themſelves to natural philoſophy and other ſciences, but eſpecially to aſtronomy, others to phyſick and pharmacy. They eat neither fleſh nor fiſh, nor any other living creature, and drink nothing but water; nor do they ever eat before they have waſhed and bathed themſelves; which done, they only cover their privy parts, and for the reſt eat naked. They are forbidden to eat any thing but what is prepared by one of their own ſect; which makes them commonly be their own cooks; for they rather chuſe to die than eat any thing touch'd by one of another ſect; whereas all the others are at liberty to eat what is dreſs'd by a *Brahman*. They never (no more than all the other *Malabars*) touch the brim of the cup when they drink, but pour it from above into the mouth. They wear a white turbant upon their heads, red ſhoes, and a callicoe coat, which reaches down to their ankles. Over this they have another large white piece of ſtuff, which they wrap three times round their bodies, which they draw thro' betwixt their thighs, and tie it together behind upon their buttocks in a knot. They wear about the middle a girdle or ſcarf of fine white callicoe, as their turbants are, and over the ſhoulders a piece of colour'd callicoe or ſilk, as the *Europeans* do their cloaks. They alſo have long hair, with pendants in their ears. But that which diſtinguiſhes them from all the other *Malabars*, is a cord of fine cotton thread, which they wear next to their ſkin, and is put about them firſt of all in their temples with a great deal of ceremony, and not without a conſiderable charge, which is the reaſon you cannot do a greater injury to a *Brahman* than to tear this cord, which he is obliged to purchaſe again, if he will paſs for a true *Brahman*; and if any of them is to undergo any corporeal puniſhment, his cord muſt firſt be taken from him, which is likewiſe done if any of them happen to tranſgreſs the rules preſcribed to their ſect. As they paſs along the ſtreets in their white callicoe clothes, they tell ſuch as they meet that they are *Brahmans*, becauſe the cord by which they are chiefly diſtinguiſh'd is worn next to their ſkin, and conſequently not to be ſeen; when they are to take an oath, they lay the hand upon it. The *Brahman* women have holes in their noſes, in which they hang gold and ſilver rings, pearls and precious ſtones, as well as about their legs and in their ears, where they have ſilver and gold plates ſet round with precious ſtones. The wives of the *Negroes*, of the *Moncoris*, and the other *Malabars*, are not permitted to uſe theſe ornaments. 1662. They alſo wear bracelets from their wriſts up to their elbows, ſome of gold and ſilver, others of glaſs and tortoiſe-ſhell curiouſly engraven and enamell'd. Theſe women are generally handſome and well-featured, ſome of them being not inferior in complexion to the *Portugueſe* or the brown *Dutch* women. They marry very early, ſometimes before they are quite 7 or 8 years old; for the boys and girls are permitted to ſport together till they come to be in good earneſt; but they take great care not to mix themſelves with another ſect. The men are allow'd to marry twice, tho' no more than one woman at a time. Be they never ſo poor, they will be ſure to keep their rank, and to oblige ſuch as meet them to paſs by with making a bow, in token of their reverence. Thoſe among the *Brahmans* who have liſted themſelves among the *Negroes*, are in the ſame degree with them, except that they obſerve more auſterity. The *Brahmans* are in great eſteem with their kings, who keep ſome of the chiefeſt always near their perſon, to adviſe with them in all matters of moment. Thoſe of the firſt rank among the *Brahmans*, as well as other *Indian* perſons of quality, have commonly a numerous attendance; ſome of whom carry their umbrelloes, others a ſilver baſon full of *Bethel*; others one full of water; ſome are carried in palankins or chairs.

Feaſt of A Brahmans.

The *Brahmans* have, under pretence of a religious worſhip, introduced a feaſt, which furniſhes them with a certain opportunity of being revenged of their enemies. It is a cuſtom among the the *Malabar* kings once every year, *viz.* at the time of the new-moon in *October*, to remember the bleſſings they ſuppoſe they have received from their Idols, by a ſolemn ſacrifice, which is perform'd by ſetting certain houſes on fire, ſuch as are appointed by the *Brahmans*: This is commonly perform'd in the night time, without the leaſt fore-warning given, ſo that ſometimes not only the houſe, but alſo the inhabitants, with all their goods are burnt, no body daring to quench the flame. This they call *The ſacrifice of fire and blood.*

Several ſorts of Brahmans.

There live many of the *Banjans* of *Cambaya* in *Malabar*; theſe have alſo *Brahmans*, who are in great eſteem among them; the *Brahmans* of *Malabar* are allow'd to frequent their temples. The *Banjans* themſelves lead as auſtere a life as their *Brahmans*, but they are of an inferior degree, nor can they intermarry with them. In the kingdom of *Calicut* is a certain ſort of *Brahmans*, who deſpiſe all images, and live in chaſtity after the 20 or 25th year of age.

They

1662. They are ſo averſe to the female ſex, that as often as they ſtir abroad, ſome body cries out aloud before them *Poo*, *Poo*, *i. e.* keep back, keep back, to let the women know they muſt keep out of ſight. Theſe don't wear the cord twiſted of cotton thread, neither do they abſtain (like the other *Brahmans*) from fleſh, fiſh or wine; but to preſerve their chaſtity eat daily a certain quantity of the pulp of the fruit *Karuza*, being taught by experience, that the ſame has a quality of checking the venereal appetite. Neither do they bury their dead bodies like the other *Brahmans*; ſome ſtrew themſelves all over with aſhes, and are encloſed day and night in iron cages, which are ſo ſmall, that they can ſcarce ſit upright in them. Others burn or ſcald certain parts of their bodies, whereby they ſuppoſe to gain the Affections of the common people. Thus far of the *Brahmans*.

Divers ſorts of inhabitants. For the reſt it is to be obſerved, that the inhabitants of the coaſt of *Malabar* may be divided into foreigners and natives; the foreigners are properly thoſe call'd commonly *Malabars*, being a colony of *Arabians*, who have fix'd their habitations there many ages ago, near the ſea-ſide chiefly. The natives are pagans, divided into *Brahmans* or *Bramenis*, *Bramos* or *Bramen*; into the *Nairos* or *Nayros*, and into the common people call'd *Moncoris* or *Pouleas*, and otherwiſe *Parvas*. They are alſo divided into five ſeveral degrees; the firſt are the royal families, among which the houſe of *Gondormo* is one of the moſt illuſtrious; the ſecond is the ſect of the *Brahmans*, or of the prieſts. The third is the military order or nobles, call'd the *Nayros*; the fourth comprehends the merchants, and the fifth the *Parvas* or fiſhermen.

The Nayros. The *Nayros*, as I told you, are deſcended of noble families, and brought up to the war. They appear with a ſhield on their left-arm, which they carry aloft, and with a naked ſword in the right-hand. They are very haughty, and at firſt pretended to diſpute the rank with the *Portugueſe*, which occaſion'd no ſmall diſturbance, 'till the difference was agreed to be decided by a ſingle combat betwixt a *Portugueſe* and a *Nayros*, in which the laſt being worſted, the *Nayros* ever ſince were forced to give way to the *Portugueſe*; but all the other *Malabars* muſt give place to the *Nayros*. They are generally well proportion'd, tho' of a brown or olive colour; they take a ſingular pride in having long ears, which they perform by art; they bore holes thro' the ears of both boys and girls, which they fill up with palm-tree leaves roll'd together; theſe rolls they make bigger and bigger by degrees, 'till the holes are extended to the utmoſt reach the holes can bear, and hang down to their very breaſts: This is accounted one of their chiefeſt pieces of gallantry, and they adorn them with gold, ſilver and jewels. Tho' the *Nayros* are from their infancy train'd up in arms, and are very bold and brave, they are nevertheleſs very civil and meek in their converſation, according to the cuſtom of that country; notwithſtanding which they are mightily addicted to robbing upon the high-way, and will kill the travellers unawares, unleſs they be well upon their guard. This is the reaſon why the mahometan *Malabars* dwelling in this countrey, whenever they are travelling from one place to another, take one of theſe *Nayros* along with them, who is their conductor for a certain piece of money, to the next place where they take another, and by this means may paſs without any danger thro' a thouſand of *Nayros*, tho' their conductor ſhould be an old decrepit perſon, or only a boy. Theſe *Nayros* are ſtrict obſervers of the times, which are neglected by the common people, for they will not converſe with any of the inferior orders, except the *Brahmans*; nay, if any of the vulgar ſort happen only to touch a *Nayros*, as he paſſes by, he will make his ſervant that carries his meat after him, to throw it down upon the ground; nay, if they do enter their houſes, or only touch the doors and walls, they will not eat there for fear of being defiled. However the *Nayros* are not altogether ſo nice in theſe points, as the *Brahmans*. For the reſt, they are not much inclined to vice, ſodomy and inceſt; nay, the boys and girls, tho' they converſe together daily, and that without cloths, you ſhall ſeldom obſerve in them either in word or action, any thing that ſavours of uncleanneſs. The *Nayros* ſcarce ever laugh, and that not but upon extraordinary occaſions; and if they ſee others laugh, they will look downward. Thoſe *Nayros* who are watching at the town gates, and ſerve for conductors to travellers, are the pooreſt of all, yet will they rather follow this employment than a trade, which they look upon below their quality. They apply themſelves from their infancy to the uſe of arms, and frequently fight together with ſwords and targets, which renders them infinitely active at that ſport. They are the beſt wreſtlers in the world, and are very nimble on foot. They attack their enemies quite naked, their privities being only covered. Their arms are bows, arrows, javelins, ſwords and ſhields; theſe are very large, which they uſe with the utmoſt dexterity to cover their bodies. On the hilt of their ſwords they have ſmall plates of metal, which

1626.

1662. which makes a noiſe when they are a fighting, and ſerves to animate them. Since the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* have got footing there, they have alſo learn'd the uſe of fire-arms to that degree, that they will turn right and left, and give a volley of ſhot with the ſame order as the *Europeans* do.

Their marriages. One *Nayros* is not allow'd more than one Wife at a time, but the women in this point have got the ſtart of the men, they being permitted to have three huſbands at once; except that a woman of the ſect of the *Brahmans* that is married to a *Nryros* is not allow'd more than one. Each of theſe three huſbands contribute their ſhare towards the maintenance of this woman and her children, without the leaſt conteſt or jealouſy. As often as any of them comes to viſit her, he leaves his arms at the door, a ſign that neither of the other two muſt come in, for fear of diſturbing the firſt. From hence the poorer ſort reap this benefit, that they have the uſe of a wife, yet contribute only the third part towards the maintaining of the family; tho' on the other hand this carries along with it a great inconveniency concerning the inheritance of their children, which they recompenſe in ſome meaſure, by making the ſiſter's children the heirs of their uncles. The *Nayros* employ the common people in the countrey and other drudgeries, but in their houſes they make uſe of none but *Nayros* (or gentlemen) tho' very poor, who are willing to ſerve them for their bread. The vulgar ſort are all clad after the ſame manner, being quite naked except that they have a ſmall girdle round their waſte, on which they hang a piece of callicoe, or perhaps of the bark of a tree, or a few leaves to cover their privities. The women wear a kind of veſtment of callicoe, which reaches down to their knees, and have very long hair; whereas the men are obliged to cut their hair cloſe, except one truſs which they keep on the crown of their head. All the *Malabars* have black teeth, occaſion'd by the continual chewing of the leaves of *Bethel:* Black teeth are in great eſteem among them, becauſe thoſe that don't chaw *Bethel*, are conſidered here as of a mean extraction. The *Malabars* are ſaid to be much addicted to ſorcery, who are able to kill people as they paſs by or at leaſt throw them into a lingring diſtemper. They are extremely covetous, and will venture at any thing for a ſmall gain. The women are generally unchaſte, the young women about 17 or 18, being obliged by cuſtom to diſpoſe of their maidenheads, for no body cares to marry a maiden here, but ſuch as have been beſt beloved, ſooneſt meet with a huſband. The *Malabars* have great ſtore of great artillery, muſkets and pikes; nay, their arms were in more eſteem than thoſe of the *Portugueſe*, only they did not know the art of hardning their armour: They now make very good and ſtrong gun-barrels and gun-powder. The children of the *Nayros* are from the ſeventh year of their age exerciſed in arms, and train'd up to the wars; but every one betakes himſelf to one peculiar kind of arms, it being their opinion, that they cannot excel in the uſe of all. They anoint the limbs of their young children every day with a certain oil, to make their joints pliable; for when they forced to fly, they put their greateſt confidence in the agility of their bodies, and will in an inſtant turn back upon their enemies, and attack them in the rear; beſides, that in their flight they throw their javelins backward with great dexterity, and as ſoon as they have thrown their darts, they know how to ſhelter themſelves behind their ſhields. 1662.

The Amokos. Tho' the *Nayros* in general are very good ſoldiers, yet there is a certain kind among them call'd *Amokos*, who are eſteemed above all the reſt, being a company of ſtout, bold and deſperate bravadoes. They oblige themſelves by moſt direful imprecations againſt themſelves and their families, calling heaven to witneſs, that they will revenge certain injuries done to their friends or patrons, which they certainly purſue with ſo much intrepidity, that they ſtop neither at fire nor ſword, to take vengeance of the death of their maſter, but like mad men run upon the point of their enemies ſwords, which makes them be generally dreaded by all, and makes them to be in great eſteem with their kings, who are accounted the more potent, the greater number they entertain of thoſe *Amokos*; tho' this their fool-hardineſs is chiefly attributed to the exceſſive uſe of the amfion. You ſee the ſtreets of all the towns on the *Malabar* coaſt full of *Nayros*, with their arms always about them, tho' many of them dwell in the countrey, and a good number are kept near the king's perſon. Moſt perſons of quality here maintain ſome of thoſe they call *Janguys*. If a quarrel happens to ariſe betwixt a *Nayros* and another *Malabar*, the king allows the the latter a guard of another *Nayros*, and as long as he ſtays with him, they dare not fight, the firſt aggreſſor being guilty of high-treaſon; for perſons of the chiefeſt rank, if they will be admitted in the number of the *Nayros*, muſt have the king's peculiar leave for it, and are afterwards diſtinguiſh'd by a gold ring they wear on the right arm, or by a buffler's horn. The *Nayroes* frequently hunt the tigers, ſome apply themſelves to philoſophy, but eſpecially

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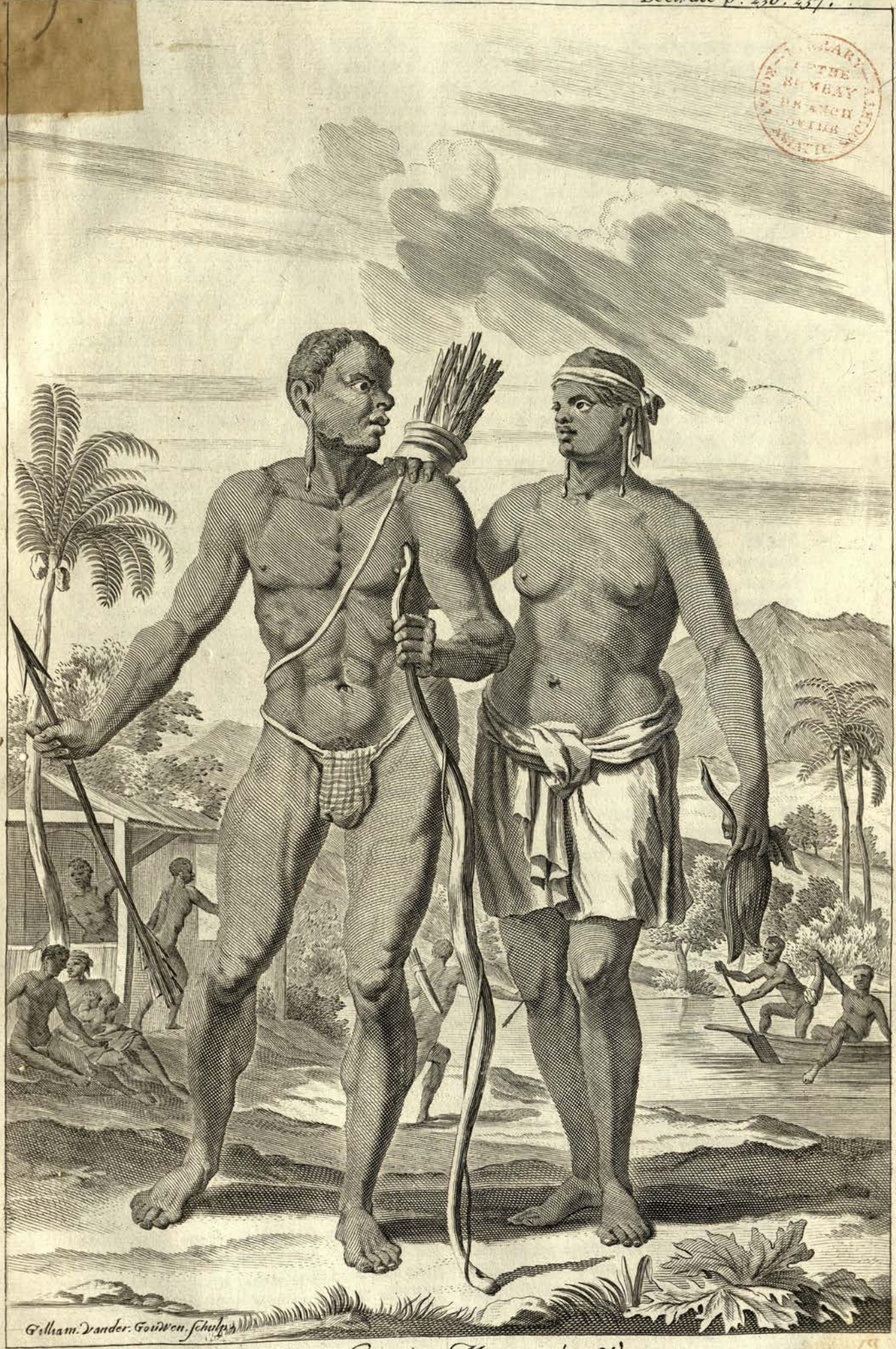
Betwixt p. 236. 237.



A Malabar Man and Wooman

1662. pecially aſtronomy, but never to traffick or any handicraft trade. They eat all ſorts of meat, except cows fleſh, and are very fond of pork. They go above half naked, with bare heads and feet, having only a large piece of white callicoe wrapt round their middle, which reaches down to their knees, and is drawn thro' betwixt their thighs, and tied together behind above their buttocks. They wear alſo a red ſilken ſcarf, with a fringe of about half a foot long, being half gold and half ſilk. They let their hair grow very long, without ever cutting it, by which they are diſtinguiſh'd from the common people; they have a way of tying it very neatly together in a puff on the crown of their heads. Their ſhield they carry on the left arm, and their ſword in the right hand; ſome have alſo a javelin, muſket or pike. The *Nayros* women are clothed after the ſame manner as the men, ſo that there is not the leaſt diſtinction to be ſeen betwixt boys and the girls, till the breaſts begin to appear in the laſt. They are forbid to marry any other perſon but of the ſame rank, and but one at a time; and in caſe a *Nayros* woman ſhould marry another, except a *Nayros*, ſhe inſtantly forfeits her head; in the ſame manner, if a *Nayros* ſhould marry a woman of another tribe but a *Nayros*, he is puniſhed with death. This they have provided againſt, becauſe they would not have their blood mixt with ſtrangers or thoſe of an inferior rank, of which they are ſo cautious, that they will not as much as ſuffer any to approach them; for which reaſon, when they walk abroad, they cry out aloud to the common people, *Popoire*, keep back; for if any of theſe ſhould touch a *Nayros*, he would certainly ruin him.

The common people of Malabar.

The common people of *Malabar* call'd *Moncois* or *Poulias*, or otherwiſe *Parvas* or *Parivas*, are a wretched ſort of ſlaves; they are blacker and much uglier than the *Nayros*, neither muſt their ears hang down above three inches at moſt. They are again of different kinds, for thoſe inhabiting near the ſea-ſhore, are properly call'd *Moncois*; theſe are all fiſhermen, and all along the coaſt of *Malabar* are employed at ſea in rowing and otherwiſe for certain wages. Their wives and daughters perform all manner of drudgery by land, and expoſe themſelves for money to the firſt man, without the leaſt diſtinction of quality or religion, without the leaſt fear from their huſbands, who are well enough pleaſed at it. For it is to be known, that there are no common ſtrumpets here, but the wives and daughters of theſe *Moncois*, and of the *Tivas*, who are handicrafts men; for the reſt are obliged to contain themſelves within their own tribes. The common people 1662. are often put to a great nonplus when they happen to meet a *Nayros* at the corner of a ſtreet, when they are fain to ſtand aſide till they are paſſed by. There is another kind among the vulgar ſort, call'd by ſome *Tivas*, whoſe employment is to draw the liquor from the coco-trees: The reſt are handicraft and huſbandmen. But theſe intermarry with one another, notwithſtanding there is ſome difference in their rank; for the huſbandmen claim the firſt, and the *Tivas* or handicrafts men the ſecond degree; the *Moncois* or fiſhermen are the laſt.

The Parvas.

Thoſe call'd *Parivas* or *Parvas* live in villages near the ſea ſide; ſome of theſe live near the coaſt, and in the iſle of *Makar*, where, as well as near *Toutekorin*, betwixt the cape *Comorin* and the iſle of *Ceylon*, they live upon pearl fiſhing; they are a ſtubborn generation, more addicted to lazineſs than labour; they live chiefly upon pearl and oyſter fiſhing, being the beſt divers in the world, unto which they are accuſtom'd from their firſt infancy. Whilſt the men are abroad at ſea, the women and children are employ'd in gathering of pearl duſt near the ſhore. They are a cowardly and deceitful ſort of people, lying and deceit being ſo cuſtomary among them, as not to be look'd upon as a ſin. They are great admirers of the eccleſiaſtical laws, it being a ſtrict cuſtom among them, not to puniſh a crime, if the tranſgreſſor confeſſes it and promiſes amendment. The *Parvas* were formerly all *Pagans*, but being ſorely oppreſſed by the *Mahometans*, they rebell'd againſt them, and with the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*, ſhook off the yoke, which proved the opportunity of their converſion to the *Romiſh* religion.

How they were converted to the Roman *faith.*

For finding themſelves daily more and more oppreſs'd, by the advice of one *John de Cruis* (a native of *Malabar*) they ſent their deputies to *Cochin*, to crave aſſiſtance againſt the mahometans, offering at the ſame time to be baptized. The *Portugueſe* receiv'd theſe *Pantagitini* (being then their magiſtrates) very courteouſly promiſing them immediate ſuccours againſt their enemies, which had ſo powerful an influence upon theſe deputies, that to ſhew their gratitude, they receiv'd baptiſm immediately, and took upon them the ſurname of *De Cruis*, which name is retain'd by many of the *Parvas* to this day. After the *Parvas* had rid their hands of the *Moors*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*, and got the pearl fiſhery again into their hands, many thouſands of them, at divers times and places, embraced the chriſtian faith; and under the viceroyſhip of *Stephen Gamma* the *Portugueſe*, *viz.* about 1500, above

1662. *Return to paganiſm.*

20000 *Parvas* received baptiſm; but for want of good miniſters, who underſtood the *Malabar* tongue (few of the *Portugueſe* clergy being willing to ſettle here) they ſoon return'd to their pagan ſuperſtions, having ſcarce any thing left among them but the name of chriſtians, till *Francis Xaverius* (who arrived in the *Indies* 1540, and went by the name of the great and holy father) being inform'd by *Michael Vas* of the miſerable condition of the *Parvas*, reſolv'd to go thither from *Goa*, to re-eſtabliſh the decay'd ſtate of chriſtianity among the *Parvas*. Accordingly he ſet out from *Goa* (after a ſtay of five months there) in the beginning of *October* 1543, in company of *Francis Manſilla*, who was come along with him out of *Portugal*, and two novices of the college of *Goa*, who underſtood the *Malabar* tongue. After his arrival at the eaſt end of that coaſt, near the cape *Comorin*, finding that his young interpreters ſtood him but in little ſtead, he found out this expedient; he call'd together ſuch of the natives, as he knew to be well verſed in the *Portugueſe* tongue; among thoſe he choſe certain perſons, who join'd with thoſe two he had brought along with him from *Goa*, tranſlated the chief articles of the chriſtian faith, the ten commandmets, with a ſhort explication, a general confeſſion of faith, and ſome other ſuch like neceſſary matters into the *Malabar* tongue. Then he began to preach to them according to the capacity of his auditors, explaining to them the chief duties of a chriſtian, the glory of heaven, and the puniſhment of hell, with the reaſon, why ſome deſerve heaven, and the other hell. He explain'd afterwards to them the ſign of the croſs, and began to unfold to them the myſtery of the holy trinity, of which they had been quite ignorant before, and made ſuch a progreſs among them, that whereas at his coming thither he found not above 2500 demi-chriſtians, at his going away he left near 40000 good chriſtians behind him. *Xaverius* himſelf in his letter dated the 12th of *Jan.* 1554, ſpeaks of the vaſt increaſe of the chriſtians in thoſe parts, ſaying thus:

Are reconciled to the church by Xaverius.

King, you may gueſs what a great number of theſe poor people were reduced back to the flock of Chriſt from thence, that my arms and hands uſed to be tired with baptizing, ſometimes whole villages at a time. My ſtrength and voice have often failed me, by reaſon of the frequent repetitions of the articles of faith.

The *Romaniſts* tell us, that beſides theſe, *Xaverius* converted ten towns betwixt *Bringen* and *Permanel* (and ſix or ſeven more near *Bengala* and *Remanankoris.*) This they ſay he performed by his miracles, by healing the ſick, caſting out demons, and raiſing the dead from their graves. He raiſed a certaing young man, the ſon of a poor widow, who was choak'd in the mud, from the dead. The ſame he did to another young man, the ſon of a perſon of quality in the city of *Puvicale*, and to a young maid. Another woman in labour, being reduced to the laſt gaſp, he deliver'd without the leaſt pain, as ſoon as ſhe had received baptiſm. By his miracles he converted a whole village at once, near *Toutekorin*; ſo that both chriſtians and pagans uſed to have their laſt recourſe to him in their ſickneſſes, many of which he reſtored by reading the goſpel over them; as may be ſeen more at large in the life of *Xaverius*, of *John de Lucenas*, and other *Roman* authors. 1662.

But whatever ſucceſs *Xaverius* had in converting the *Parvas* and others to the chriſtian religion, certain it is, that he brought no more than one *Brahman* over to the *Romiſh* faith, tho' he beſtow'd much time and pains in ſpeaking to them. And among the *Parvas* themſelves are many to this day, who adhere ſo deeply to their pagan ſuperſtitions, that they make but little account of chriſtianity. However, thoſe that have ever ſince perſevered in the *Romiſh* faith, are from time to time furniſh'd with and inſtructed by the *Portugueſe* prieſts; who ever ſince 1685, when we made ourſelves maſters of *Toutekorin*, lived about a league or two from the town in the countrey, whither they carry their children to be baptized. They are very obſtinate in their religion, which extends no farther than the knowledge of the chriſtian faith, our father, the ten commandments and an *Ave Mary*, but they follow blind-fold the directions of the *Portugueſe* prieſts, carry *Pater Noſters* and a roſary conſtantly about them, and uſe the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads and breaſts, like as the *Roman* catholicks do. The *Dutch* miniſters of the proteſtant religion, have ſeveral times attempted to introduce the reformation into the churches of the *Parvas*, both before and ſince we were maſters of *Toutekorin*, but all in vain; for tho' we cauſed the word of God to be preached in the *Portugueſe* tongue, the *Parvas* durſt not venture to come to church for fear of the *Roman* prieſts living among them. Theſe *Parvas* declared to *Xaverius* and *Michael Jaſſus*, in thoſe days, that whilſt they were yet involv'd in darkneſs of paganiſm, the devil uſed to appear to them in moſt frightful ſhapes, ſo that they durſt not ſtir abroad at night, or go a fiſhing, unleſs in great companies. He us'd to enter into the bodies of thé living, and declared he would not leave them, till they had erected

1662. temples for him. But ſince they had embraced the chriſtian religion, the devil never had appear'd either in their houſes or veſſels, tho' they freely went abroad a fiſhing without any company. *Xaverius* having exhorted them to perſevere in their religion, ſet out from thence to *Makarara* and the adjacent places, and ſo further to the iſle of *Ceylon*.

The Mahometan Malabars.

All the *Mahometan Malabars* are either merchants or pirates; if any foreigners come into the harbours where theſe pirates lie, they endeavour to engage them into their ſervice; which if they accept of, they maintain them and their families throughout the whole winter; when they are juſt a going to engage an enemy, they take ſome *Bethel*, by which they ſwear to ſtand by one another; if they take a prize, they ranſack the ſhip, and all the mariners and paſſengers before they come aſhore; the captain and other officers take the beſt part for themſelves, the reſt is divided among the crew. Theſe poor wretches endure incredible fatigues and miſeries at ſea, and tho' they have no head that has any legal authority over them, they ſeldom fall out or quarrel, a thing ſcarce to be believ'd among us. Several of the richer ſort of the *Malabars* equip certain veſſels, with a good number of ſoldiers and galley ſlaves, which always keep at ſea, except that now and then the captain comes aſhore to diſpoſe of the booty, which the merchants buy without any regard, whether they belong to friends or foes, provided they can have a good bargain; the *Mahometan Malabars* knowing no other preference but riches: the merchants are diſtinguiſh'd only by their habits; both theſe and the corſairs being never to be ſeen without arms; but the merchants wear their hair ſhort, and have a bonnet of red ſcarlet cloth upon their heads, ſometimes with a handkerchief rowl'd about it like a turbant, which they call *Mondu*, and are commonly embroider'd with gold and colour'd ſilk. They half ſhave their beard, but without whiſkers, wear a ſilk or callicoe veſt, reaching three inches below the middle, and under that a kind of drawers hanging down to the knees. They commonly carry a ſilk or callicoe handkerchief flouriſh'd, in which they tie and hide their purſes. The corſairs never ſhave their heads, but wear their hair very long, like the women, which they like the reſt of the *Indians*, tie together in a knot, and wear one of theſe flouriſh'd and embroider'd handkerchiefs over it; for the reſt they go quite naked, except that they wear a ſilk veſtment down to their knees; both the merchants and corſairs have knives with ſilver hafts, on which hang all ſorts of toys, ſuch as tooth-picks and the like, all curiouſly wrought. 1662.

The corſairs ſhave their beards, but leave whiſkers, which in time grow exceſſively, that ſo one may tie them together behind. Theſe, as well as all the *Malabars* uſe no ſhoes. Their women are clad like the men, neither do they wear any other ornament upon their heads but their hair, but have pendants in their ears, and rings on their fingers and toes. They wear a ſlight callicoe coat, reaching only to the middle, and under it a ſilk or callicoe veſtment, from the middle down to their knees; they walk bare-footed like the men. All the *Malabars* are of a middle ſize, and very hairy upon the breaſt and other parts of their bodies. The women are very well featured, but ſmall of ſtature. Their men undergo incredible fatigues at ſea, and tho' they are *Mahometans* they uſe the *Malabar* tongue, and pay allegiance and taxes to the ſeveral kings of the *Nayros*, under whom they live, which is commonly near the ſea ſhore. Their prieſts never meddle with any thing except marriages, and what relates to their temples. They are clad in white, after the *Arabian* manner; beſides which, they have a certain kind of religious men call'd *Abedallen*, or *miniſters of God*, who vow poverty, and beg in the countrey: You may ſee ſometimes 30 or 40 of them together, tho' they travel not above two or three at a time, and ſometimes one alone.

Government of Malabar.

The countrey of *Malabar* was formerly under the ſubjection of one potent prince, *Sarama Perimal*, who at the perſuaſion of ſome *Arabian* merchants that traded thither, having embraced mahometiſm, became ſo great a zealot of that religion, that he reſolved to leave his kingdom, and to undertake a pilgrimage to *Meccha* and *Medina*, to viſit *Mahomet*'s tomb: And having no children, divided before his departure the whole countrey, betwixt his chief favourites and courtiers, to wit, the countrey of *Cananor* to his Eſquire; to his ſword-bearer, who was his darling favourite, *Calicut*; to his ſcepter-bearer *Cochin*; and to another *Koulang*, unto which he annexed the title of kingdoms, and gave ſeveral other countries to others of his friends. Upon his ſword-bearer, who had *Calicut* for his ſhare, he beſtowed the title of *Zamory* or *Zamorin*, or emperor, and to have a prehemineney above the reſt: For *Zamorin* ſignifies in the *Indian* tongue as much as an emperor, being otherwiſe expreſs'd by the word *Tambarana*, i. e. *God*, which is the reaſon that all the other *Malabar* countries follow the religious ceremonies of thoſe of *Calicut*, as being the chiefeſt kingdom of *Malabar*.

1662. *Malabar.* From hence it is, that the *Zamorin* claims the preheminence before all the other *Malabar* kings, he having alone the prerogative of coining. The two next in rank were the kings of *Koulang* and *Cananor*; beſides which, many other petty princes on the coaſt of *Malabar* claim the title of kings, tho' they are not really ſo, nor enjoy the prerogative of coining. The *Zamorin*, or king of *Calicut* loſt a conſiderable ſhare of his luſtre, after the coming of the *Portugueſe* into thoſe parts, with whoſe aſſiſtance the king of *Cochin* freed himſelf from all ſubjection formerly due to the kings of *Calicut*, and ſoon after arrived to that pitch of greatneſs, that they thought themſelves not in any wiſe inferior to the *Zamorins*, and waged continual war againſt them. Nevertheleſs moſt of the petty *Malabar* kings, and the *Nayros* are vaſſals of the *Zamorin*, and never ſpeak of him but with a great deal of reverence, except the king of *Cochin*; and the king of *Koulang* being the moſt remote of all, pays the *Zamorin* leſs reſpect than any of the reſt: However, all the kings of *Malabar* are ſovereigns in their own dominions. The *Malabar* kings never marry, but maintain a concubine of a noble family, who lives commonly in the ſame palace; if they happen to diſagree, another is taken in her place, tho' they are ſo modeſt as ſeldom to change their bedfellows.

The ſons born from theſe concubines are not regarded as king's children, neither do they ſucceed in their territories or eſtates, but are heirs only to their mothers, except what money the kings are pleaſed to beſtow freely upon them, to make them live with the more luſtre among other gentlemen: But the king's ſiſters ſons inherit their dominions. Theſe ſiſters don't marry no more than the kings, but are at liberty to chuſe a gallant, ſuch a one as they like beſt. If they have three or four ſons, and two or three daughters, the eldeſt ſon ſucceeds the king his uncle, and the other brother after him. After their deceaſe, the ſucceſſion goes to the eldeſt ſon of the king's ſecond ſiſter, and to his brothers afterwards. After their deceaſe, the ſons of the other ſiſters are the next heirs to the crown, ſo that the ſucceſſion deſcends from the brothers to their ſiſters ſons. If it happens that the king's ſiſters bear no ſons, the chief men of the kingdom elect a king who is next of kin, but for want of ſuch a one, chuſe whom they pleaſe. When the king's ſiſters are arrived to age of maturity, *viz.* to their 13 or 14 years, they pitch upon one of the nobility whom they like beſt; unto whom, after they have made him conſiderable preſents, they ſend word that he is choſen to get her maiden-head, and to get her with child. The young noble man accoſts her the firſt time with a great deal of reſpect and ceremony, and after having tied a very fine jewel about her neck, he diverts himſelf in private for ſome days with her, and ſo returns home: If ſhe proves with child, it is well, if not, ſhe commonly chuſes ſome *Brahman* or other to try his ſtrength whether he can get her with child. When a *Malabar* king dies, the corps is burnt three days after. All his ſubjects, from the next ſucceſſor to the meaneſt child, ſhave themſelves from head to foot, leaving no hair, except what is on the eye-brows and eye-lids. They are alſo obliged to abſtain from the uſe of *Bethel* for the ſpace of 13 days, and if any one ſhould be found to chew *Bethel* during that time, they cut off his lips. During theſe 13 days they dare eat neither fiſh nor fleſh, and the fiſhermen are forbidden to fiſh upon pain of death. Conſiderable alms are given to the poor out of the king's coffers, and the *Brahmans* are provided with victuals at the publick charge. After the expiration of theſe 13 days, every one is at liberty to eat what he pleaſes, except the new king, who is tied to the ſame rules for a whole year after; during which time, he muſt neither have the hair of his head or of his body cut, nor pare his nails: He is obliged to ſay certain prayers every morning, and muſt eat but once a day. Some time before dinner he bathes himſelf, which done, he muſt forbear to caſt his eyes upon any body till after he has taken food. Towards the latter end of this mourning year, his next ſucceſſor in the kingdom, the other princes of the royal blood, and other perſons of the chiefeſt quality attend the new king, and pay their homage to him, in the preſence of many thouſands; at which time the new king declares his next ſucceſſor, and the others each in his degree; which done, he confirms the lords there preſent in their reſpective places and offices. He that is declared the next ſucceſſor to any new king, is oblig'd from that time not to appear at court as long as the king lives; but thoſe princes who are to ſucceed him may continue there. Before the above-mentioned 13 days are expired, the new king has not the leaſt authority in the kingdom, which they take for a general maxim here, to ſee whether any body elſe will lay claim to the ſucceſſion: But, after the expiration of this time, the great men of the kingdom, and chief officers of ſtate, engage the new king by a ſolemn oath, to maintain the laws made by his predeceſſor, to pay his debts, and to endeavour the recovery of the territories loſt

Burning of the Malabar kings.

1662. under the reigns of his predeceſſors. Whilſt he takes the oath he lays his right hand upon an oil caſk, in which are ſet up many lighted wicks, and with a drawn ſword, which he holds in his left, touches a jewel ſet in gold within the caſk. This done, they ſtrew rice upon his head with a great deal of ceremony, and certain forms of prayers, turning their faces to the ſun. In the ſame manner, all the princes of the blood, and other great men ſwear fealty to the new king. During the firſt 13 days after the king's deceaſe, the ſole adminiſtration of the government is lodged in the lord chancellor, who has alſo the management of the treaſury, without whom the king cannot take or diſpoſe of the publick money, unleſs it be in caſe of the greateſt neceſſity. It is alſo the chancellor who puts the king's mandates in execution. The firſt in rank next to the king are thoſe call'd by them *Kaimales*, then the *Brahmans*, who are in great eſteem in thoſe courts, the king of *Calicut* himſelf being of that ſect, and wearing the twiſted cord. After the *Brahmans* come the *Nayros*, or military order, the true off-ſpring of their ancient nobility; then come the vulgar or common people, call'd *Moukois*, or *Poulias*, or *Parvas*: The king is the only judge here, before whom are brought all ſuch as have committed any crime, or refuſe to pay their debts: In his abſence certain great men of the court determine all affairs of any moment; but if a difference ariſes betwixt two or more *Moukois* or any ſtrangers, he that thinks himſelf aggrieved, makes his complaint to the next *Nayros* he meets, who is obliged to do him juſtice immediately, without receiving any reward, unleſs the plaintiff will voluntarily give him a preſent: This holds in matters of ſmall conſequence, for all matters of moment are decided before the king in perſon. Their ordinary puniſhments are impriſonments, or the loſs of a joint of a limb; if the crime be capital the malefactor is thrown to the elephants. They have no other priſons but what are in the royal palaces. In caſe of any difference betwixt two *Pagans*, when the truth is to be verified by a ſolemn oath, they put one hand into boiling oil, or elſe lay hold of a piece of red hot iron; ſometimes they ſwim croſs a river ſwarming with venomous creatures; it being their opinion, that if they have ſpoke the whole truth, they ſhall not receive any hurt; but the trial with the hot iron is moſt generally received. When the *Malabar* kings or their governors intend to inflict a puniſhment upon the inhabitants of a certain place, they ſurround it with wooden ſtakes like an encloſure, out of which they muſt not ſtir, neither may they buy or ſell, or have the leaſt communication with others, till the ſame be removed again under pain of death. This is ſometimes done alſo before the doors of private perſons.

A peculiar way of taking an oath.

1662.

All the *Pagans* here, as well *Brahmans* as the *Nayros* and *Moukois*, burn the carcaſſes of their deceaſed friends; tho' this was more univerſally practis'd before the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* introduced and ſettled the chriſtian religion here. They take peculiar care to provide in their life-time as much fine ſcented wood and other precious drugs as they think requiſite for the burning of their bodies to aſhes, which is afterwards divided among their relations and friends, who preſerve them, and at their feſtivals mix them with water, and paint their faces with them. When a *Brahman* happens to die, his widow is obliged, as a demonſtration of her affection towards her deceas'd huſband, to burn herſelf; this is commonly done under the noiſe of ſeveral muſical inſtruments, to ſuppreſs the doleful outcries of the dying perſon, and in the preſence of their next kindred. However they may excuſe themſelves as to this point if they pleaſe, but then they are branded with infamy, their hair is cut off cloſe, which they muſt not let grow to any length again; they are excluded from the ſociety of other women, nor are allow'd to marry again. Notwithſtanding which, many chuſe rather to diſpenſe with theſe diſadvantages than to burn themſelves. The wives of the *Nayros* are not obliged to this cuſtom, tho' there are not wanting inſtances, that they have thrown themſelves into the flames which conſum'd their huſband's carcaſs; the men are not engaged to mourn for their wives, except that they are forbidden to marry again.

Their funerals.

The marriages of the richer and better ſort are celebrated here with a great deal of ſolemnity; the firſt thing they do after matters are agreed betwixt them, is to repair to the *Pagode* or temple, where the prieſts perform certain ceremonies; after this, the friends and relations of the new married couple, both men and women, lead the bride for 15 days conſecutively to the bridegroom's houſe, where they are entertain'd at his charge; moſt of the women ſinging and playing upon flutes, ſmall drums, and other muſical inſtruments; the bride and bridegroom are placed together very richly attir'd, eſpecially with jewels, to ſuch an exceſs, that they have been computed to amount ſometimes to 200000 crowns. The room is hung with fine ſilk hangings interwoven with gold; and among other things, a plate with *Bethel* offer'd to every one there preſent; nay, even to thoſe that are ſtrangers; towards the

Their marriages.

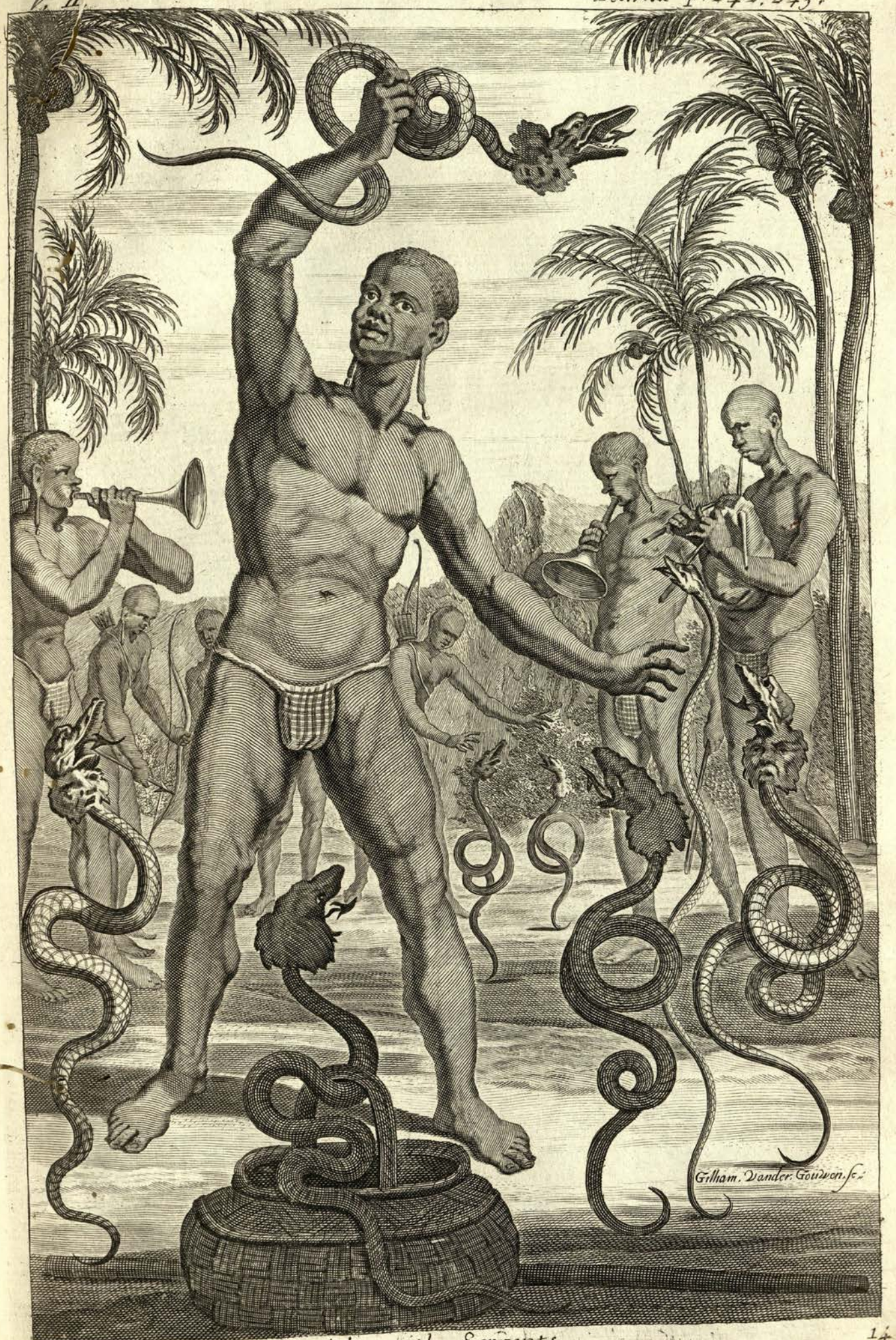
1662. the evening the women reconduct the bride to her houſe. At the expiration of the 15 days, the bride and bridegroom are mounted on an elephant richly accouter'd, ſo as to face one another; the elephant is led by a *Nayros*, and ſurrounded by the friends and relations on foot; thus they are conducted thro' the whole city, and are ſure always to ſtop at the doors of any of their neareſt kinfolks, relations or particular friends, who preſent them with *Bethel*, fruits and ſweet meats, and anoint the head of the elephant with ſweet ſcented waters; they are very careful not to miſs any of their friends houſes, for if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, they would look upon it as a ſignal affront. When they come to the *Pagode* they diſmount, and after they have tarried there for ſome time, return to the bride's houſe, where the marriage is conſummated, each of the gueſts being obliged to preſent the *Nayros* that led the elephant with a coco nut.

They begin their new year in *September*, but have no fix'd day, which they regulate according to the deciſion of the aſtrologers and conjurers, who pretend to find out by their art the very hour which is likely to be the moſt fortunate for the beginning of the year. All thoſe that are above 15 years of age cover their faces that day, for fear of caſting their eyes upon any thing; thus they are led by children to the temple, where uncovering themſelves, they fix their eyes upon what object they find directly before them; if this happen to be an idol (which their temples are full of) they have a peculiar veneration for it, they look upon it as a good omen that the next year will prove proſperous to them.

Their writing. All over *Malabar* they uſe a peculiar language call'd by them *Malkama*. Paper they have none, but inſtead of it write upon the leaves of the wild coco-trees, with an iron pencil or pen; which contain not only their religious ceremonies, but likewiſe the whole ſeries of their moſt antient hiſtories. Theſe leaves they cut all in the ſame ſhape of the breadth of two inches, and two hands length; of theſe they lay together as many as they think fit, and put a ſmall ſtick thro' them on the top; which done, they faſten the ſtick on both ends to the leaves with a pack-thread, which they looſen as often as they have occaſion to peruſe them. Each of theſe leaves is call'd *Ola* by the *Malabars*. They exceed all the *European* writers in ſwiftneſs, which they perform with that dexterity, as to turn their faces frequently from the leaves, and to entertain others with talking whilſt they are writing. The *Malabar* tongue is very difficult to be learn'd, by reaſon of its multitude of words, one and the ſame thing being expreſs'd by different terms; nay, each day throughout the year is diſtinguiſh'd by a peculiar name. Several *Portugueſe* jeſuites have attempted to give us an inſight into the *Malabar* tongue, and among the reſt father *Gaſpar Aquilar*. They have their peculiar letters, which are very ancient, and reſembling the *Syriack* characters. 1662.

Their religious worſhip. The inhabitants of *Malabar*, as we told you before, are either natives, or deſcended from foreigners; the laſt of which being firſt come thither out of *Arabia*, are *Mahometans*, as the natives are *Pagans*. Some are of opinion, that all the kings of *Malabar* follow one and the ſame religion, but that their ſubjects are divided into 18 ſeveral ſects; but, as far as ever I could learn by the moſt exact enquiry I was able to make, all the natives of *Malabar*, as well *Brahmans* as *Nayros* and *Moukois*, perform their religious worſhip in the ſame manner; for they adore their idols, and the ſun, as they riſe in the morning. In their temples you ſee a golden cow, or ſome other image, unto which they pay their devotions; which is the reaſon that neither the *Brahmans*, *Nayros* nor *Moukois* will kill this beaſt, but pay ſuch reverence to it, that they paint the walls of their houſes with its dung mix'd with water; thus, when the king of *Calicut* is to bathe himſelf, fifteen maids with cow-dung in their ſilver baſons, plaiſter the rooms with it thro' which he is to paſs twice aday. Their chief God they call *Parabramma*, with three ſons near him, in remembrance of which the *Brahmans* wear a cord twiſted of three threads on their bare ſkin. They not only worſhip man, but, as I told you, the beaſts alſo, and erected temples for them, exceeding in magnificence thoſe of the ancient *Romans*. There is one temple dedicated to the ape, the gallery of which is ſupported by 700 marble columns. Beſides the cow they pay likewiſe a godly veneration to the elephant, it being their opinion, that the ſouls of men tranſmigrate into thoſe beaſts. They have many books, which contain an account of their religious ceremonies, much reſembling the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* fables. The prieſts and *Brahmans* keep theſe books from the ſight of the vulgar, theſe being their oracles, unto which they have recourſe for their prophecies, to blind theſe poor wretches, as has been confeſs'd by ſome converted *Brahmans*. They make however much more account of religion than the *Nayros*; for they daily provide (at the king's charge) a conſiderable quantity of boil'd rice in their temples.

Betwixt p. 242. 243.



A Malabar Shewing tricks with Serpents.

1662. temples, which is distributed among the poor, or given to any body else that will ask for it, this being not look'd upon as ignominious among them. They keep continually burning lamps in their temples, and their prophets are almost cover'd with bells, which when they dance and make other awkard postures make a great noise; the *Moukois* have their own temples, which are nastily kept; they don't frequent them above once a month, *viz.* at the new moon, because they can spare no more time from their daily labour: At the entrance, each of them is presented with some ashes mix'd with water. The *Nayros* go commonly once a day to their temples, where each mutters out a short prayer; these temples are dispos'd throughout the whole countrey, and are most frequented at certain days, when they repair thither with a great deal of devotion; some for 20 or 30 leagues, for they have their appointed feasts, but two or three before all the rest. The chiefest is that of the new-years day, when the *Nayros* come to pay their reverence to the king, who receives them standing at a window, and throws a certain quantity of *Bethel* to each, and some gold and silver among them, as well as the rest of his subjects that appear there.

The *Malabar* kings, *Brahmans* and *Nayros*, pay likewise their devotions to serpents, which they consider as evil spirits made by God to torment mankind for their sins. You meet here with certain vagabonds who carry serpents in a basket, with some bran for their food, hanging on a stick, carried on the shoulders of two fellows; some of these serpents are six, seven or nine foot long, of a grass green colour, and not above an inch thick; some are very large and bulky, with grey spots; so soon as these *Malabar* vagabonds begin to play upon a certain instrument like a bagpike, the serpents set themselves upright upon their tails, twist themselves in a most surprizing manner, and soon after raise their fins or bristles, which are near the head, and fall on with such fury, as if they would tear one another to pieces, to the no small terror of the spectators.

The Malleans. On the tops of the high rocky mountains of *Malabar* (on the foot of which live the christians of *St. Thomas*) dwells a certain nation call'd the *Malleans*, they have a pretty good tillage about 13 or 14 leagues from *Madura* call'd *Priata*. According to the description given us by *Plutarch* and *Curtius*, and the resemblance of their names, these may not unlikely be the same mention'd by them as the most warlike nation of all the *Indians*, *Alexander* the great having receiv'd a mortal wound as he was attacking one of their cities. Now adays they don't inhabit any cities, towns or villages, but only certain enclosures in the valleys betwixt the rocks; their houses are built of canes very low, and plaister'd up with loom or clay. Some of them live in the woods, these make their houses of wood, which they remove from tree to tree, to secure themselves against the elephants and tygers. The first they catch in holes cover'd with the branches of trees, with some earth on the top; they also cultivate the ground, but in a very slender manner, tho' their valleys would be very fruitful if they were duly manag'd. They have but one wife at a time, who goes abroad a hunting with them, or wherever they go, whereas the *Pagan Malabars* marry generally several women. They chiefly differ from the other *Malabars* in their complexion, are just and honest, good natur'd, charitable, without deceit; for the rest, courageous, ingenious and cunning; they pretend to converse with the devils, only out of curiosity to know the event of things; the custom of the other *Malabars* and *Indians*, who hurt others by their sorceries, being unknown to them. They pay a great deal of deference to the sepulchres of their ancestors, and if they happen to be defiled, they look upon it to be an ill omen. Upon their festivals they wear a long gown, with a turbant, as the *Mahometans* do; but at other times they go half naked, like as the other *Malabars* do. They have holes in their ears and noses, in which they hang gold rings and jewels; a custom common also to the *Pagan Malabar* women, who look upon this as their chief ornament, especially to wear such things in one of their nostrils. At their feasts and festivals, the maidens play upon rush-pipes and small flutes and drums; theft is a thing unknown among the *Malabars*, every one living in his house in a profound security, with open doors; sometimes the inhabitants of a whole enclosure transfer their habitations to another. Part of the *Malabars* acknowledge the king of *Turbula*, part the king of *Pugnati Perimal* for their superiors, unto whom they pay some yearly tribute, yet with the entire preservation of their liberty, they being govern'd by their own laws, under captains or judges of their nation, call'd by them *Arley*, each of them has commonly 5000 or 6000 under his district; besides which, each enclosure is govern'd by its own judge, call'd *Pandera*, unto whom they pay strict obedience.

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Before 1599, when they began first to be instructed in the *Romish* religion, by the assiduity of the then archbishop of *Goa*, they were all pagans, but since that time, a good

1662. a good number of them have embraced chriſtianity; eight of their beſt men, among whom were three *Pandaras*, with their whole families, firſt received baptiſm, who being follow'd by many others, a church dedicated to St. *Michael* was built in the village of *Priata*. Before their converſion they had no temples erected in honour of their idols, neither did they ſacrifice with feaſting, dancing and ſuch like ceremonies, but each family had its domeſtick god, unto whom they paid their devotions. They are much more eſteem'd among the *Malabars*, than their common people, neither are they look'd upon as unclean by them, no more than the chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, if they happen to touch a *Nayros*; they keep ſcarce any commerce with the neighbouring nations, even not with the *Thomiſts* themſelves, who live at the foot of the ſame mountains. Their weapons are the ſame as the reſt of the *Malabars* uſe, *viz.* a bow and arrows pointed with a broad iron. They uſe alſo ſcimeters or hangers, and a peculiar ſort of fire arms, ſuch as are no where elſe to be ſeen among the *Malabars*. On the foot of the mountain inhabited by the *Malabars* call'd *Karatkara*, bordering upon the kingdom of *Karanarata*, ſtands a church belonging to theſe *Thomiſts* or chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, dedicated to St. *Auſtin*, becauſe the inhabitants owe their converſion to certain fryers of that order.

Products of Malabar. *Malabar*, as I told you before, is a countrey abounding in divers ſorts of fruits, ſuch as the *Indies* commonly afford, of the choiceſt of which we will give you a ſhort deſcription here.

Coco-tree. All along the ſea-ſhore of *Malabar*, and the rivers near the ſea-ſide, the *Indian* palm or coco-tree, grows in ſandy and brackiſh grounds; the *Malabars* call it *Tenga*, the *Brahmans Mado*, and in the *Malabar* tongue it is call'd *Kalappa*. Its trunk, which is of an aſh-colour, riſes ſometimes to the height of 95 feet; ſuch I have ſeveral times meaſured my ſelf near the city of *Koulang*; it has commonly 16 inches diameter, tho' ſometimes it is ſo thick, as ſcarce to be graſped by a man; and is of the ſame thickneſs from the bottom to the top; the wood is ſpongy, and the pith as white as paper. However the trunk does not grow up ſtrait, but is jointed, without any branches, but only on the top, where commonly ſprout forth 16 or 18, and in a very large tree ſometimes 28, which bear green large leaves like reeds, being about a finger's length broad, and about two foot long. The root of this tree is very ſmall in proportion of its bigneſs, and does not reach deep under ground, but creeps juſt under its ſurface, ſo that it ſeems next to a miracle, how theſe high trees are able to withſtand the fury of the winds. The fruit, call'd commonly coco-nuts, after the *Portugueſe*, who call them *Coquo* and *Cocoe*, grow at the ends of the branches, about 6, 8, or 10 in a bunch; a bunch weighing ſometimes from 60 to 100 pounds weight; each ripe nut exceeds the bigneſs of a luſty man's head, being of a triangular figure, and cover'd with a double peel; the firſt is an inch thick, conſiſting of many threads, extending length-wiſe round the fruit; the outſide is of an aſh colour, but inwardly inclining to red; the next peel is hard and brown, which contains the peel. Before they are ripe, they are of a pale yellow colour, and afterwards turn dark green, having at one end a buſh of ſmall leaves, reſembling our turnep leaves. The pith is white, inclining to yellow, about an inch thick, and to the ſecond peel, the remaining hollowneſs being fill'd with liquor, and containing according to the bigneſs of the unripe nut, a pint of liquor, which in the ripe one diminiſhes by degrees, and encreaſes the bulk of the peel. This liquor is good to drink, the pith is ſweet, and of no ungrateful taſte, only a little flat. The bloſſom, which is not unlike that of the cheſnuts, appears at the ends of the branches which produce the fruit, which ripens in three months time. The pith dried, may be kept and tranſported like cheſnuts; if it be powder'd and mixt with ſugar and cinnamon, it taſtes very well, augments the ſeed, and is a ſtrong provocative. When the *Nayros* are to gather the nuts, they climb with moſt wonderful nimbleneſs to the tops of theſe high trees, where they cut off as many branches as are ripe, and let them fall down upon the ground. Beſides the fruit, this tree affords alſo a certain liquor, call'd by them *Sury*, and by the *Europeans* palm-wine: When they are to gather this liquor, they only cut off one of its branches, from whence iſſues the liquor, which falls into a veſſel of bamboe, hung under it for that purpoſe; if they draw too much liquor at a time, the branches turn brown, and the tree produces no more nuts. Theſe trees being planted in a ſtreight line, the *Nayros* lay ſticks reaching from one to other, by which means they get to the branches, where they have faſten'd the veſſel that receives the liquor. This liquor, whilſt freſh is very good to drink, and will inebriate like wine; but if kept in the ſun, turns to vinegar in an hours time. But tho' they take never ſo much care of it, what is gather'd about noon, will turn by night, taſte ſouriſh the next day, and turn quite to vinegar the day after that. The liquor which

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1662. which diſtils from the young trees, is not ſo ſtrong and ſpirituous as that gather'd from the old ones, but the firſt affords a greater quantity. After this liquor has been kept 24 hours, they diſtil a ſpirit of it, with the addition of a ſmall quantity of the oil of clove; this is by the *Indians* call'd *Arack*, and by ſome *Tula* or *Mype*. Out of this liquor they prepare vinegar, thus: They put the veſſels in which the liquor has been gather'd, in lime 15 days, during which time it ferments, caſting groſs ſediments to the bottom; the clear is very good vinegar. Out of the ſame ſugar they make a kind of liquor call'd *Jagra*. They put a ſmall quantity of lime in the veſſel which contains the liquor, as much as is ſufficient to make it turn red; for if you put in too much lime, the liquor turns whiter and whiter, but if you put too little, it does not change its colour. The liquor thus mix'd with a ſufficient quantity of lime, muſt be boil'd and ſtirred continually with a ſpoon, till it comes to the conſiſtency of red ſugar; where it is to be obſerved, that if there be not lime enough added, it will produce no ſugar, but if too much, part of it will ſettle to the bottom, which muſt be taken out before you can boil it into a ſugar. If you intend to make white ſugar or *Jayra*, you muſt take care to pour the liquor mix'd with the lime out of one pot into another (to ſeparate the ſuperfluous lime) which you muſt repeat three times; as for inſtance, if your liquor be gather'd in the morning, you muſt pour it into another veſſel by noon, and repeat the ſame a ſecond time about two a clock, and a third time before night, and then boil it. What liquor is gather'd in the night-time keeps longer than that gather'd in the day-time. Whilſt it is freſh, its taſte is not much unlike our whey, unto which the inhabitants add ſome raiſins, and make it taſte like *Spaniſh* wine. The trunk of the coco-tree is uſed for timber in the building of houſes and ſhips, the branches and leaves to write upon and to cover houſes with, as alſo by the baſket-makers. Out of the hard ſhell of the nuts (ſome of which are of a pale, others of a dark brown colour) they make drinking cups and other veſſels, which they poliſh, and ſometimes are edg'd with ſilver. The hairy ſubſtance, call'd *Kayer*, is uſed by the rope-makers; theſe ropes don't rot eaſily: They alſo make matches of them, which burn very fiercely. In the *Maldive* iſlands (where theſe trees are found in vaſt quantities) they ſometimes equip whole veſſels out of the coco-trees; the body of the veſſels being made of the trunk of a tree, without any nails or other iron-work; the ſail and ropes of the hairy ſubſtance, the proviſions conſiſting of the liquor and kernels of the coco-nuts, their drinking and other veſſels being made of the ſhell, and their hammocks, quilts and other implements of the leaves. In ſhort, this tree furniſhes the *Indians* upon occaſion, with all that is neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, being very fruitful in marſhy and low grounds, but bears not ſo great a quantity of fruit, neither ſo big in the mountainous countries. The coco-tree is in its prime from the 25th to the 30th year, and affords the moſt fruit and liquor; from the time it begins to bear, the ripe fruits fall off, and others grow continually in their ſtead, but when it begins to grow old, the fruit grows leſſer and leſſer. This tree will continue till it is 100 years old; when the ſmall branches and leaves begin to turn yellow, it is an infallible ſign of its decay. It is produced out of the kernel of the coco-nut; theſe the *Indians* put into the ground till they begin to ſprout, then they make as many holes as they intend to plant trees, and of ſuch a depth, that the tops of the leaves don't reach beyond the ſurface of the ground; then they throw a handful or two of ſand (unleſs it be in ſandy ground) and half a handful of ſalt in each hole, upon which they put the kernel, which they cover with the ſame ground they had taken out of the hole before, and every other day water them, till they are ſure the nuts have taken root. They plant them with the point downwards, out of the oppoſite part of which at firſt ſhoot forth two or three broad leaves, after which comes the right leaves, and ſoon after the ſmall ſprouts, which fall off as new ones ſucceed, till the tree comes to its full growth. The young tree commonly begins to bear in the fifth year after its planting; great care is taken that the horſe-flies don't ſpoil the young trees. This is a kind of worm not unlike our hornets, with two ſharp horns, but not ſo big; this worm gets to the pith of the tree, which he conſumes till the tree dies, unleſs he be taken out in time, at which the *Malabars* are very dextrous, and then the tree will recover. It has been obſerved that this tree in the third year after its planting, has its branches in their perfection, and from that time the branches begin to fall off. Thoſe branches are at that time about five or ſix yards long, tho' the ſtem on which they grow is not above two foot high, and about a foot in circumference. Every month you ſee commonly a new branch come forth, and then the old ones fall off, but in the ſummer and dry ſeaſons they fall off more frequently than in rainy weather; theſe branches come to their full growth in

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1662. three months. I cauſed above 4000 coco-trees to be planted near *Koiland*, but moſt of them came to nothing, being not carefully look'd after by my ſucceſſors. There are divers kinds of this tree, which are diſtinguiſh'd by the fruit, but eſpecially by the watery ſubſtance found within the ſhells of the nuts.

Wild cinnamon trees.

Malabar produces prodigious quantities of wild cinnamon trees, but the cinnamon is neither in ſmell nor in goodneſs comparable to that which grows in the iſle of *Ceylon*; this iſland, and that of *Floris* being the only ones where the true cinnamon grows. The *Portugueſe* call this wild cinnamon *Canella de Mato*, *i. e. Wood-Cinamon*, the *Malabars Larva* or *Bahona*, as alſo *Kaunema*, *i. e. Sweet-Wood*, from the word *Kau*, which in their language ſignifies wood, and *Nema i. e.* ſweet, the *Malayans Kais Manis*, the *Zingaleſe* or inhabitants of *Ceylon Kurudo* or *Kurundo*, and the *Arabians Querfaa* and *Querfe*, as alſo *Kerfak*. Before the *Dutch* got into poſſeſſion of *Ceylon*, they uſed to tranſport this cinnamon, but ſince that time they make no account of it. The tree is of the bigneſs of our orange tree, leſs or more, but not large as the cinnamon trees in *Ceylon*. It has abundance of branches, leaves not unlike the laurel leaves, but broader, of a paler colour, with three diſtinct veins. The bloſſom is white, almoſt without any ſcent; the fruit not unlike the wild olives, firſt green, afterwards inclining to red, and when ripe, black ſhining. It has alſo a kernel not unlike the wild olive, which is covered with a pulp like the ſame, out of which iſſues a kind of green oily liquor, of the ſame ſcent as the laurels, biting and bitteriſh upon the tongue. The rind of this tree (or the cinnamon it ſelf) is thick, without any remarkable taſte, tho' the ſmall ſprouts or tacks are ſomewhat bitter, yet don't come near to the cinnamon of the iſle of *Ceylon*.

Oil of cinnamon and volatile ſalt.

Out of the rind of the root they prepare a kind of volatile ſalt, which they call camphire, ſwimming upon the ſurface of the water of a yellow colour, clear, ſtrong and well ſcented, ſharp upon the tongue, and very penetrating, being ſo volatile, that if expoſed to the air, it evacuates immediately. This camphire is exceeding white, excelling the common camphire in its ſcent; the particles of this camphire are inſenſibly mix'd with the oil, whilſt yet warm, immediately after its diſtillation; but as ſoon as the oil begins to cool, they adhere to one another in divers ſhapes, and ſettle to the bottom. This camphire is very volatile, and ſo fiery that it takes fire in an inſtant, and leaves not the leaſt impurity behind, after it is conſumed. The oil approaches very near both in ſmell and taſte to the camphire, and is ſo volatile, that if ſome of it be dropped upon woollen ſtuffs, even of the niceſt colours, it evaporates immediately, without leaving the leaſt ſpot behind. It is alſo very combuſtible, burning with a white and blue flame; if put upon the fire, it evacuates in a inſtant, and turns into a white ſmoak, which is very apt to take fire. This oil mixt with gunpowder, will ſet it on fire by degrees, yet not till a great part of the oily ſubſtance be evacuated. If mix'd with ſulphur or ſalt-peter, or with both, it will take fire immediately and conſume the ſulphur and ſalt-peter, remaining without the leaſt alteration. If you put the oil upon the fire, and receive the flame which evaporates from thence, in a thick cloth, a white kind of ſalt will ſettle in it, which is the camphire itſelf. This oil will alſo in time ſeparate ſome of thoſe camphirous particles, which falling to the bottom, render the oil more clear and pure. The oil drawn out of the *Malabar* cinnamon, is clear, tranſparent, yellowiſh and well ſcented, ſwimming upon the water; whereas out of the common cinnamon of *Ceylon*, beſides that oil which riſes on the top of the water, another is alſo drawn, which ſinks to the bottom. The oil diſtill'd from the leaves is thin at firſt, turns yellowiſh by degrees, and tranſparent, and of a greeniſh colour at laſt, being very ſweet, but ſharp at laſt, having ſomething of cinnamon; it ſinks to the bottom of the water.

The oil made out of the rind of the root, with its volatile ſalt (the camphire) is endow'd with greater virtues. It is a ſovereign remedy againſt all lameneſs, if applied outwardly, and gives immediate eaſe in the gout; it may alſo be taken inwardly with very good ſucceſs, being a great remedy againſt malignant fevers, a great ſudorifick, expelling the wind, procuring an appetite in the ſtomach, and conſuming the ſtone both in the kidneys and bladder, and is good in the cough, and many other chronick diſtempers; to be ſhort, it is the moſt univerſal remedy made uſe of there by the *Dutch* in their hoſpitals. The camphire is very proficuous in all diſtempers in the womb, promotes the monthly terms, and is a great ſudorifick, being uſed in all reſpects like the common camphire. The oil diſtill'd out of the bark of the tree, is an excellent remedy in all diſtempers of the ſtomach, and in the cholick, proceeding from a cold cauſe; the water of cinnamon is cordial; the oil of the leaves is good againſt the cholick, if applied outwardly to the belly, and helps lameneſs.

V. H.
A Young Cocoa Tree
An Old Cocoa Tree
The Pynang Tree
A Cocoa Tree
wild? Cinnoman Tree
A Branch with Cocoa Nuts
Cocoa Nuts

1662. In the woods of *Malabar* about *Kananor*, grows a certain ſhrub in great plenty, call'd *Zua* by the *Malabars*, at *Surate Dekan*, and *Cachora* by the *Canarins*; by the *Arabians* and *Perſians Zerumbet*, and *Zeruba* by the *Turks*. If planted or ſow'd, it will grow alſo in many other places. By ſome it is reckoned a kind of ginger, and not without reaſon, its leaves reſembling thoſe of the ginger, only that they are ſomewhat larger, as is alſo the root, which being cut in pieces and dried, is thus tranſported into foreign parts.

Zua or Zerumbet.

The tree call'd Macre *or* Macer.

On the coaſt of *Malabar*, in the iſle of *St. Cruce*, belonging to the kingdom of *Cochin*, near the river *Manatte*, grows a certain tree call'd *Macre* by the *Brahman* phyſicians, by the chriſtians there *Makuyre*, and by the *Portugueſe Arbore de las Canaras* and *Arbore Sancto*, *i. e.* the *Tree of the Bloody Flux* and *the holy Tree*. The ſaints of this countrey have this ſaying of it; *Kura Santea Macre Niſtuſa garul*: i. e. *Macre was diſcover'd to mankind for their benefit by the Angels*. *Galen*, *Dioſcorides* and *Pliny* call it *Macer*, and *Avicenna Talisfar*; this tree ſpreads its branches in a large compaſs, being bigger than our elm-tree. Its leaves are ſeven foot long, and two broad, the uppermoſt ſide of a pale, and the undermoſt of a dark green colour. It is generally believ'd, that this tree produces no fruit, but only a kind of ſeed, of the bigneſs of a farthing, thin, yellowiſh, reſembling in taſte the kernel of an almond or peach-ſtone, cover'd with a white ſkin. It is encloſed in a kind of a bladder compoſed of two different peels. This bladder comes forth in the middle of the leaf, reſembling that which in *May* ſprouts forth on the elm-trees, except that it is ſomewhat broader and flatter. The leaf of this bladder is of the bigneſs of other leaves, but not ſo much pointed at the end, and narrow towards the ſtalk, of a deep yellow colour, cover'd with a kind of curl'd down from the ſtalk to the end. The root of this tree is not unlike that of the *Stene* palm-tree, with large and thick roots ſpread at a great diſtance; the rind of thoſe roots is thick, rough, of an aſh-colour without, but white within; containing a juice like milk whilſt freſh, but turns yellow; when dry it is very aſtringent. This tree delights in few but ſandy grounds, and kills all other trees or ſhrubs near it. The rind of the root of this tree is in vaſt eſteem among the *Malabars*, as well as among the *Chineſe*, *Javaneſe*, *Malabars* and all *Bengale*; being look'd upon and made uſe of in their hoſpitals, as the moſt ſovereign remedy in the world, againſt looſeneſs and all manner of bloody fluxes. The *Indian* phyſicians, as well *Brahmans*, *Canarins*, as *Malabars*, cure with this rind whilſt freſh, powder'd and mix'd with butter-milk, the bloody flux; ſome infuſe half an ounce of the rind, dried and powder'd in a quartern of whey for 12 hours, which they give the patient twice a day, *viz.* in the morning and evening, immediately after they give the patient rice to eat, boil'd without ſalt or butter, and after that a chicken boil'd in the decoction of rice flour. If the diſtemper be very urgent, they add ſome *Opium* for the ſtrengthening of the ſtomach; and to ſtop vomiting, they mix a little maſtich with this rind, and give it in mint water. They tell you that a ſmall quantity of this rind, excels much in virtue a conſiderable number of the *Myrobolan* rinds; or of *Areka*; nay, they prefer it before the *Koru* of *Malabar* itſelf. The fruit, or rather ſeed, expels all ſorts of worms, and diſſolves the ſtone in the kidneys, being look'd upon likewiſe as a great preſervative both againſt the ſtone and cholick. Beſides the tree *Macer*, other trees grow here very different in kind, but agree in virtue with the *Macer* tree. 1662.

The tree Kuroda-pala.

The firſt of theſe two is by the *Malabars* call'd *Kurodapala*, or *Kuro*, and *Koru* by the *Canariins*, by the *Brahmans Kura*, and by the *Portugueſe* the *Malabar* ſhrub, its uſe having been firſt ſhewn them by the *Malabars*. This tree or ſhrub is not unlike a ſmall orange tree, eſpecially as to its leaves, except that the vein in the middle of the leaf, out of which come 8 or 9 on both ſides, is ſomewhat thicker. The bloſſom is yellow, and without the leaſt ſcent. *Garcias* ſays this tree is ſomewhat leſs than a common crab-tree, its leaves like a peach-tree, with a white bloſſom. It has a pale green and ſmooth bark, out of which, if cut with a knife, iſſues a milk-like juice, more viſcous than that which comes forth out of the *Macer* tree, bitteriſh of taſte; the *Malabar* phyſicians aſſign it a cooling quality. This tree affords an infallible remedy againſt all kinds of bloody fluxes, provided the groſs ill humours have been purged away before, without which the patient will ſoon have a relapſe. The *Malabars* (according to *Garcias*) prepare a compounded water out of the root, unto which they attribute great virtues againſt the bloody flux; they take 8 ounces of this root well beaten to powder, and infuſed in whey, and the liquor of boil'd rice, unto this they add the ſeeds of purſley, black cummin and coriander, each an ounce and a half; of the *Myrobolan* rind 7 drachms, and freſh butter 2 ounces; this they diſtil, and mix a quartern of this diſtill'd water with half a quartern of *Arack*, and give it the patient. They apply this water alſo in

form

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Pavate *or* Vaſa Veli. The third ſort of thoſe vegetables which are us'd here againſt the bloody flux, is call'd by the *Malabars Pavate*, and *Vaſa Veli* by the *Brahmans*, and *Canarins*, and *Arbor contra las eryſipelas*, i. e. *the Tree againſt the St. Anthony's Fire*. It is a ſhrub not above 8 or 9 foot high, with a few branches and leaves, reſembling the ſmall leaves of orange-trees before they come to their full growth, green on both ſides; the bloſſom is white and ſmall, the ſeed round, in bigneſs like to that of the maſtich-tree; dark green at firſt, which turns black as it ripens. The ſtem and tacks are of an aſh-colour, the root either without ſcent or taſte, except that it is ſomewhat bitteriſh.

Jambos *or* Jambeiro. Among the fruit trees of *Malabar*, that which the inhabitants call *Jambos*, and the *Portugueſe Jambeiro*, muſt not be paſs'd by in ſilence. The *Malabars* and *Canarins* call the fruit *Jambali*, the *Arabians Tufa Indi*, the *Turks Alma*, and the *Perſians Tufat*. It is the common opinion, that this was firſt of all for the pleaſantneſs of its bloſſom, and excellency of its fruit, tranſplanted from *Malacca* (where it is found in great plenty) into all the other parts of the *Indies*. There are two kinds, reſembling one another in moſt reſpects, except in their fruit, which is ſomewhat different. Both are not unlike, as well in ſhape as bigneſs to our *European* apple-trees, and will grow without much cultivating in any ground, and bear fruit within 5 years; they take root very deep, a thing ſeldom obſerv'd among the *Indian* trees. Theſe trees are of a pleaſant aſpect, ſpreading their branches to the height of a good plumb-tree. The bark, as well of the tree as of the branches, is of an aſh-colour and ſmooth; the wood brittle; the leaves alſo reſemble thoſe of the plumb-tree, but are ſomewhat more pointed at the end, being a palm in length, and not unlike the iron point of a long pike or lance. The upper ſide is dark, and the undermoſt pale green, with a ſtrait vein in the middle, which ſends out divers others on both ſides. The bloſſoms are both for ſcent and colour like our roſes, but inclining more to a purple colour; the firſt is of the bigneſs of a large pear, or of a gooſe egg, or rather bigger. They are of two ſorts; one of which is a dark red, inclining to black, generally without ſtones, excelling the other in taſte; the other is pale red, has a longiſh white ſtone of the bigneſs of a peach-ſtone, cover'd with a white rough ſkin; this, tho' inferior to the former, yet is of a moſt pleaſing taſte. Sometimes the firſt is abſolutely red, and theſe are of a purple colour, and ſmell like a roſe; the fruit is cover'd with ſo thin a peel, that no knife can ſeparate it from the pulp, which is accounted cold and moiſt; and ſo are the bloſſoms, notwithſtanding which they are very well ſcented, and for that reaſon in high eſteem among the inhabitants. The fruit is commonly eaten before dinner, or at the beginning of a meal; neither are they uſeleſs in phyſick, both the fruit and flowers preſerved, being preſcribed in violent burning fevers; having beſides their cooling quality, a certain virtue of comforting the ſpirits. This tree may well be accounted among the number of thoſe, which by the excellency of their fruit, and the agreeableneſs of their flowers, ſurprizes the beholders; for, whilſt you ſee one ſide of the tree bare of leaves and bloſſoms, the other is ſtor'd with fruit, which laſt, till the other ſide begins to renew its leaves; ſo that in one and the ſame tree you ſee a continual ſpring and autumn at once. Thus you never can caſt your eye upon this tree but you meet there either with bloſſom or fruit; and as the bloſſom drops underneath on the ground (which is frequently cover'd with thoſe purple colour'd flowers) others come forth in their ſtead; and whilſt ſome of the fruit are ripening, others are to be gathered. The beſt way to gather their fruit is to ſhake the tree, then they fall with eaſe; but if you endeavour to pull them off, the tacks are apt to break. Karkapuli.

The fruit *Karkapuli*, call'd *Kerkapoli* by the *Canarins*, is in ſhape and bigneſs like an orange; they are green at firſt, afterwards

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Koddam Pulli. The tree which bears this fruit is very tall, call'd *Koddam Pulli* by the *Malabars*, ſometimes *Otta Pulli*, and by the *Brahmans Danubos*, by the inhabitants of the iſle of *Ceylon Chorokas*; the fruit is eaten, and uſed in phyſick among the *Indians*, being accounted an excellent remedy againſt looſeneſs, eſpecially if occaſioned by too much venery. Beſides which, the fruit before it is quite ripe, or the juice of it mix'd with butter-milk, or the fruit dried and powder'd mix'd with butter-milk and boil'd rice, is excellent good to acuate the appetite of the ſtomach. This juice alſo, as well as the dry fruit powder'd, is accounted a good remedy againſt the dimneſs, cataracts, and other infirmities of the eyes; they apply the juice, mix'd with ſome other herbs, to the nail of the great toe, on that ſide where the defect of the eye is. The midwives give it to women lately brought to bed, to expel the after-birth, and produce plenty of milk for ſuck. This fruit, when dried, is tranſported to foreign countries. There is another kind of this tree, bearing a round fruit and ſweet, of the bigneſs of a cherry, call'd *Karkapuli* by Mr. *Dinſhoten*; this tree is call'd *Karue Choraka* by thoſe of *Ceylon*, i. e. *ſweet Choraka*; out of the bark of both of theſe trees, if ſlit with a knife, iſſues a gum call'd *Gutta*, but that which comes from the *Kanka Choraka* is the beſt.

The uſe of aloe leaves among the Malabars. The uſe of aloe leaves is very frequent among the *Malabars*, a purge they boldly give not only to children, but alſo to women with child. They take of the aloe leaves 3 ounces cut very ſmall, theſe they boil with two drachms of black ſalt over an eaſy fire, and after they have ſtrain'd it, add to it an ounce of ſugar, and ſo let it ſtand the whole night in the air. The next morning about ſix a clock they give the patient this decoction cold, ordering him to abſtain from ſleep, and to walk about to promote its operation; three hours after he hath taken it, they give him a little chicken broth, with a few grains of maſtich in it, and an hour after that allow him to eat, and to take a little wine of the ſmalleſt ſort. They either increaſe or diminiſh the doſe of the decoction, according to the conſtitution of the patient.

There grows in *Malabar* a certain fruit of the bigneſs of a hazle nut, but is not quite ſo round and white; it grows on the tacks of a certain ſhrub which they ſow; it has no peculiar uſe in phyſick, tho' *Serapio* aſcribes to it a virtue of augmenting the ſeed, and promoting the birth in women; the ſame the *Malabars* do to this day, who call the fruit *Chevique lenga*, and in ſome places *Kurkas*, and thoſe of *Cambaiak Karpata*. If *Garcias* may be credited, this is the ſame fruit deſcribed by *Serapio* by the broken name of *Habel-culcul*, whereas it ſhould have been *Hab-alcul*, which ſignifies as much as the ſeed of *Culcul*. 1662. Chevique Lenga.

The tree call'd *Kumbulu* by the *Malabars*, and *Bon-Varo* by the *Brahmans*, grows very tall, with a trunk of that thickneſs, that a man can ſcarce graſp it. The leaves are a ſpan, and two or three inches long, and two palms broad, woolly at the end of the ſtalks, which are round, long and thick; at the extremities of the tacks, which ſprout forth out of the branches, grow certain yellow flowers in cluſters on ſhort ſtalks, conſiſting of five round and thick leaves. After theſe comes a fruit that's like a pear, full of juice, the pulp being of a yellowiſh colour, and a ſweetiſh taſte, but the juice when preſs'd out is deep yellow. They are green at firſt, next of a pale yellow, and turn reddiſh at laſt; in the centre of the fruit is a white ſmooth ſtone, ſhap'd like a pear, with a ſmall kernel in it. The decoction of the root, mix'd with a little rice, is a good remedy againſt the ague, which often follows the gout or rheumatiſm. Taken in butter-milk, or mix'd with the oil of *Sirchelem*, it expels the wind, and eaſes the pain; and the juice of the leaves taken with butter-milk, is good againſt the cholick.

The tree Ganſchi. The tree call'd *Ganſchi* by the *Malabars*, and *Schivanni* by the *Brahmans*, grows in ſandy grounds a great height and thickneſs, ſo that a man can ſcarce graſp the trunk, which as well as the branches has a bark of an aſh-colour without, but green within. The leaves hang on long, round and green ſtalks, being above a ſpan in length, and two palms broad, of an oblong figure. The bloſſoms faſtened to ſtalks which are pale green, ſweet, round and thin, each flower conſiſting of no more than three, and ſeldom of four leaves. After theſe comes the fruit, which is of a triangular figure, flattiſh, and of a green colour, hanging on long and green ſtalks, the ſeed being triangular, and the pulp very ſubſtantial; the decoction of the root is uſed againſt the gout, and apply'd to the affected part.

The tree Palega-Pajameli. Of the tree *Palega* there are two kinds; one is call'd *Palega-Pajaneli* by the *Malabars*, and the other barely *Pajanel*. The *Palega-Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the *Brahmans*, is very tall, with a trunk enough for a man to graſp, having an aſh-coloured bark, as well as the branches, which grow ſtrait upright, of a conſiderable thickneſs.

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The ſecond kind of Pajaneli.

The ſecond kind of the *Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the *Brahmans*, is likewiſe a very tall tree, whoſe branches ſhoot forth upright to a great height; it delights in ſandy grounds: The root ſpreads at a great diſtance, having a thick aſh-coloured rind. The trunk is of that thickneſs, that a man can ſcarce graſp it, of a brittle wood, with a dark aſh-coloured bark: The flowers are like the former, ſhap'd like bells, but have no more than five leaves. The fruit is the ſame: Of the juice of the leaves, and that of the fruit *Kareka*, or *Mirobolans* mix'd together, the *Malabars* make a black dye to dye their mourning cloaths with. The decoction of the rind of the root diſpels hard tumours if they be fomented with it.

Of the tree *Pala*, called *Santeru* by the *Brahmans*, there are four kinds; 1. *Pala*; 2. *Kuruta Pala*; 3. *Kadaga Pala*; 4. *Kaikotten Pala*: The firſt kind, called only *Pala*, is a high tree growing in ſandy places, and ſpreading its branches into a great circumference: The root, which has a dark yellow rind, reaches very deep into the ground, and contains a milky juice: The trunk is two or three fathoms thick, the bark of an aſh-colour, as is likewiſe the bark of the branches. The leaves grow four or five together, on ſtalks of an oblong figure, and towards the ſtalks full of a milky ſubſtance; the flowers grow in cluſters, having five whitiſh leaves of a ſtrong ſcent, but offenſive to the brains. The fruit which comes immediately after the bloſſom, do likewiſe hang in cluſters on ſmall tacks, being green huſks of about two ſpans length, but ſmall and flat, full of a milky juice or ſubſtance, as is the tree itſelf, which produces fruit but once a year, *viz.* in *January*.

The ſecond kind of *Pala* is by the *Malabars* called *Kurutu Pala*, by the *Brahmans Kudo*, being a tree from ſix to twelve foot high, the trunk about the thickneſs of a foot, with an aſh-coloured bark, as well as the branches. The leaves come forth out of the branches with their ſtalks, being of an oblong figure, and pointed at the end. The flowers grow on the extremities of the ſmall tacks, are white, and bigger than thoſe of the firſt kind, and have five long leaves. The fruit grows likewiſe in cluſters, being of an oblong figure, dark green at firſt, and as they ripen turn yellow. The huſk contains five, ſix or ſeven ſeeds. The tree bears fruit all the year round, but moſt in the rainy ſeaſon. The bark of the tree beaten to powder, and taken in warm water, is good againſt the looſe piles, but if taken in milk ſtops the bloody flux.

The third kind of *Pala*, called *Kadaga-Pala* by the *Malabars*, and *Alego-Kugo* by the *Brahmans*, is no higher than the *Kurutu-Pala*, and delights in ſandy grounds. The root does not go ſo deep underground as that of the *Pala*, the bark is of a dark brown colour; the trunk is of a foot circumference like the ſecond kind, but the leaves and bloſſom being alſo like the ſame. It bears long huſks like the *Pala*, but are ſomewhat thicker, of a green colour, a ſpan long, and full of a milky liquor. The bark of the trunk beaten to powder, and taken in butter-milk, ſtops the looſeneſs; and the rind of the root, taken in the ſame manner, cures the bloody flux. The decoction of the ſeeds is given in burning fevers, and kills the worms. The fourth kind, called *Kaikotten-Kala*, is very near the ſame with the third. *Kaikotten Kala.*

There are two kinds of the tree called *Parva* by the *Malabars*; the firſt they call *Tindaparva*, and the ſecond *Anaparva*, and the *Brahmans Bendarli*. The *Tindaparva* grows to a great height in ſandy grounds, having a thick whitiſh root with a ſoft rind: The trunk is ſo thick that a man can ſcarce graſp it with his arms, having an aſh-coloured bark as well as the branches, which underneath the bark are of a dark brown colour. The leaves which are long, and pointed at the end, hang on ſhort ſtalks, as do likewiſe the flowers, conſiſting of four pale green and pointed leaves. The fruits are a kind of round berries, with a very thin peel, green at firſt, afterwards inclining to white, and turn red as they ripen. In the peel is encloſed a round kernel. The root beaten to powder and taken inwardly, is a ſovereign remedy againſt epileptick fits; and the decoction of the leaves diſperſes all pain, if the affected parts be well fomented with it.

The tree *Kavalkan*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Bankar* by the *Brahmans*, grows in ſtony

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The tree Ambalam.

Of the tree *Ambalam* there are two kinds in *Malabar*; one is ſimply called *Ambalam*, or *Koduko Ambado*, (i. e. *Sweet Ambado*) by the *Brahmans*; the other, *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambalam*. The tree *Ambalam* grows to a great height in ſandy grounds, with its branches not ſpreading, but upright. The root which is very large, ſtretching with many twigs under ground. The trunk is of a great circumference, covered with a very thick bark; the wood being very ſoft: The leaves hang on ſmall green ſtalks or ſprouts, in bunches of five together; they are generally as long again as they are broad, ſmooth and ſoft, and of a light green on both ſides. Thoſe leaves which are nearеſt to the ſmall twigs, are not ſo large as the reſt, of an agreeable ſcent, and tartiſh, not unlike the rind of the *Indian Mangoes*. The bloſſom or flower do likewiſe come forth out of ſmall and green ſprouts, are of a whitiſh colour, ſhaped like ſtars, having five or ſix leaves. The buds of theſe flowers are round, and green at firſt, but turn white before they open; which when it happens, the leaves fall from the tree, which continues bare as long as it ſtands in bloſſom, but as the fruit grows, new leaves come forth by degrees. The fruit grows in cluſters, being of an oval figure, and pretty hard, not unlike to the *Indian Mangoes*: Before they come to maturity their rind is dark brown, and full of four juice, but when they begin to ripen turn light green, and at laſt yellow, of an agreeable tartiſh taſte, and are eaten by the inhabitants. In the midſt of the fruit is a very large ſtone. This tree bears twice every year, *viz.* in *January* and *May*. The root of it thruſt into the matrix ſtops the ſuperfluous monthly times. The bark powder'd and taken in butter-milk is good againſt the looſeneſs, and ſo is the juice mix'd with rice. The decoction of the wood is a good remedy againſt the involuntary emiſſion of the ſeed, and the juice of the leaves mix'd with that of the fruit inſtill'd into the ears, eaſes the pain in thoſe parts. 1662.

The tree Katambalam.

The ſecond kind of the *Ambalam*, *Kat Ambulam*, or *Pee Ambalam*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Kaduko Ambado* by the *Brahmans*, reſembles the firſt in a great many reſpects, except that its leaves are leſs, and ſo are the fruit, being ſomewhat rounder, and the taſte a mixture of ſour and bitter, which is the reaſon they are never eaten. *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambalam*, ſignifies in the *Malabar* tongue as much as *Wild Ambalam*, and *Kaduko Ambado* among the *Brahmans*, as much as the *Bitter Ambado* from its taſte.

The tree Agaty.

The tree called *Agaty* by the *Malabars*, and *Agaſto* by the *Brahmans*, runs up to the height of ten or twelve yards, the branches growing ſtrait upright: The trunk is ſo big in circumference that a man can ſcarce graſp it, having a very ſoft wood, and the pith much tender. If an inciſion be made into the bark, a certain watery ſubſtance diſtils thence, which turns to gum afterward. The leaves come forth out of ſmall and green ſprouts or buds, being near a ſpan and a half long, and growing two and two on long green ſtalks. The flowers conſiſt of five ſmall leaves, and grow in cluſters on ſtalks of a pale green colour. After the bloſſom come thin, ſtrait and green huſks, of about a ſpan in length, and an inch in breadth, having a thick peel, in which are encloſed certain beans, not unlike in taſte to, but ſomewhat ſmaller than, our *French* beans, being white at firſt, but turn pale green by degrees, and are very good food. This tree bears fruit twice or thrice in the rainy ſeaſon, and indeed the whole year round, but not ſo frequently in the ſummer. The juice of the bark of this tree, either by itſelf, or mix'd with honey, is an excellent remedy againſt all the inflammations of the throat and mouth. The juice of the leaves taken into the noſtrils like a liquid ſnuff, cures the quartan ague.

The tree Appel.

The tree call'd *Appel* or *Nalla-Appella*, by the *Malabars*, and *Karo-Nervoloe* by the *Brahmans*, has a very thick and hairy root, the rind of which is of a ſaffron colour. The circumference of the ſtem is of five or ſix palms; the branches growing directly upright: Its wood is white, but the peel dark red. The leaves ſprout forth out of the branches in ſmall green and ſquare buds, the ſtalks being round, very ſhort, and of a pale green colour, commonly two and two together. The

1662. leaves are of an oval figure, round near the ſtalk, and pointed toward the end. The flowers grow in cluſters, conſiſting of four round white and ſmall leaves each. The fruit are round berries, having a round ſtone in the middle; are pale green at firſt, but when ripe turn black. The tree bears but once a year. The root of this tree powdered and taken in water, ſtops the looſeneſs, and boiled in ſea-water and applied outwardly, appeaſes the pain of the gout. The decoction of the leaves is a good remedy againſt the pain of the belly and ſtomach, occaſioned by wind; the ſame effect has the oil drawn out of the root, if anointed on the painful part; this oil is yellow and tranſparent, of an agreeable ſcent, and a picquant bitteriſh taſte.

Schageri-Kottam. The tree call'd *Schageri Kottam* by the *Malabars*, and *Sahali* by the *Brahmans*, ſeldom exceeds the heighth of ſix foot, and delights in ſandy grounds: Its ſtem is of the thickneſs of a man's arm, the root red within, and black on the out-ſide. The leaves ſprout forth out of the twigs and hang on round, and green ſtalks; they are very large, and pretty long, broad towards the ſtalk, and pointed at the ends; the upper-ſide dark green, and the undermoſt ſide of a pale green colour. At the very extremities of the ſmall twigs grow the flowers in cluſters on ſmall ſtalks, conſiſting of four or five great leaves, of a white and pale yellow colour. The fruit is in ſhape like an *European* pear, dark green at firſt, and when ripe, turns black; it is of a ſweetiſh taſte, and eaten by the *Malabars*. The juice of the leaves boil'd with ſugar, and taken inwardly, ſtrengthens the liver, and ſtops the looſeneſs.

Kolinil. The tree call'd *Kolinil* by the *Malabars*, and *Scheara Punka* by the *Brahmans*, does not grow above two or three foot high, its ſtem being not above three or four inches thick, the branches ſpreading round about it. The wood of the ſtem is very hard, and the green bark which covers it of a picquant bitteriſh taſte. The leaves come forth out of ſmall and green ſprouts, hanging on very ſmall ſtalks; they are of an oval figure, round at the ends, and ſomewhat pointed towards the ſtalks, of a ſharp and bitter taſte: The bloſſom is like our bean bloſſom, having each four leaves: The fruit is a kind of a ſmall, ſmooth, and long huſk, yet not above two or three inches in length, are green in the beginning, and dark red at laſt, having within them certain beans, which are green at firſt, and black at laſt. This tree produces fruit twice a year, once in the winter, and once in the ſummer. The root powdered and boiled in milk, or the juice of the cocotree, is a good remedy againſt the falling-ſickneſs. 1662.

Alu, or Fig-tree. There are four kinds of fig-trees in *Malabar*, call'd by one general name *Alu*; the firſt they call *Atty-Alu*, the ſecond *Itty-Alu*, the third *Arêalu*, and the fourth *Peralu*. The fig-tree *Atty-Alu*, call'd *Roembadoe* by the *Brahmans*, grows to a great height, ſpreading its branches at a good diſtance. The trunk is of that thickneſs, that a man cannot well graſp it; the fruit is round, but flat, and leſſer towards the ſtalk, and ſomewhat hairy and rough, not unlike our figs. Before they are ripe, they are green and full of a milky juice, but turn red when ripe, and are not ſo juicy. Within the pulp, you ſee ſmall kernels like thoſe in our figs, and as ſoon as they are ripe, the piſmires get into them. Theſe figs are the only ones that are eaten by the *Malabars*, and eaten raw when ripe are accounted good againſt the looſeneſs. If the inhabitants may be believed, theſe trees are produced out of the ſeed of the fruit, after it is eaten by the ravens, and diſcharged again with their dung. Atty-Alu.

Itty-Alu. The ſecond ſort call'd *Itty-Alu*, and *Areka Goli* by the *Brahmans*, is the ſmalleſt of all the four kinds, its trunk being to be graſpt by any ordinary man. It bears a ſmall and round fruit, which is green, whilſt not come to maturity, and full of a milky juice, but when ripe turns yellow. It has alſo abundance of kernels, like the firſt kind.

Arealu. The tree of the third kind, call'd *Arealu*, and *Bipaloe* by the *Brahmans*, is as tall as the former, ſpreading its branches very loftily, at a good diſtance: The trunk is of ſuch a thickneſs, that two men can ſcarce graſp it: The fruit is like that of the *Itty-Alu*, ſmall and round, and not forced, as that of the *Atty-Alu*. Theſe *Pagans* have dedicated this tree to their idol *Viſtnu*, who they ſay was born under this tree, and took of its bloſſoms: For this reaſon it is, that they ſurround it with a ſtone wall, and worſhip it. The chriſtians call it the *Devil's-tree*.

Peralu. The fourth ſort call'd *Peralu*, and *Vadhoe* by the *Brahmans*, exceeds all the others in height; for which reaſon the *Brahmans* have given it the name of *Vadhoe*, *i. e.* large. The fruit is much the ſame with that of the *Atty-Alu*, but very round, and of a very high red colour, being covered with a kind of a *Lanugo* or woolly ſubſtance when they are ripe.

Of the tree call'd *Paniti* by the *Malabars*, are likewiſe four different kinds, *viz.* *Pariti*, *Bupariti*, *Kaduparitiand* *Schem-Pariti*. The tree *Bupariti*, call'd *Valli-Kari-Kapoeſi* by the *Brahmans*, is a very high tree, with very lofty branches, growing in

1662. the ſhape of a crown round the tree, which is never infeſted with any inſects. The leaves reſemble in ſhape a man's heart, of the bigneſs of the palm of a man's hand, ſomewhat pointed at the end, of a lovely green on the upper-ſide, and a pale green on the other. The flowers are of the ſhape of bells conſiſting of ſeveral white leaves; after theſe comes a certain round ſpongeous fruit, which emits a gummous liquor, if an inciſion be made with a knife. For the reſt, the tree produces flowers all the year round.

The tree Bupariti.

Pariti. *Pariti*, or the tree of the ſecond kind, call *Karikapreſs* by the *Brahmans*, grows to the height of 18 foot, the trunk being however within the compaſs of a man's graſping. The flowers are like thoſe of the *Bupariti*, only ſomewhat leſſer; and after theſe come certain oval ſponges, covered with a *Lanugo* or hairy ſubſtance. The bloſſom bruiſed and mix'd with womens milk, and infuſed into the ears, cures the head-ach.

Kudupariti. The tree *Kudupariti* of the third ſort, called *Kapuſſi* by the *Brahmans*, runs to the height of 12 foot, tho' its ſtem is not above two palms thick. The flowers are likewiſe like bells, of the ſame ſhape and colour as the precedent, only that they are a little leſſer, and inclining to green. The ſpongeous fruit are three corner'd, pointed at the top, and within diſtinguiſh'd by three ſkins in as many different concavities, each of which contains three or four ſeeds encloſed in a thick white *Lanugo* or woolly ſubſtance: This tree is never without bloſſom throughout the whole year. The leaves bruiſed and mixed with cow's milk, and apply'd outwardly to the head, procures ſleep, and conſequently cures the head-ach. The fruit bruiſed and taken inwardly in water ſtops the bloody flux. The fourth ſort is very near the ſame with the third.

Chavanna Mandaru. Of the tree *Mandaru* are likewiſe four different ſorts, *viz. Chavanna Mandaru*, of which two bear the ſame name; *Velutta Mandaru*, and *Kanſchenapou*. The firſt call'd *Chavanna Mandaru* by the *Malabars*, and *Tambido Mandaru* by the *Brahmans*, grows up to the height of 24 foot, ſpreading its branches far round about. The trunk is not above a foot thick. The leaves hang on very ſhort ſtalks, being even in two at the upper-end, like goats feet, whence the *Portugueſe* have given them the name of *Pee de Capra*. The flowers have five leaves of an oval figure, among which the largeſt and broadeſt is rounder than the reſt, white on the outſide, and of a purple colour within; the other four are more oval, of a pale red colour without, but high red within; two of thoſe four, *viz.* thoſe next to the biggeſt leaf are on the inſide whitiſh towards the bottom, but the other two all over of a roſe-colour within; from which roſe-colour the *Malabars* have given the name of *Chavanna Mandaru* to this tree. In ſome of thoſe leaves you ſee ſtreaks as red as blood, which they ſay are the remnants of the blood of St. *Thomas*, who preach'd the goſpel on the coaſt of *Malabar*, and in the iſle of *Ceylon*. After theſe come certain flat, long and ſmooth huſks, of the length of ſeven or eight inches, in which are encloſed flat and long beans, which at firſt are ripe, but afterwards turn dark red. This tree produces flowers all the year round, but in the rainy ſeaſon in greater plenty. The flowers preſerved with ſugar, are uſed with good ſucceſs for a laxative, as we do with our roſe-ſugar. The ſecond ſort of the *Chavanna Mandaru* is a very tall tree like the firſt, with ſuch like branches, a trunk of the ſame thickneſs, and the ſame leaves, only ſomewhat larger. The flowers have five oval leaves of a purple colour, both in and outſide with white ſtreaks. The huſks of this tree are the largeſt of all the four kinds, being two ſpans long, an inch thick, flat and ſmooth; the beans are the ſame both in ſhape and colour as the firſt; and this tree bloſſoms at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner. The flowers of this tree eaten raw are laxative; the bark, flowers and fruit bruiſed together and mix'd with the liquor of the decoction of rice, is a ſovereign remedy to bring to maturity, and to open all ſorts of tumors. The bark chew'd cures the tooth and head-ach.

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The third ſort, call'd *Velutta Mandaru* by the *Malabars* and *Dove Mandaru* by the *Brahmans*, is not above ſix foot high, and an arm thick; the leaves are cloven like thoſe of the firſt, but the flowers white without the leaſt ſcent, having five round leaves. The huſks are not ſo big as thoſe of the others, *viz.* not above four or five inches long, and an inch thick, for the reſt flattiſh and ſmooth. The beans are long and round, of a yelloviſh colour, neither ſo big nor ſo red as thoſe of the *Chavanna Mandaru*. This tree bloſſoms two or three times every year, but chiefly in the rainy ſeaſon. The flowers bruiſed and mix'd with ſome pepper, and applied outwardly to the head cures the head-ach; and if you waſh yourſelf with the decoction of the root, it lays all ſorts of itching of the ſkin. Velutta Mandaru.

The fourth ſort called *Kanſchenapou* by the *Malabars*, and *Kantſanu* by the *Brachmans*, is a tree which runs up to the height of 12 foot or more, with lofty branches, but the ſtem is not above half a foot thick. Kanſchenapou.

1662. The leaves are cloven like the reſt, but not ſo big, very ſtrong ſcented if rubb'd betwixt your fingers, eſpecially in the night-time: The flowers conſiſt alſo of five leaves, of a pale yellow colour, without the leaſt ſcent. The huſks are the ſame with thoſe of the *Chavanna Mandaru*, very ſmooth on the outſide, but ſomewhat hairy whilſt very young. The beans are ſmall, in ſhape and colour reſembling thoſe of the *Velutta Mandaru*. The tree bears flowers twice or thrice a year, but moſt plentifully in the rainy ſeaſon. The decoction of the root taken inwardly, is a good remedy againſt the worms and inflammations of the liver, and the piles. The bark powder'd diſperſes tumors, cleanſes the wounds, and is an excellent narcotick.

The tree Nilika-maram. The tree call'd *Nilikamaram* by the *Malabars*, and *Anvali* by the *Brahmans*, grows up to the height of 24 foot, tho' its trunk be no bigger than a man's arm, which as well as the branches, are covered with a black bark. The leaves ſprout forth out of thin and round twigs, with very ſhort ſtalks; they grow two and two together, of an oval figure, and very ſmall, being dark green on the upper ſide, and light green on the other ſide. Every night the leaves cloſe up like tulips; the flowers grow on ſmall twigs in cluſters, conſiſting of ſix very ſmall leaves. It bears a round, but flattiſh fruit, of a pale green colour when ripe, and ſomewhat tranſparent; the pulp being likewiſe green and very juicy, of an agreeable aſtringent taſte: In the midſt is a ſtone, diſtinguiſh'd into ſix different concavities, each of which contains a ſmall triangular ſeed or ſmall kernel. The fruit is much uſed by the *Malabars*: The water diſtill'd from this fruit cools the liver, and dry'd and power'd, and mix'd with ſour coagulated milk, ſtops the bloody-flux.

Odollam. The tree call'd *Odollam* by the *Malabars*, and *Uro* by the *Brahmans*, grows to the height of 18 foot, its trunk being ſo thick as ſcarce to be encompaſs'd by a man with both his arms, with crooked branches. The wood of the ſtem is very ſoft, and the pith red, the bark of an aſh colour, bitter and very hot upon the tongue. The leaves grow ſcattering upon the twigs and long ſtalks, are of the ſhape of a tongue, thick, ſmooth, dark brown on the upper-ſide, bitter and biting upon the tongue. The flowers grow in cluſters like cornets, on long, thick, and green ſtalks, having five very white and pointed leaves. It bears a kind of ground-apple, with a green and ſmooth rind, under which is a white pulp of a wateriſh taſte. The ſtone which is in the midſt, is ſhap'd like the heart of a man, of a pretty large ſize, with two kernels within it. Some will have this tree to be the ſame which the *Indians* call *Mongas*. 1662.

Nurotti. The tree call'd *Nurotti* by the *Malabars*, and *Kaitu* by the *Brahmans*, riſes up to a great height, its branches ſpreading very lofty round about it: The trunk is ſo big as ſcarce to be graſped by a man; the wood white, with a thick bark, which is green without and red within. The leaves are ſcattered here and there on the twigs with ſhort, round and green ſtalks, of the length of a ſpan, and the breadth of four or five inches, of an oval figure, pointed at the ends, not unlike the laurel leaves. The flowers ſprout forth ſix or ſeven together out of the extremities of the ſmall twigs, conſiſting of three rows of ſmall leaves. The firſt row makes up a ſtar of five ſmall pointed and dark brown hairy leaves. The ſecond row contains five round and ſmall leaves of a roſe-colour, and the third or outermoſt row, five pointed green leaves. The fruit grows on ſhort and thick ſtalks, being of an oval figure, having a roſe colour'd rough peel, and within a large yellowiſh ſtone, containing 10 or 12 kernels of an oleaginous ſubſtance. This tree produces both flowers and fruit in great plenty all the year round: From the kernels or ſeeds an oil is drawn, which has an anodyne quality, and applied outwardly, cures all ſorts of ſcurfs and itchings: The ſame oil, mixed with a certain fruit, the *Malabars* call *Palego*, kills the corns in the feet, if applied to the affected part.

Kaniram. Of the tree call'd *Kaniram* there are four ſeveral kinds: One is call'd *Kaniram* only; the ſecond *Karakaniram*, and the third and fourth *Vallikaniram*, The tree call'd *Kaniram*, and by the *Brahmans*, *Karo*, grows up to a great height, with lofty and far ſpreading branches. The root is very thick, exceeding bitter, and covered with a yellow rind. The trunk is of that thickneſs as ſcarce to be graſped by two men, having a dark aſh colour'd bark. The leaves, which are of an oval figure, are very broad in the middle, and pointed towards the ends, of a bitteriſh taſte and an odd ſcent, growing two and two over againſt the other: The flowers ſprout forth in cluſters, having each five or ſix pale green and pointed leaves. No ſooner begins the bloſſom to bud, but the tree loſes all its leaves, inſtead of which new ones come ſoon after. It bears a kind of round and ſmooth apple, which is green at firſt and turns yellow afterwards, two, three, four or more hanging together on ſhort ſtalks. The pulp, before they are ripe, is white and inſipid, but when ripe, bitter with a thick rough peel. It bloſſoms in the

1662. ſummer, and brings forth fruit in the winter. In the pulp are round but flattiſh ſeeds, which are alſo very bitter. The juice of the leaves taken in the decoction of the ſame leaves cures the head-ach, but if uſed in too great a quantity is mortal, the only antidote againſt which is man's dung taken inwardly. Two or three of thoſe ſeeds taken every day for two years ſucceſſively, is a preſervative againſt the biting of the ſerpent, called *Cobra de Capelo* by the *Portugueſe*. 1662.

Manjapumeram. The tree called *Manjapumeram* by the *Malabars*, and *Pariataku* by the *Brahmans*, riſes up to the height of 18 or 24 foot, with very thick and lofty branches ſpreading round about it, but the ſtem is not above the thickneſs of an arm, having an aſh-coloured bark: The leaves hang croſſwiſe over one another, being pointed at the ends, the uppermoſt ſide of a dark green, and the other of a light green colour, of an aſtringent and bitteriſh taſte; the flowers grow on ſtalks which ſtand upright five in a cluſter, are very agreeable and ſweet ſcented, having ſix, ſeven, and ſometimes eight leaves each, of a whitiſh colour both in and outſide. The fruit is of an oval figure, but flat, of a green colour, containing two round and flattiſh ſeeds. This tree is of no uſe among the *Malabar* phyſicians.

Champakam. This tree *Champakam*, as the *Malabars* call it, and the *Brahmans Champo*, is a very tall tree, with many lofty branches ſpreading at a good diſtance: The trunk is of that thickneſs as ſcarce to be graſp'd by a man, with a thick bark of an aſh-colour without, and ſoft within, of a bitter aſtringent taſte. The wood is white: The leaves are of an oval figure pointed a good way towards the ends, of the length of a ſpan, and the breadth of four or five inches; the uppermoſt ſide dark green and ſhining, the other ſide light green, bitter and biting upon the tongue. At the extremities of the ſmall twigs ſprout forth pale green flowers, of a quick odoriferous ſcent, having oval leaves placed in three rows within one another. In the firſt root are about eight leaves, being as broad again as thoſe of the ſecond row, round but pointed at the ends; but thoſe in the ſecond row are more pointed ſtill, and thoſe in the third more than the ſecond, and pale yellow. The fruit grows in bunches of an oval figure, with a thick rind. Whilſt not come to maturity it is green, but turns pale yellow when ripe, being ſharp of taſte, and of no agreeable ſcent: Within are three or four ſeeds, round on one, and flat on the other ſide; within thoſe ſeeds, when they are come to their full perfection, is a thin milky ſubſtance encloſed in a ſkin of a purple colour, and within it a black ſtone. The tree, if not too old, bloſſoms twice a year; out of theſe flowers they diſtil a good cordial water.

Elengi. The tree call'd *Elengi* by the *Malabars*, and *Vavalli* by the *Brahmans*, grows up very high, with many far-ſpreading branches: The trunk is of that thickneſs, that two men can ſcarce well graſp it, with a dark brown and rough bark, containing a milky liquor within. The wood is full of the ſame juice, and will keep a great while under water, but not very long in the air. The leaves grow on ſmall round and green ſtalks, being of an oval figure, but pointed at the ends. The flowers have pale green ſtalks, growing five or ſix in a cluſter, of a white colour, conſiſting of 16 leaves of an odoriferous ſcent. The *Malabars* make noſegays of them. The fruit is ſhap'd like an olive, green at firſt, but turns yellow and red by degrees: The pulp is yellow and meally. The *Malabars* eat this fruit, which has two oval but flat and dark brown ſtones within. This tree bears flowers twice a year, out of which the *Malabars* diſtil a well-ſcented water, which is look'd upon as a great cordial, and revives the ſpirits. The fruit bruiſed and taken inwardly in warm water, promotes the birth.

Beſides theſe there alſo grows here *Caſſia Fiſtula*, called *Konna* by the *Malabars*, and *Bajo* by the *Brahmans*; and *Tamarinds* call'd *Balam-Pulli*, or *Maderam-Pulli* by the *Malabars*, and *Sinza* by the *Brachmans*. The coaſt of *Malabar* produces likewiſe *Cardamom*, *Berbery* ginger, and ſome aloes; as alſo bezoar-ſtones, ſalt-petre, honey, lacca, and cotton; to be ſhort, this countrey abounds in all ſorts of *Indian* trees and fruits.

Living creatures of Malabar. The woods afford vaſt plenty of birds of all kinds, and among the reſt moſt excellent peacocks, the fleſh of which is very white and well taſted. No place in the world abounds more in all ſorts of water-fowl, and there are a great many birds here ſo tame, and ſo plentiful, that you may kill them with a ſtick, the reaſon of which is, that as the *Pagans* adhere to the opinion of *Pythagoras*, concerning the tranſmigration of the ſoul; ſo they won't kill any living creature, which makes all ſorts of wild creatures multiply here, almoſt *in infinitum*. The fleſh of their hogs (of which they likewiſe have great plenty) is alſo excellent good; but above all, tame fowl is *Plenty of fowl.* ſo prodigious cheap here, that you may buy a very good pullet for two-pence, and thirty eggs for the ſame price. I remember I had once bought up 300 pullets againſt the arrival of our ſhips, which being put in the old church of *St. Thomas*,

we

1662. we found all dead one morning; we could not gueſs at the cauſe of this diſaſter, till a certain *Malabar* told us, that it could not be otherwiſe, but that a *Cobre Kapel* (a very venomous ſerpent) muſt be hidden in the place; whereupon ſtrict ſearch being made we found the ſerpent under a heap of old wood, which was no ſooner removed, but the ſerpent ſet herſelf upright upon the tail, ſpitting fire and flame, ſo that no body durſt approach her, till one of our ſoldiers kill'd her with his ſword. Of veniſon there is alſo great plenty. 1662.

They have likewiſe bats of divers kinds; and among the reſt a certain ſort of that bigneſs, that their wings when extended are *Bats.*

as long as man can ſtretch with both his arms together. They have red heads and necks, black bodies, and are ſhaped like a fox. They are extremely nimble, and having very ſharp teeth do a great deal of damage to the fruit. Their wings are bare, like thoſe of our bats, unto which are faſtned their legs and tails, ſo that they can neither walk nor ſtand; to recompence which defect they have a kind of a hook, of the thickneſs of a finger on each wing, wherewith they faſten to the branches of the trees: You ſee here vaſt multitudes of them in the woods, ſo that it is no difficult thing to kill them; but whatever you kill, remains hanging among the trees: They are naturally ſo fierce that they are not to tamed; for if taken alive, they will bite their own wings and fleſh as far as they can reach; I once had the curioſity to ſet two of theſe creatures a fighting, which they did with ſuch fierceneſs, that they both remained dead upon the ſpot. They will drink of the liquor of the coco-tree till they are drunk; they commonly bring forth two young ones at a time, and that generally in the hollow of trees; the *Malabars* eat the fleſh, which has no agreeable taſte.

Here you meet alſo with *Jackalls*, as our people call them, being not unlike a large fox, of the bigneſs of an ordinary peaſant's dog, of a red grey colour, but thinly covered with hair. They aſſemble in the night in whole troops, and approaching (eſpecially about the new-moons) to the villages or plantations, make a hideous noiſe, like the outcries of women or men; they are very greedy after mens fleſh, and will ſcratch the dead carcaſſes out of the graves, unleſs they be well covered with ſtones: They are ſcarce ever to be tamed. The *Malabars* eat the fleſh of theſe *Jackalls*. And thus much of the coaſt of *Malabar*. *Jackall.*

After, as I told you, we had ſet ſail the 12th of *March* from *Koulang*, the wind turn'd againſt us the ſame evening, but about eleven *The author purſues his voyage.*

1662. Seven a clock at night we ſet ſail again with the land wind. The 13th we kept along the ſhore with a gentle breeze and very fair weather; but the wind turning ſoon after to the E. S. E. we were forced to chuſe the main ſea, but made to the ſhore again towards evening, and took the benefit of the land-wind. The 14th there being but little wind we advanced no farther than 12 leagues from *Koulang*; and the 15th finding ourſelves off of the city of *Tengepatnam*, we gave the ſignal by a cannon ſhot for the reſident Mr. *Koek* to come aboard us, which he did accordingly; and after I had diſcourſed with him of what I had in commiſſion to tell him, we continued our voyage, but being towards evening overtaken by a tempeſt, were forced to come to an anchor. The 16th early in the morning the winds being ſomewhat laid we ſet ſail again, but by reaſon of the contrary winds were forced to return towards *Pulon*, near the cape of *Comorin*, where the *Portugueſe* have a ſmall church dedicated to St. *Martin*. The 17th we made this cape, but the winds continuing ſtill againſt us, it was not till the 18th that we could reach *Toutekoriin*, the chief among the ſeaports of the coaſt of *Madure*. Here I tarried for ſome time to obſerve the intereſt of the company, both in reſpect of their traffick hither, and in the government of the inhabitants, who live under their juriſdiction along the ſea-coaſt, in ſeven large villages, the chief of which is *Toutekoriin*, the other ſix are *Manapara*, *Alendale*, *Wiranypatnam*, *Pommekiel*, *Baypaer* or *Vaypaer*, and *Bempaer*. After a ſtay of ſix months here, I received orders from Mr. *Van Goens* to return to *Koulang*, and to take once more upon me the government of this city, being very well known to the queen there; accordingly having ſurrendred my accounts to Mr. *Lawrentz Piil*, in the preſence of captain *Van Reede*, I left this place the 19th of *May* 1665, and went by land to *Koulang*. The number of the inhabitants of the before-mentioned ſeven villages amounted in 1664 to above 20000 ſouls, *viz.* in *Toutekoriin* about 3000, in *Mannapara* 4000, in *Alendale* 800, in *Wiranpatnam* 900, in *Pommekiel* or *Punikael* 2800, in *Baypaer* 700, and in *Bempaer* 800; beſides thoſe inhabiting on the coaſt of *Comorin*, which amounted to a conſiderable number: All theſe villages are adorn'd with ſtately churches, built by the *Portugueſe*, eſpecially thoſe of *Mannapara* and *Bempaer*, but are now in a decaying condition, ſince the *Portugueſe* have been chaſed thence. Some of the *Romiſh* prieſts now and then come to ſay maſs in the neighbouring villages, whither the people flock in great numbers; tho' to ſpeak truth, they are more heathens than chriſtians. *Toutekoriin* conſumes yearly abundance of foreign commodities, by reaſon of the great numbers of inhabitants living along this coaſt, who muſt be provided from abroad with moſt things they ſtand in need of; *Toutekoriin*, otherwiſe *Tutukuriin*, or rather *Tutukury*, or *Tutukuriin*, or *Totokury*, is now, as we told you, the chief of all thoſe ſeaports, being an open place, but beautified with ſtately ſtone buildings. It has three large churches built by the *Portugueſe*, which are to be ſeen at a great diſtance at ſea, the countrey round about being flat and low. In one of theſe the reformed exerciſe their religious worſhip: Beſides which the convent of the *Franciſcans* is lately fitted up for the ſame uſe.

1662.

Come over againſt Tengepatnam.

Come to Toutekoriin.

The ſeven ſeaports of Madure.

Their inhabitants.

The village of Toutekoriin.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* company have a factory here, managed by a merchant as chief governor; by a factor as his deputy; two or three aſſiſtants, and a military officer, under whoſe command are ſome ſoldiers, but the *Nayk* of *Madure* will not allow them to erect any fortifications: During my ſtay here, I begun to erect a brick-wall round the garden, but finding the *Jentives* to look with a jealous eye upon it, I deſiſted; yet I took care to repair the houſe of the company, and ſet their flag on the top of it, which might be ſeen a good way at ſea.

This place was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueſe* 1658, without much reſiſtence. In the road of *Toutekoriin*, is good anchorage at five fathom water in a ſandy bottom.

Three ſmall leagues from *Toutekoriin* near the rocks of *Remanekor*, not far from the kingdom of *Narſinga* lies the village of *Punikael*, where the *Portugueſe* formerly had a fort, and a garriſon of 40 men. Two leagues from thence there was a *Pagan* temple of the *Brahmans* call'd *Trichanduri*, againſt which and the prieſts thereof the *Portugueſe* would frequently utter very injurious words, which ſo exaſperated the inhabitants, that they entred into a league with their neighbours, *viz.* the *Badagas* of *Narſinga*, in order to drive the chriſtians thence: Accordingly, having with a great deal of ſecreſy got together a body of 6000 men, and received certain intelligence that the *Portugueſe* in the fort were but ill provided with gunpowder (the chief terror of theſe *Barbarians*) they march'd directly to *Punikael*; the *Portugueſe* being not a little ſurprized at ſo unexpected a ſight, were put to the greateſt nonplus that could be, being in want of ammunition, and no great account being to be made upon the *Parvas* (the chriſtian inhabitants) as being not trained up to military affairs, but living

The village Punikael.

War betwixt the inhabitants and the Portugueſe.

1662. upon fiſhing and ſwimming: Theſe being ſenſible of their inability to reſiſt the enemy, no ſooner heard of his approach, but they began to betake themſelves with their moveables to their boats which lay near the ſhore, which the *Badagas* endeavouring to prevent, ſome retired to unpaſſable places, others to the ſea-ſide, whilſt others were expoſed to the mercy of the enemy, and with moſt dreadful outcries implored the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe* in the fort.

Bravery of Anthony Krininalis.

About that time a certain prieſt, named *Anthony Kriminalis*, who was come ſome days before thither to take care of the chriſtians there, ſeeing this miſerable ſpectacle, applied himſelf to *John Ferdinando Korrea*, governor of the fort, remonſtrating to him, that ſince they were not in a condition to oppoſe the enemy, to endeavour to bring things to an accommodation; but the governor anſwer'd, that it was againſt the glory of his king to ſubmit in the leaſt reſpect to thoſe *Barbarians*; *Kriminalis* made what haſte he could to return to his flock, which he met in the church where he had preached the ſame morning, and led them to the ſea-ſhore, endeavouring as much as he could to ſee them embark in their boats, whilſt he refuſed to enter himſelf, being reſolved to ſtay aſhore, and to expect the utmoſt fury of the *Barbarians*, who were advancing apace, and with their arrows had already kill'd ſeveral of the *Portugueſe* and others, among whom was the interpreter of *Kriminalis*, who was ſhot by his ſide, notwithſtanding which he remained immoveable in his reſolution, and wringing his hands up to heaven, fell upon his knees; the firſt troop of the *Bagadas* paſs'd by without doing him the leaſt harm, except that they took his hat, and ſo did the ſecond, but one of the third troops (conſiſting of *Mahometans*) run a lance into his left ſide, whilſt others let fly their arrows at him, and thinking he had been kill'd came to take his cloaths, which he, being yet alive, gave to them, and ſo retreated into the church, with an intention to ſpend the ſmall remainder of his life at the foot of the altar; and being follow'd by the *Bagadas*, he there received a ſecond thruſt, and ſoon after a third, which put a period to his life: They afterwards cut off his head, which together with his bloody cloaths they carried in triumph to their temple of *Trichanduri*; the trunk of the body was afterwards buried by the chriſtians.

He killed.

Not far from *Punikael* or *Pommekiel*, lieth a great village call'd *Putanam*, and ſo further up the coaſt *Bembar* or *Bempaer*, *Kalekure*, *Beadal*, *Nianankor*, or rather *Romanakoris* and *Kanhameira*; next you ſee *Negapatnam*, the firſt frontier of the coaſt of *Coromandel*, but one of the chiefeſt towns 1626. of this coaſt is *Periapatan*, ſituate near the rocks of *Romanankoris* being the capital city of the *Maravas*, who inhabit the mountains, a barbarous generation, living only upon robbing; the jeſuites that formerly belonged to the church of *Periapatan*, did endeavour to reclaim them in ſome meaſure from their barbarity, but moſt of them ſoon return'd to their old way of living. There is another village ſeated on the other ſide of the rocks of *Romanankoris*, directly oppoſite to *Negapatnam*, the inhabitants of which are all chriſtians. All along the ſea-coaſt are about 30 villages, among which, beſides the before-mention'd, are the chiefeſt, *Trichandar* or *Trekandar*, *Kallegrande* and *Cherakalle*.

Manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of thoſe places are very black and ſtrong; they are deceitful and cunning, make but little account of their wives, but generally keep two or three harlots, by whom they have ſometimes 16 or 18 children. The men wear nothing but a ſingle piece of callicoe wrap'd about their middle, and another piece about their head, which they call *Romare*. The ordinary women commonly wear painted callicoe, thoſe of faſhion are adorn'd with gold rings and bracelets when they are abroad, but are very naſty at home. They tie their hair up in a truſs behind, like thoſe of *Malabar*, for the reſt they have very good features. They live upon meat and rice, but drink nothing but water, which they are fain to fetch half a league from the ſea-ſhore; they live by pearl fiſhing and catching of fiſh, by weaving and ſhipping, there being ſome who drive a conſiderable trade with the painted callicoes to *Kalpentien*, *Kolomba* and the *Malabar* coaſt. They have abundance of callicoe and linnen weavers here, and great numbers of people are employed in painting of callicoes, which they do very artificially. This trade was in great requeſt whilſt I was here, becauſe I uſed to give all imaginable encouragement to them; the inhabitants are govern'd by judges of their own, who are choſen every year by the chief director of the *Dutch* company there, whom they ſtile the *Captain of the ſeven Seaports*. Each village has the privilege to propoſe four, out of which the *Captain* chuſes two, who ſwear fealty to the company; all civil cauſes are tranſacted in their reſpective villages, but criminal matters are decided at *Toutekoriin* in the council of nine, whereof the *Captain* is preſident. The remaining *Portugueſe* pay no taxes to the *Dutch* company, but to the *Nayk* of *Madure*; however, this tax is paid with the approbation of the chief director, who allots

Their clothing.

Way of living.

Govern-ment.

1662. lots every one his ſhare according to his ſubſtance; thoſe who are backward in their payment, muſt expect ſpeedy execution, which is done by the ſoldiers of the *Nayk*, and cauſes frequent quarrels betwixt the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, as it happened in my time; when the *Nayk* peremptorily demanded the tax from the *Parvas*, which they were not able to pay, I ſent to him a ſerjeant with ſome ſoldiers, to deſire that he would ſend a commiſſioner with whom they might treat, and obtain ſome time for the payment thereof; upon which the *Nayk* having ſent one of his great officers with a body of horſe, I remonſtrated to him the impoſſibility of the matter, telling him that the ſeven ſeaports were willing to make a preſent of two ſilver diſhes fill'd with ducats to his maſter, which was well accounted of, and the *Nayk*, as a token of his ſatisfaction, ſent me a ſcarf richly embroidered with gold. Theſe ſeven ſeaports were formerly (before the *Portugueſe* fleets appear'd in theſe parts) under the government of the king of *Marten*, a vaſſal of the queen of *Tengauſy*, unto whom they were forc'd to pay many taxes; at which time the *Parvas* lived deeper in the countrey, and uſed to ſerve in the wars to ſuch princes as would pay them beſt.

Wars betwixt the Parvas *and* Moors.

One time a certain *Parvas* happening to fall out with ſome *Moors*, theſe cut off his noſe and ears, which ſo exaſperated the *Parvas*, that they reſolved to take up arms, and to revenge the quarrel of their countreyman. To begin the fray, they took one of the *Mooriſh* merchants priſoners, whoſe noſe and ears they likewiſe cut off, and ſo ſent him home. Hereupon the *Moors* having aſſembled a body of 30000 men, they march'd to, and pitch'd their tents near *Toutekoriin*; on the other hand, the *Parvas* were not above 5000 men, and well arm'd, and truſting more to their bravery than number, fell upon the *Moors* ſo courageouſly, that they made them quit the field, with the ſlaughter of 7000 of their men; a great number of them being forc'd to the ſea-ſhore, ſaved themſelves in boats, but were ſcarce got to ſea, when by a ſtrong tempeſt from the S. W. they were ſo diſpers'd, that no news was ever heard of them ſince. After this victory the *Parvas* having made themſelves maſters of theſe ſeaports, came to a compoſition with the queen, promiſing to pay her the ſame taxes as the *Moors* had done, which being impoſſible for them to perform, this proved the occaſion of unſpeakable miſeries; ſome of them being impriſoned for want of payment, others ſold for ſlaves to that degree, that at laſt they reſolved to ſhake of the yoke, coſt it what it would: The *Portugueſe* who 1490 appear'd firſt thereabouts with their ſhips from *Cochin*, having at that time traded there for 40 years before, and conſequently their ſtrength at ſea, being not unknown to the *Parvas*, they ſent their deputies to *Cochin* to implore their protection, and to promiſe their obedience, and that they were ready to embrace the chriſtian faith. The *Portugueſe*, willing to improve this opportunity, came with their fleet 1533 on that coaſt, and having made themſelves maſters of the ſeaport towns, the *Parvas* received baptiſm all on one day. However they met with great oppoſition afterwards from thoſe on the coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, encouraged underhand by the *Parvas*, till at laſt matters were adjuſted thus, that the *Portugueſe* ſhould remain maſters of the coaſt, that the *Parvas* ſhould pay them a certain annual tribute, according to their ability, and that all the chief men of that coaſt ſhould have their ſhare in the pearl fiſhing, which was to be perform'd on a certain day. After all, the *Nayk* of *Madure* having found means to get into the poſſeſſion of this countrey, left the *Portugueſe* in the full poſſeſſion of their juriſdiction over the *Parvas*, and of the free exerciſe of their religion, in which ſtate it continued till the year 1630, when the king of *Portugal* having ſent thither a governor, to clip the wings of the *Romiſh* clergy, who were grown two powerful there, this occaſion'd new troubles; for the *Parvas* being a zealous kind of people, and for the moſt part at the devotion of the prieſts, they were divided into two factions, during which inteſtine commotions the clergy did not forget to improve their authority, and to enrich themſelves at the expence of their flock, but the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* alſo began to encreaſe to ſuch a degree, that being become formidable to the *Parvas*, they often forc'd them to ſhelter themſelves againſt their forces in the neighbouring iſlands. Since that time the *Parvas* acknowledged the juriſdiction of the *Portugueſe* governor; each village has two judges, who are changed every year, they keep courts twice a week, and in conjunction with the *Petangiins* (who are hereditary officers) decide all controverſies of leſs moment; they raiſe the taxes, and are accountable once a year to the people for all their tranſactions; whilſt the *Portugueſe* were maſters here, the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* durſt not exact more taxes from the *Parvas* than was agreed for, unleſs they would ſee them go with wife and children to the neighbouring iſlands, from whence they did not return till they had obtain'd ſome conſi-

derable

1662. derable abatement; but of late years the *Parvas* having left off that cuſtom, the *Jentyves* improve it to their advantage, and force them to pay three times as much as they uſed to do formerly.

The kingdom of the Nayk *of* Madure.

The kingdom of the *Nayk* of *Madure*, under whoſe juriſdiction the ſeven before-mention'd ſea-ports are, borders to the weſt upon the kingdom of *Travankor* to the eaſt upon the ſea, and to the north-weſt upon the countrey of the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor* or *Tanjauwer*, betwixt the coaſt of *Malabar* near the cape *Comorin* and *Coromandel*; its whole extent being along the whole eaſtern gulph or coaſt oppoſite to *Ceylon* from the cape *Comorin* (where the coaſt of *Malabar* ends) to the town of *Bempaer* or the river *Ulton*, a tract of 75 leagues in length, and 30 in breadth. The ſea-ſhore, commonly call'd the *Pearl-Coaſt*, from the many pearl-banks that are hereabouts, extends from ſouth to north in length, and in ſome places about half a league deep into the countrey. The capital city and ordinary reſidence of the *Nayk* is *Madure*, five days journey to the north of *Koulang*; being adorn'd with many moſt magnificent *Pagodes*, or pagan temples, which have very high turrets gilt on the top. Along the coaſt of *Madure* neither graſs or herb, or plant is to be ſeen, except thiſtles and houſe-leek; it having been found by experience, that the coco-trees would not thrive here no more than ſeveral other *Indian* trees; notwithſtanding which they are ſufficiently provided with all manner of neceſſaries from the circumjacent countrey, as well as from abroad, by the way of *Toutekoriin*; beſides that, the ſea-ſhore abounds in hares and partridges, the firſt of which reſemble our rabbits, their fleſh being tough, yet in taſte like our hares. The fleſh of the partridges, which have red legs and round bills here, is of an agreeable taſte.

They have here mice as big as cats, which dare not approach them, for if they be purſued, they will ſettle upon a chair or cheſt, and ſitting upright, fight and bite like dogs: They are in colour and ſhape like the *European* mice, except that they are without hair, and have a rough ſkin like an elephant. They will dig underneath the doors, and do conſiderable miſchief to the merchandizes in the warehouſes.

There is alſo here another ſort of mice, red and much leſſer than the firſt, but ſo fierce, that they will make the cats run before them.

This countrey alſo produces ſerpents, and divers other ſorts of venomous creatures. One morning, as I was riſing, I found the ſkin of a ſerpent ſticking to one of the poſts of my bedſtead, which ſhe had caſt there the night before, without being perceived by me or any body elſe. In *October*, *November* and *December*, the weſtern winds blow with ſuch violence, the ſand from the adjacent mountains to the ſhore, that you are not able to open your eyes. Much rain falls deeper in the countrey, and near the cape *Comorin*, but never at *Toutekoriin*, inſtead of which a thaw falls every night, which is very cold, and conſequently, by the ſudden alteration of the weather, very unwholeſome; the winds being ſometimes ſo exceſſive hot here, as if they did blow out of a fiery furnace; as long as theſe winds laſt, the inhabitants dare not go abroad into the fields for fear of being overwhelm'd by the ſand. 1662.

The *Nayk* of the kingdom of *Madure* is maſter of ſeveral conſiderable countries, each of which are govern'd by a peculiar governor; beſides which, there is one governor-general, who has the chief management of the whole kingdom, who ruled all our time the countrey, which was called *Boomalapelles*; beſides the governors, each village has two judges, who are much reſpected by the inhabitants. The *Nayk* to ſecure himſelf of the fidelity of his governors, detains always their wives and children in a certain caſtle call'd *Zwela Baddy*, about ſeven leagues from *Madure*, under the guard of 300 eunuchs; neither are the huſbands permitted to ſee them without peculiar licence from the *Nayk*, and are obliged to depart again in two or three days; ſome to avoid this inconveniency, content themſelves with harlots. Moſt of the inhabitants of the countrey of *Madure* are *Jentyves* or pagans, (by ſome they are call'd *Badagas*) tho' ſome of them have been converted to the *Romiſh* faith by the *Portugueſe*. The *Jentyves* are accounted good ſoldiers, yet much inferior to the *Malabars*, witneſs the wars the *Nayk* of *Tanigos*, tho' much inferior in power, wages againſt them.

There are three *Nayks* in this part of the *Indies*, *viz.* the *Nayk* of *Madure*, the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor*, by the *Dutch* call'd the *Tanjower* and *Tanjouwer*, and ſometimes *Teaver*, and the *Nayk* of *Gingi*, otherwiſe called *Cingie*, or *Chengier*. The word *Nayk*, *Neyk*, or *Najeka*, ſignifies as much as a governor, vaſſal or viceroy, their predeceſſors having in ancient times been only governors of thoſe countries they are now poſſeſſed of under the juriſdiction of the kings of *Vidia Najar* or *Biſnagar*, or *Narſinga*; but having revolted againſt their liege lord, each of them aſſumed the royal power and title. The *Nayk* of *Madure* had been for a conſiderable time in war with the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor*, and taken many

Betwixt pag. 260. 261.

The PEARLE FISHERY near
TOUTE COURYN.

1 Toute Couryn
2 Governers house
3 The Church
4 The House therunto belonging
5 St. Paul
6 A Chappel
7 A Heap of Pearle Oyster shells
8 Marchants of divers Nations
9 The Pearle ship men
10 Governers Sacat
11 Tents where all sorts of Provisions are Sold while ye Pearle Fishery Continues
12 The Mt. called ye Bellegaete or Rasselgate

1662. places from him: At my time the war was renewed with more vigour than ever; and the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor* having gathered a great army, attack'd the *Nayk* of *Madure* ſo briſkly, that he took from him in a few days all the places he had conquered from him before. The army of the *Nayk* of *Madure* being much diſheartened by the victories of their enemies, the *Madure* ſent to me, to *Koulang*, his chief governor, deſiring aſſiſtance from the company; but as it was not our intereſt to engage on any ſide, I excuſed it as handſomely as I could.

The Pearl-Banks. Betwixt the coaſt of *Madure*, where the ſeven villages are, and the iſle of *Ceylon*, are divers famous pearl banks by the ſea, for which reaſon this tract is called the *Pearl-Fiſhery*. Theſe pearl-banks are properly rocks of white coral ſtone, which ſometimes are covered with ſand; on theſe rocks, the oyſter-ſhells, containing the pearls, are faſtened, but in what manner no body knows. Some of thoſe banks are about 12 or 13 fathoms, and others at 15 fathoms diſtance from the ſhore, ſo that they can ſcarce be ſeen from thence: Some of thoſe banks are five, ſix or ſeven fathom under water. The oyſters live ſix years, after which time the ſhells open and the pearls are loſt; of which I have ſeen ſeveral that were ſhown me by the divers. Theſe pearl-banks are ſearch'd every year to ſee whether the ſhells are come to their full maturity: This is commonly done in *October*, when the weater is calm, and the ſea clear hereabouts. After they are convinced that the ſaid oyſters are come to their full perfection, the time of pearl-fiſhing is appointed and proclaimed throughout the countrey, ſo that the merchants reſort thither from the other part of the *Indies*, nay, from *Arabia* and *Turkey* it ſelf, who ſet up their tents near the ſea-ſide, to buy the pearls.

Pearl-fiſhing how perform'd. They fiſh for pearls, or rather the oyſter-ſhells containing the pearls, in certain boats called *Toniis*, being about 28 foot long, (of theſe you ſhall ſee 3 or 400 at time,) each of which has 7 or 8 ſtones, which ſerve inſtead of anchors, and 5, 6 or 7, nay ſometimes 8 divers, who are to dive one after another. Theſe divers are quite naked, being covered only with a kind of thin waſtecoat; they have each a net hanging down from the neck, and gloves on their hands, wherewith they are to pick the oyſters from the rocks; each of them has alſo a ſtone of about a foot in length, and 50 pound weight, to make him dive the ſwifter: This ſtone has a hole on the top, wherewith it is faſten'd to a rope; when they are going to dive, they ſet their foot into a kind of a ſtirrup, laying hold with their left-hand of the rope, the other 1662. end of which is held by one in the boat, ſtopping their noſe with the right-hand to hold in their breath, and ſo go to the bottom; where they are no ſooner come, but they give a ſignal, by pulling the rope, for thoſe in the boat to pull up the ſtone. This done, to work they go, and ſcraping the ſhells from the rocks, fill their nets, and then pull again the rope, when thoſe in the boat draw up the nets firſt, and ſoon after the divers, who are ſucceeded continually by freſh ones. Theſe divers can hold their breath four times as long as other people; they are obliged to dive from 3 fathoms to 15, being not able to hold their breath any longer. Theſe boats commonly go to ſea every morning by break of day, with the land-winds, and return in the afternoon with the ſea-winds. Thoſe who equip thoſe boats, hire both the divers and the reſt of the boat's crew at a certain price *per diem*, like as we do our day-labourers. All the oyſter-ſhells are brought aſhore, and there laid up in a great heap, till the pearl fiſhery is over, which begins immediately after *October*, and continues all the *November* and *December*, which makes the oyſters ſmell very ſtrong, and ſometimes occaſions diſtempers. The pearl-fiſhing being over, a wooden houſe is erected for the company and the *Nayk*, where each receives his ſhare, the boats being obliged to fiſh one day for the *Nayk*, and another for the company; and theſe take care that they be not diſturbed in their fiſhing, the governor and two judges being every day near the ſea-ſhore, to decide ſuch differences as ariſe betwixt them. At laſt the oyſter-ſhells are opened in the before-mention'd houſe, in the preſence of certain commiſſioners; every oyſter-ſhell does not contain pearls, nay, the moſt are either without any, or have at leaſt very ſmall ones: On the other hand, ſome ſhells contain five, ſix, ſeven, nay eight pearls apiece. Some of theſe pearls are found in the liquor, ſome in the fleſh of the oyſters, others, but few, are faſten'd to the ſhells, of which laſt I keep ſeveral by me. The pearls being all taken out of the ſhells, are put into ſifts of different holes, and according to their different ſizes are ſold to the faireſt bidder: The pearl-duſt is bought and ſold by the *Dutch*. They ſtew and eat the fleſh of theſe oyſters, but it is ſomewhat rank and hardy, not comparable in taſte to our *Engliſh* oyſters. They give the pearls a glance by rubbing them with *Pearl-duſt.* ſalt and powder'd rice. Out of the ſhells they make a very fine mortar.

They have two ſorts of pearl-duſt, the old and the new: The new pearl duſt is

1662. ſearch'd after daily by the women among the dirt and rubbiſh of the oyſters: The old pearl-duſt is dug out upon the very brink of the ſea-ſhore, dirt, ſand and all, ſometimes ſix, ſeven or eight foot deep; this they let dry altogether in the ſun, and by degrees the duſt being blown away by the wind, the black pearl-duſt remains behind, which they bring to thoſe in ſmall parcels, who have given them ſome money beforehand. This pearl-duſt being the worſt of the two, and of no great value, theſe poor wretches can ſcarce get a half-penny a day for their labour, a wretched gain indeed, but ſufficient to keep them from ſtarving in this countrey.

The horns of Siankos.

Beſides the pearl-oyſter, they alſo catch on this coaſt certain horns call'd *Siankos* by the inhabitants, being in ſhape long, round and thick, and very white; out of theſe they make bracelets and thumb-rings, which they make uſe of in drawing their bows, being valued much beyond Ivory. This product of the ſea is found at 8 or 12 fathom depth, in a tract of the ſea of about 10 leagues in length, from the coaſt of *Vyraamdes Laam* to *Ilha Doce*. They begin to fiſh for it in the middle of *December* till the middle of *May*, when the ſea hereabouts beginning to be unclear, the divers cannot without great danger go to the bottom. Among theſe ſea-horns they now and then, (tho' ſcarce once in 100 years) meet with one they call the *King's-Horn*, being not to be diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt, except by the opening, which is on the contrary ſide, being red within and green without; they are ſaid to ſwim before the reſt, which follow them like their king; for which reaſon it is, that the kings of *Golconda*, and ſeveral other *Indian* kings are accounted out of one of theſe horns, which makes them to be in great eſteem here, eſpecially among the *Jentyves*, who will ſometimes give 800 reals for ſuch a horn. Whilſt I was hereabouts, a certain fiſherman dream'd that he had taken a king's-horn, which he telling to one of his comrades, they agreed, that they would go immediately to try, and divide the booty; accordingly they did, and he who had dreamed the night before, catch'd a king's-horn, but refuſing to give to his comrade his ſhare, they went before the judges, who were obliged to decide in favour of the dreamer, the other having no witneſſes to prove his bargain. I bought the ſame horn afterwards for 170 reals, and was offered 20 reals gain immediately after, by one of the judges. Theſe *Siankos* are ſold at a dear rate at *Bengal*, where they have a way of poliſhing them, that they ſhine with a moſt lovely white, much beyond any ivory: They make bracelets and other ornaments of them. 1662.

As the fiſhing of thoſe horns is one of the main ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants on this coaſt, ſo they muſt be carefully look'd after, that under pretence of fiſhing for them, they don't dive for oyſters, for which reaſon certain people are maintained to watch them. I remember they once brought up a mooriſh boat belonging to *Kalitpatnam*, which under pretence of fiſhing for *Siankos*, had been found among the pearl-banks; when they came before me, I found upon a ſtrict examination, that extreme poverty had inforced them thereunto, and ſo diſmiſſed them for that time. Some are of opinion, that the pearl-duſt dug on the ſea-ſhore, has lain there ever ſince the iſle of *Ceylon* and the *Maldive* iſlands, were torn from the continent, when the pearl-ſhells were caſt up by the floods here, and opening themſelves, were conſumed by degrees, leaving the pearls under ground. The pearl-duſt is gather'd by the men during thoſe intervals, when they can't go a fiſhing, but when they are abroad at ſea their wives and children do it in their ſtead. Abundance of divers are devoured by the ſharks, againſt which they pretend to defend themſelves by certain incantations, notwithſtanding they are chriſtians.

The author retires to Koulang.

After I had ſettled my accounts at *Toutekoriin*, I prepared for my journey to *Koulang* croſs the mountains of *Balligate*; and accordingly as I told you, ſet out the 19th of *May* 1665, under a guard of ſome ſoldiers, and with an attendance of ſome porters to carry my baggage and proviſions, there being no inns by the way, and in many places not the leaſt thing to be got for money. We had ſcarce travell'd a day but were met by a troop of *Malabar* robbers, arm'd with bows and arrows ready to let fly at us: They had already laid hold of two ſlaves, who were carrying ſome *Perſian* wine, but ſeeing the ſoldiers ready to diſcharge their firelocks among them, they thought it their beſt way to retire, and finding us continually upon our guard, quite to leave us at laſt. We paſs'd that dreadful ridge of mountains call'd *Balligate*, extending 120 leagues in length, and is cover'd with a very fine red ſand, which being as light as duſt, is in *October*, *November* and *December* blown by the continual ſtrong weſt winds as far as the iſle of *Ceylon*, a tract of at leaſt 50 leagues; whence it is probable, that theſe mountains are not ſo high now as they were in former ages. When the ſun caſts its rays upon this red land, the reflection thereof appears moſt dreadful to the eyes in the ſky, which ſeems to be all on fire. This high ridge of mountains

The mountains of Balligate.

1662. mountains does likewiſe occaſion moſt ſurprizing alterations in the ſeaſon; ſo that whilſt on the north-ſide of the cape *Comorin*, it is winter during the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*; it is ſummer at the ſame time on the ſouth-ſide of that cape; on one ſide you meet with continual tempeſts, thunder and lightning, whilſt the other enjoys an agreeable and lovely ſeaſon. About that time black clouds are gathering upon theſe mountains by the winds, which break out into very hard and ſudden rains, occaſioning great water floods, by the overflowing of the rivers, which are oftentimes thereby choak'd up with ſand to that degree, that they are rendered unnavigable for a conſiderable time after.

Comes to Koulang. Having at laſt paſſed the mountains I arrived the 25th of *May* at *Koulang*, whereabouts I found all the fields under water. Purſuant to the orders I had received, to draw the city of *Koulang* into a narrower compaſs, and to fortify it on the land-ſide with one wall and two demibaſtions, I ordered all the houſes, churches, trees, and what elſe ſtood in our way to be cut or pull'd down; and 30000 ſtones, each of two foot long and one broad, to be cut out of the quarries; ſo that the firſt foundation of theſe fortifications being laid the 1ſt of *July*, the ſame was continued with all imaginable diligence. In the mean while I went in an inland bark to *Cochin*, by the way of *Kalkolang*, to confer with the governor *Kolſter* how to regulate the factories of *Koulang*, *Kalkolang* and *Karnopoly*, to the beſt advantage of the company.

Goes to Cochin.

After a ſtay of three days at *Cochin*, in my return to *Koulang*, we were ſurprized by ſo violent a tempeſt, that we were forced to leave the bark and to get aſhore, but the next day the violence of the wind being much abated, we proſecuted our journey to *Koulang*, where I arrived the 4th day after I left *Cochin*.

The war among ſome of the *Indian* kings continuing as yet, it was generally reported, that the king of *Travankoor* (who was then at *Manſaſſi*, tho' the queen reſided at the ſame time at *Koulang*) was marching with a conſiderable force to attack the fort of *Kalkolang*, whereupon I ſent our factor with letters from our chief director Mr. *Kolſter* to the king, to know the reaſon of this enterprize: But he was forced to return without any other anſwer from his courtiers, than that the king being employed in his devotions, no body could be admitted into his preſence till that time was expired, which was likely to hold for ſome time; however the army did remain all the time in its former camp, without committing any hoſtilities: In the mean while I had taken effectual care to provide for the ſecurity of *Koulang*, the walls advancing apace, and being in ſuch forwardneſs, that we hoped in a little time to bring them to perfection; this being the only thing that ſtay'd me at *Koulang*; for as the time of my contract with the company began to come near a period, I began to make preparations for my return into *Holland*. But Mr. *Jacob Huſtart* being gone to *Batavia*, and Mr. *Goens* put in his place, I happened to have ſome difference with him concerning the government of *Toutekoriin*, which roſe to that height, that he ordered me immediately from *Koulang* to the city of *Kolombo* in the iſle of *Ceylon*, leaving captain *Van Reede* governor of *Koulang*. 1662.

The author is ſent to Kolombo.

The ſeaſon for ſea-voyages (which muſt be exactly obſerved in theſe parts) being then expired, I was forced to travel for above 60 leagues along the ſea-ſhore, with no ſmall difficulty, there being no ſuch thing as an inn to be met with hereabouts, or any other convenient lodgings, unleſs you meet with ſome charitable popiſh prieſt or other, who will receive you into his houſe, moſt of the inhabitants along this ſhore being *Roman Catholicks*, who have here and there a ſmall church. However, after ſome troubleſome days journey I came ſafely to *Toutekoriin*, where I found the *Mary* yacht ready to tranſport me to *Kolombo*, where I arrived the next day, *viz.* the 18th of *Sept.* 1666, I ſtay'd here above a whole year; when I reſolv'd to go aboard the *Brederoo* yacht bound for *Batavia*, where I landed the 20th of *Auguſt* 1667, without meeting with any thing remarkable at ſea. I continued for three whole years at *Batavia*, without being engaged in the companies ſervice, and in 1670 return'd thence into *Holland*. During thoſe three years, I had ſufficient opportunity to take a full view of the city, both within and without, in which I was ſo curious, as not only to make draughts of all its publick ſtructures, but alſo of ſuch plants and trees as grow in and about that city; tho' to confeſs the truth, the ſame could oftentimes not be undertaken without great hazard, as well from the wild beaſts, as form the barbarous *Javaneſe*, ſo that I durſt not venture far out of the town without a good guard; but before I proceed to give you a deſcription of the living creatures, trees, fruits and plants, and of the city of *Batavia* itſelf, in the iſle of *Java*, it will be requiſite I ſhould give you an account before-hand of the ſituation of this great iſland.

Comes to Kolombo.

The iſle known generally by the name of *Great Java*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Leſſer Java*, otherwiſe call'd *Bati*, lies ſix degrees

The iſle of Great Java.

1662. degrees to the ſouth of the line, directly oppoſite to the ſouth-point of the iſle of *Sumatra*, from which it is ſeparated only from the ſtreights of *Sunda*, where the ſame is not above four or five leagues over. To the north lies the iſle of *Borneo*, betwixt which and this iſle there is a convenient paſſage for ſmall veſſels; to the eaſt it has the iſle of *Bati*, or the *Leſſer Java*, from which it is divided by the channel of *Balambuam*, and to the ſouth by the main ocean. Its length from the ſtreights of *Sunda* to the channel of *Balambuam*, *viz.* from E. to W. inclining however a little to the S. and N. is about 130 or 140 leagues; its breadth is very different, but the whole circumference is computed at 300 leagues: The north coaſt of *Java* has abundance of very commodious creeks, bays, harbours, and goodly towns, with many little iſlands near the ſhore. In former times the iſle of *Java* had as many petty kings as there were cities, but now adays it is divided into two kingdoms only, the one of which is under the juriſdiction of the emperor of *Mataram*, the other under the king of *Bantam*. The firſt is in the poſſeſſion of the eaſtern and greateſt part of the iſle, the other of the weſtern and leſſer part; for ſince the emperor of *Mataram* (call'd alſo the emperor of *Great Java* by the *Dutch*) had once found means to ſubdue his petty neighbours, he ſoon extended his conqueſts all over the eaſtern parts of this iſle: The emperor who reign'd all the time of my being there, was a young prince named *Souſouhounan Ingelaga*, the ſon of *Sulthan Mahomet*.

Java has two kingdoms.

Unto one or other of theſe two potent princes all the reſt are obliged to pay homage, tho' there be alſo as yet remaining ſome petty ſovereignties along the ſea-coaſts, beſides what belongs to the city of *Batavia*.

Cities of Java.

In the eaſtern parts of *Batavia* are the cities *Balambuam*, *Panarukan*, *Paſſarvan*, *Joartan*, *Surabaaya*, *Brandaon*, *Sydayo*, *Tubaon*, *Kajaon*, *Japare*, *Pati*, *Dauma*, *Samarang* and *Mataram*, the reſidence of the emperor of *Java*. To the weſt, near the ſea are *Taggel*, *Charabaon*, *Dermayaon*, *Manukaon*, *Karavaon* and *Batavia*; of the coaſt of which we intend to give you a ſhort but exact account. About 10 or 12 leagues from *Batavia* is the famous city of *Bantam*, where the *Engliſh* have a factory, and a conſiderable traffick.

Manners and cuſtoms of the Javaneſe.

The *Javaneſe* are a barbarous, proud, and fierce nation, of a brown colour, with flat faces, and thin, ſhort, coal black hair, large eye-brows, and large cheeks. They boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from the ancient *Chineſe*, unto whom they reſemble in ſome reſpects, having very ſmall eyes with large eye-lids. The men are very robuſt and ſtrong limb'd, and well fitted for the war; the women are but ſmall. The men wear a piece of callicoe wrap'd two or three times round their bodies; people of faſhion have them with gold flowers or ſtreaks. The women wear it from under their arm-pits down to their knees, all the reſt bare. They marry ſometimes two or three wives, and perhaps keep divers concubines beſides, according to their ability. Lying and cheating is a daily practice with them. Thoſe living near the ſea-ſide are for the moſt part *Mahometans*, which was introduced there about 150 years ago. In the inland countries they are generally *Pagans*, abſtaining from feeding upon any living creatures. When they are to conſult about matters of moment it is done in the night time.

1662.

Their clothing.

Religion.

The iſle of *Java* is very fertile, tho' a great part thereof be not known hitherto; it has very high mountains, reaching to the very clouds, witneſs the pepper mountain on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland; it has likewiſe impaſſable foreſts and wilderneſſes; but to the north, betwixt *Batavia* and *Bantam*, is a very populous countrey, full of rice fields, and all ſorts of tame and wild creatures; hereabouts alſo is ſalt and pepper to be found, but not ſo good as that at *Malabar*, beſides moſt other ſorts of *Indian* fruits, which are ſold in great plenty at *Batavia*. They abound alſo in fiſh, are well ſtor'd with hogs, oxen, ſheep and other tame beaſts, the fleſh whereof is of a very good taſte; fowl both wild tame they have in great plenty; but the woods have alſo large tigers, rhinoceros's and divers other wild beaſts; in the rivers you ſee alſo often *Crocodiles*, call'd *Kaymans* by the *Indians*.

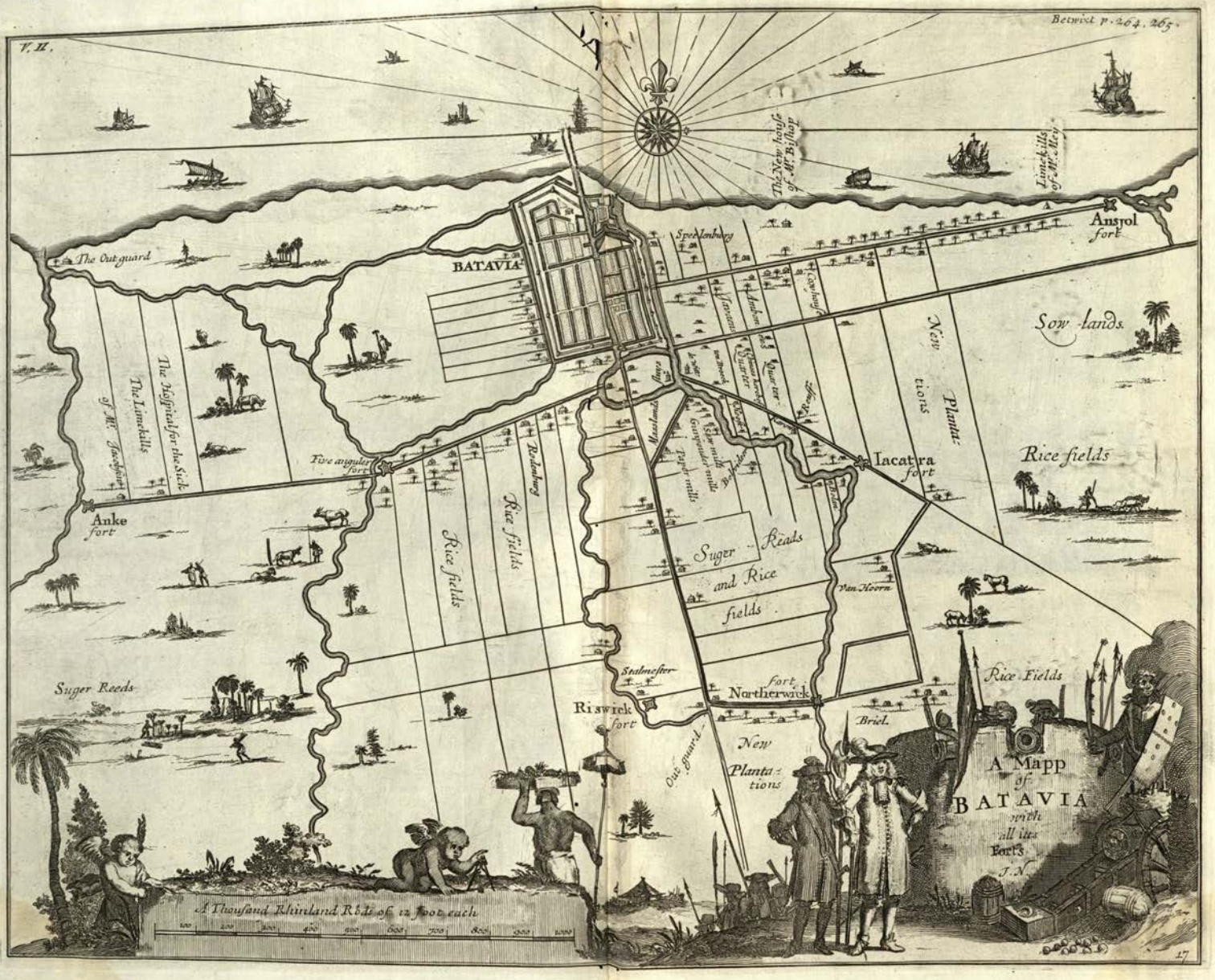
Its fertility.

The air or climate of *Batavia* is in my opinion as temperate and healthy as any place whatever in the *Indies*; the eaſt and weſt winds blowing all the year long along the ſhore, beſides the ordinary land and ſea winds. The ſeaſons of the year run here in the ſame manner as in *Europe*, except that the ſun paſſes twice a year directly over their heads; the moſt agreeable ſeaſon begins in *May*, which continues with continual breezes from the eaſt, and a very ſerene ſky till *November*; when the winter ſeaſon approaching it rains ſometimes continually for three or four days without intermiſſion, which ſets all the low grounds under water, which however has this convenience, that it kills and waſhes away all inſects, which elſe would prove very noxious to the fruits. This ſeaſon ends about *May*, when the dark clouds beginning

The air and ſeaſons.

to

Betwixt p. 264. 265.



1662. to diſperſe, the ſky aſſumes its former ſerenity; in *December* the weſt winds blow ſo violently, that there is no going by ſea here; in *February* it is changeable weather, intermix'd with ſudden ſtorms of thunder and lightning; in *March* they begin to ſow, and this month produces ſome fruit; in *June* is the moſt agreeable time of the year. In *July* the ſugar and rice begins to ripen; in *September* it is the beſt time, and the *October* affords them plenty of all ſorts of fruits. The happy temperature of the climate produces ſuch plenty of all ſorts of neceſſaries, that there are very few countries that can compare with this iſland; the pleaſant river riſing in the mountains divides itſelf into many branches, and waters the circumjacent countrey, and afterwards recollecting its channels, paſſes thro' the midſt of *Batavia*, (which it divides in two parts) and there exonerates into the ſea. 1662.

Batavia. The city of *Batavia*, which got its name many years ago from the *Dutch* after their firſt eſtabliſhment in thoſe parts, was firſt, and is now by the *Javaneſe* and *Chineſe* call'd *Kalakka*; from the fruit of a palm or cocotree, which grows very plentiful hereabouts; the fruit of which the *Javaneſe* call *Kalakka*. The *Indians* call it *Jacata*, derived likewiſe from a certain fruit call'd *Jaccas* by the *Indians*, and *Schrookzak* by the *Dutch*. Not long before the *Mahometans* ſettled in the *Indies*, *Batavia* was no more than an open village, inhabited by *Pagans*; at firſt it was ſurrounded only with a row of palladoes of bamboo canes, but as it became more populous, the inhabitants began to wage war againſt the king of *Bantam*, and ſome other neighbouring princes, and that with very good ſucceſs. The city of *Batavia* lies at 5 deg. 50 min. off ſouthern latitude, at the north-ſide of the iſle of *Java*, in a large but fenny plain before it to the ſouth; it is ſurrounded with abundance of ſmall iſlands, and to the north or land-ſide with woods and high mountains. It is divided into two parts by a river, is of a quadrangular figure, fortified with a wall of ſtone, and 22 baſtions; the names whereof are *Amſteldam*, *Middelburgh*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Hoorn*, *Enkabuiſſen*, *Vienna*, *Gelderland*, *Katzenelbogden*, *Orange*, the *New-gate*, *Hollandia*, *Dieſt*, *Naſſaw*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Frieſland*, *Overyſel*, *Groningen*, *Zewburgh*, *Kuilenburgh*, and the *Middlepoint*. The ditch underneath the wall was in the year 1670, ſurrounded with a quick-ſet hedge of thorns; it has four great gates, two whereof are very ſtately and artificially built by the famous *John Liſting*, on the ſouth-ſide; the firſt 1630, and the other 1657. The third

1662. gate is on the eaſt-ſide call'd *Rotterdam*, and the fourth call'd *Utrecht* on the weſt-ſide. The city of *Batavia* is ſituate in a bay, extending to the eaſt as far as the cape of *Karovant*, and to the weſt as far as the cape call'd the *Rough Point*, towards *Bantam*, which lies on the ſame ſhore, about twelve leagues from *Batavia*. 1662.

The harbour. Both within and without this bay lie about 17 or 18 iſlands, upon which the violence of the winds and waves being broken and check'd, this renders the road of *Batavia* one of the ſafeſt harbours of the whole world, being able to contain above 1000 veſſels at once; ſmall veſſels and barks lie commonly cloſe under the banks of the river, where they may lie without anchors in a muddy bottom; the river is lined with ſtones on both ſides as far as the boom, which is ſhut up every night at nine a clock, and guarded by a good number of ſoldiers. beſides which, there is cut a channel out of the main river, for the reception of ſmaller veſſels; no veſſel paſſes the boom without paying a certain cuſtom, every veſſel that fetches ſalt pays a real, and thoſe that carry ſtones two reals. The ditch without the wall is very broad and deep, and ſometimes riſes ſo high, that ſome of the lowermoſt ſtreets without the city are laid under water; all the buildings of this city are well contriv'd, moſt even of the private houſes having handſome gardens, well planted with fruit trees and plants and flowers, adorn'd with pearls, ſprings, pumps, *&c.*

Its ſtreets. All the ſtreets of this city run in a ſtreight line, moſt of them being 30 foot broad; and on both ſides near the houſes paved with bricks; there are eight ſtreets, which are all well built and inhabited, among which the *Princes-Street* is the chiefeſt, beginning at the middle point of the caſtle, and running in a ſtrait line to the town-houſe, having on each ſide a croſs ſtreet. Next to this is the *Lords-ſtreet*, beginning on the north-ſide over-againſt the caſtle, reaching in a direct line to the new gate. The firſt croſs ſtreet on the eaſt-ſide has got the name of *John Tirment*, who built abundance of houſes in this ſtreet. The ſecond is call'd the *Market-Street*, oppoſite to which lies the third call'd the *Petawins-Street*: The fourth is call'd the *Street of the Hoſpital.* As you come out of the caſtle at the firſt entrance into the *Princes-Street* is the *Princes-Lane* on the left-hand. Theſe are on the eaſt-ſide of the river; we will now paſs over to the weſtern ſide; the bank of which is planted with pleaſant trees, and adorn'd with houſes all in a ſtraight line as far as the *Dieſt-Gate.* The firſt ſtreet on this ſide is

Betwixt pag 266. 267.

Tygers Graft

The CHURCH
of the CROSS at BATAVIA.

Betwixt page 266. 267

Behnist p. 366. 367.

1662. call'd the *Gentlemans-Street*, being divided into two ſtreets by a gracht that comes croſs it. The ſecond ſtreet comes croſs-wiſe thro' this part of the city, beginning at the *Utrecht Baſtion*, from whence it has got the name of the *Utrecht-Street*. But now we muſt look back and take a view of the *Burghwalls* or *Grachts* (being ſtreets with water channels in them) of theſe there are no leſs than 15 among which the *Tygers Gracht* is the moſt ſtately and moſt pleaſant, both for the goodlineſs of its buildings, and the ornament of its ſtreets, which afford a very agreeable ſhadow to thoſe that paſs along the ſtreet; the channel is edged and lined with ſtones from the bottom, over which are four ſtone bridges, ſuſtain'd by as many high ſtone arches, twelve foot broad each; beſide which, there is a wooden bridge at one end. The inward *Gracht* behind the *Carpenters-wharf* (where is alſo the founding-houſe) has three bridges; next to this is the *Kaymans Gracht* with four bridges. The firſt *Gracht* which runs croſſwiſe, is the *city's Inward Burghwall*, having only one bridge: Next to this the *Herb Gracht*, without any bridge at all. The *Seſons Gracht* extending from the *Middle Point* directly to the *Rotterdam-Gate*, with ſix bridges, and the *Inward Gracht* with one bridge only. Theſe are all the *Burghwalls* and *Grachts* on the eaſt-ſide; now we muſt come to thoſe on the weſt-ſide. The firſt is the *Gentlemans Gracht*, with three bridges; the ſecond is call'd the *Rhinoceroſes Gracht*, having likewiſe three bridges; the third is the *City's Inward Gracht*, with three bridges. The firſt *Gracht* running croſſwiſe to the north, is the *City's Inward Gracht*; the ſecond faces the *Carpenters Wharf*, and is called the *Javaneſe Gracht*; and the third is call'd the *Chineſe Gracht*, having only one bridge. The fourth *Gracht* which runs croſſwiſe, begins at the baſtion call'd *Frieſland*, and ends at the new bridge near the *Fiſh-Market*, having three bridges; laſt of all, the *City's Inward Gracht* with one bridge. Theſe are all the *Grachts* and *Burghwalls* within the city, over which are laid 56 bridges, moſt of which are ſuſtain'd by large ſtone arches, not to mention here the wooden draw-bridges which are over the *Gracht* without the walls. At my firſt coming to *Batavia* I lodg'd upon the *Tygers Gracht*, ſo that having ſufficient opportunity to take a draught of it, I thought fit to inſert it here.

The publick buildings of the city.

Among the publick buildings of this city, the church call'd the *Croſs-Church* claims the precedency, being built in 1640, of ſolid ſtone: In the midſt of the church ſtands the ſteeple, being exceedingly beautify'd with iron-work. It has but one bell, which is only rung before church-time; the ſtone edgings in the front of the church are artificially carved, and adorned on the top with *Cherubims*. But time which defaces all things, and the air, which is much ſharper here than in *Europe*, has in a few years wrought a conſiderable change in this magnificent ſtructure. The pulpit and ſeats of the chief men here are very finely wrought and adorned with iron-work and ebony-wood. The veſtry is of the ſame workmanſhip. This ſtructure is very light-ſome and lofty, within being adorned with five clear branches of braſs brought thither from *Holland*. In the other part of the city, the foundation of the new church was laid during my ſtay there, and before my departure the brick-work was almoſt finiſhed. In the year 1644, there was alſo a church built in the caſtle, of an octagonal figure, being very light within, and flat on the top; the floor covered with well poliſh'd white and blue ſtones neatly done: The glaſs of the lanthorn on the top was of the beſt kind, and the pews of the church carv'd very artificially, and made of the beſt kind of wood the *Indies* afford.

1662.

The croſs church.

The Town Houſe.

The *Town-Houſe* ſtands very near in the centre of the city, in a ſpacious place, being built of brick in 1652. It is two ſtories high, and you aſcend into the ſecond by a pair of winding ſtairs. The great gate is exactly in the middle of the ſtructure, artificially wrought, of the *Corinthian* order, over which is a balcony or gallery of ſtone, unto which you enter out of the upper-hall. When criminals are to be try'd, a ſcaffold is erected before the *Town-Houſe*. The windows of this building are in proportion very high and lofty, finely glazed, and on the out-ſide guarded with iron-work. In this houſe the courts of juſtice are kept; here is the meeting of the *Shepen* or ſenators, as alſo of the maſters of the hoſpitals, and of the overſeers of other places; as alſo of the court for the direction of military affairs within the city. The inward court is encloſed with a high wall, and a double row of ſtone-pillars; here the officers of juſtice have their habitations, and the priſon-keeper with his attendants on the weſt-end of it. It extends from the *Tygers Gracht* to the *Lords-Street*.

The hoſpital for the ſick.

The hoſpital for the ſick ſtands upon the bank of the great river, which runs through the city, betwixt the *New-Gate* and the *Dieſt-Gate*. Here ſuch as are ſick, and have not wherewithal to provide for themſelves, are entertained and cured, there being ſometimes 200 or 300 to be ſeen here at a time, who are all provided with neat lodgings, beddings and other conveniencies. In

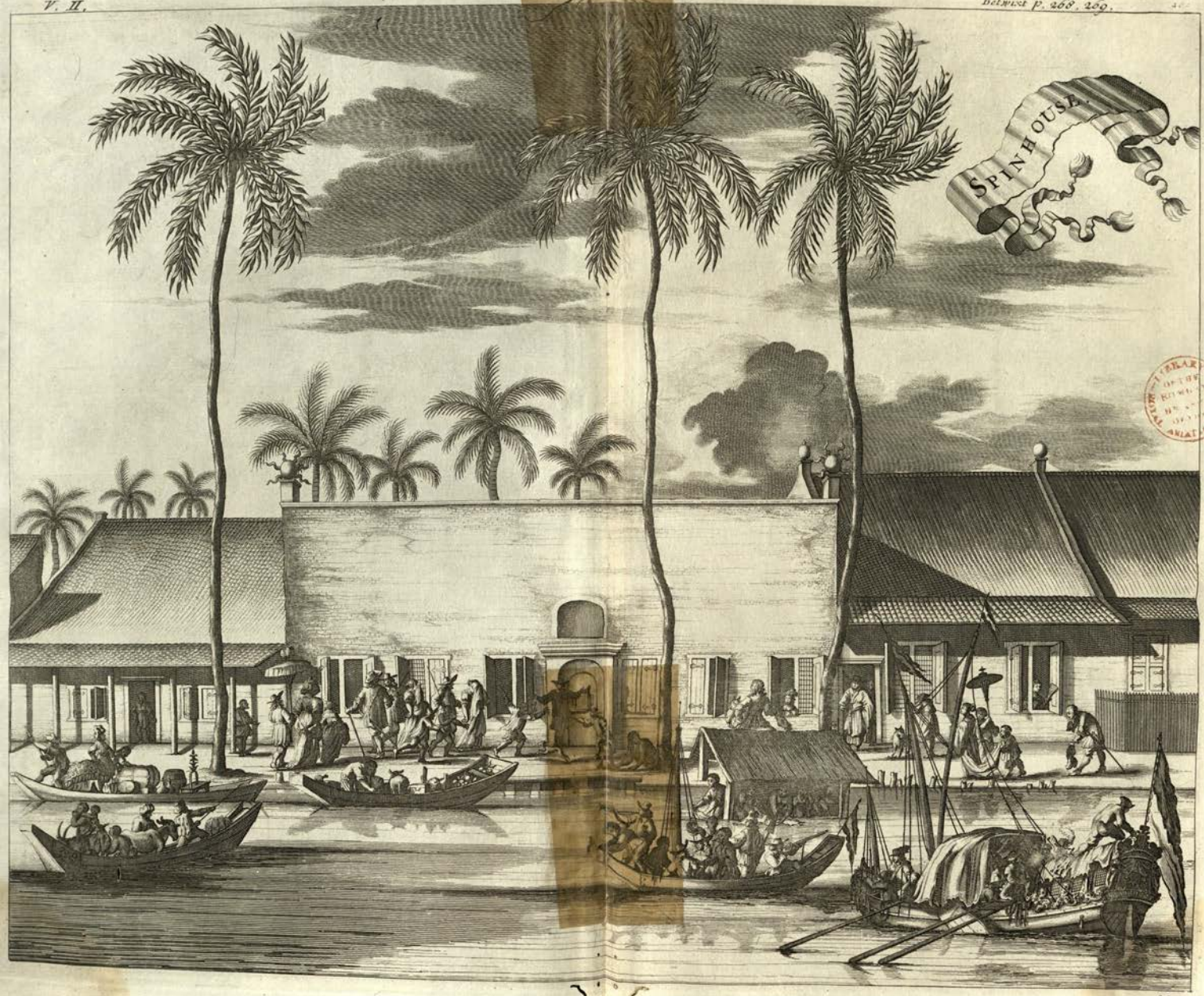
the

1662. the out-houſes are the apartments for the overſeers and their ſervants, for the doctor, apothecary, ſurgeon, miniſter, caſh-keeper, treaſurer and others, who are to keep the houſe clean and look after the ſick; all theſe are plentifully maintain'd by the company. Beſides thoſe before-mention'd, three perſons of note belonging to the company are conſtituted overſeers, who take their turns every week, and ſee that every thing be done as it ought to be, and eſpecially whether any of them are recovered ſo far as to be fit for ſervice. Behind it is a ſquare encloſed with a high wall, and planted with trees, which ſerves for a walking place for thoſe who are upon their recovery; and a door with a wooden bridge reaching a good way into the river, is alſo made for the taking of the freſh air of the river. The miniſter, who is appointed to viſit the ſick, ſays prayers every morning and evening, when a bell is rung; every ſunday there is a ſermon, where all thoſe that are able are obliged to be preſent.

The Spin-Houſe. For the encouraging of virtue, and ſuppreſſing of debauchery in lewd women, a ſpin-houſe has been erected here, having no windows or proſpect but only on the eaſt-ſide towards the *Burghwall*, where certain iron-rails are made in the gate, with wooded ſhutters within, which are ſhut and bolted as often as the overſeer pleaſes. 1662. Here the women are reclaim'd from their lewdneſs by keeping them continually at work, under the tuition of a governeſs, whoſe buſineſs is to look after the Houſe, and to ſet them their taſk, which if they miſs to perform, they are ſure to be ſcourged. For the reſt, there two members of the ſenate conſtituted on purpoſe for the government of this houſe, whoſe buſineſs is to be preſent there every ſunday at the ſermon that is held there, for the reclaiming thoſe lewd creatures from their ill courſe of life. If they commit any miſdemeanor which cannot be corrected by ſcourge, they are puniſh'd by the ordinary court of juſtice.

Slaughter-houſes or fleſh-halls. Upon the very brink of the river are built two ſlaughter-houſes or fleſh-halls, ſuſtain'd by wooden piles, by which means they may with conveniency throw the excrements of the kill'd beaſts into the river. They kill twice a week, each butcher having his peculiar ſtall, where he ſells his meat at ſuch a price as the magiſtrates ſhall think fit to ſet, tho' moſt of them find means to ſell it as dear as they can. Whilſt I was there beef was ſold at the rate of four pence *per* pound, and pork at the ſame rate; but mutton being moſt eſteem'd was ſold dearer. All the beaſts that are to be kill'd

Betwixt p. 268. 269.



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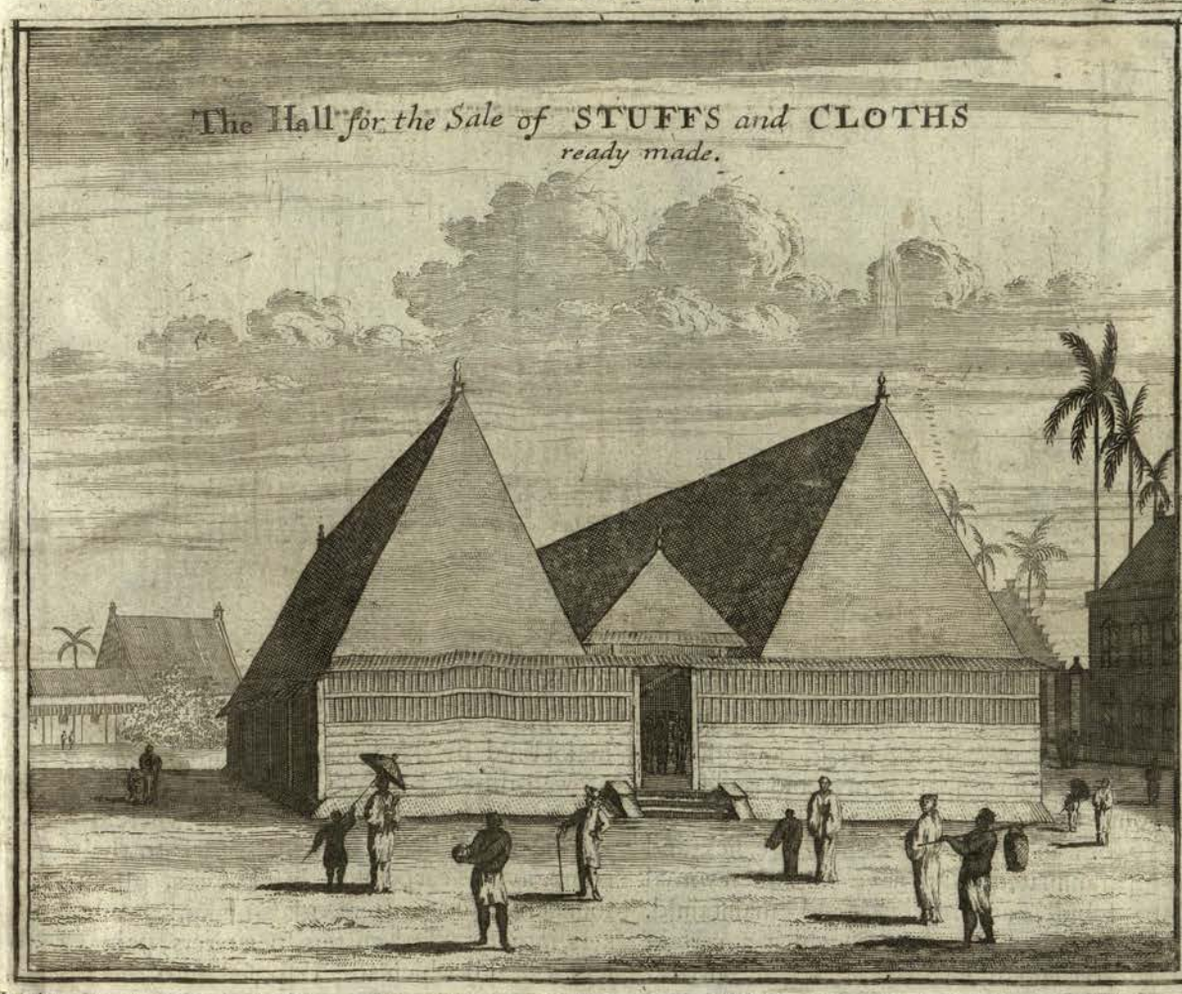
1662. muſt be taxed by the farmer of the exciſe upon cattle; according to which the butcher is obliged to pay the tenth-penny exciſe: But if the farmer ſhould be extravagant in his taxation, the butcher who thinks himſelf injur'd, may appeal to the general judgment of all the butchers, who if they do not agree to the price ſet by the farmer, he is obliged to tax it himſelf at his own ſet rate. 1662.

The hall for the ſale of ſtuffs.

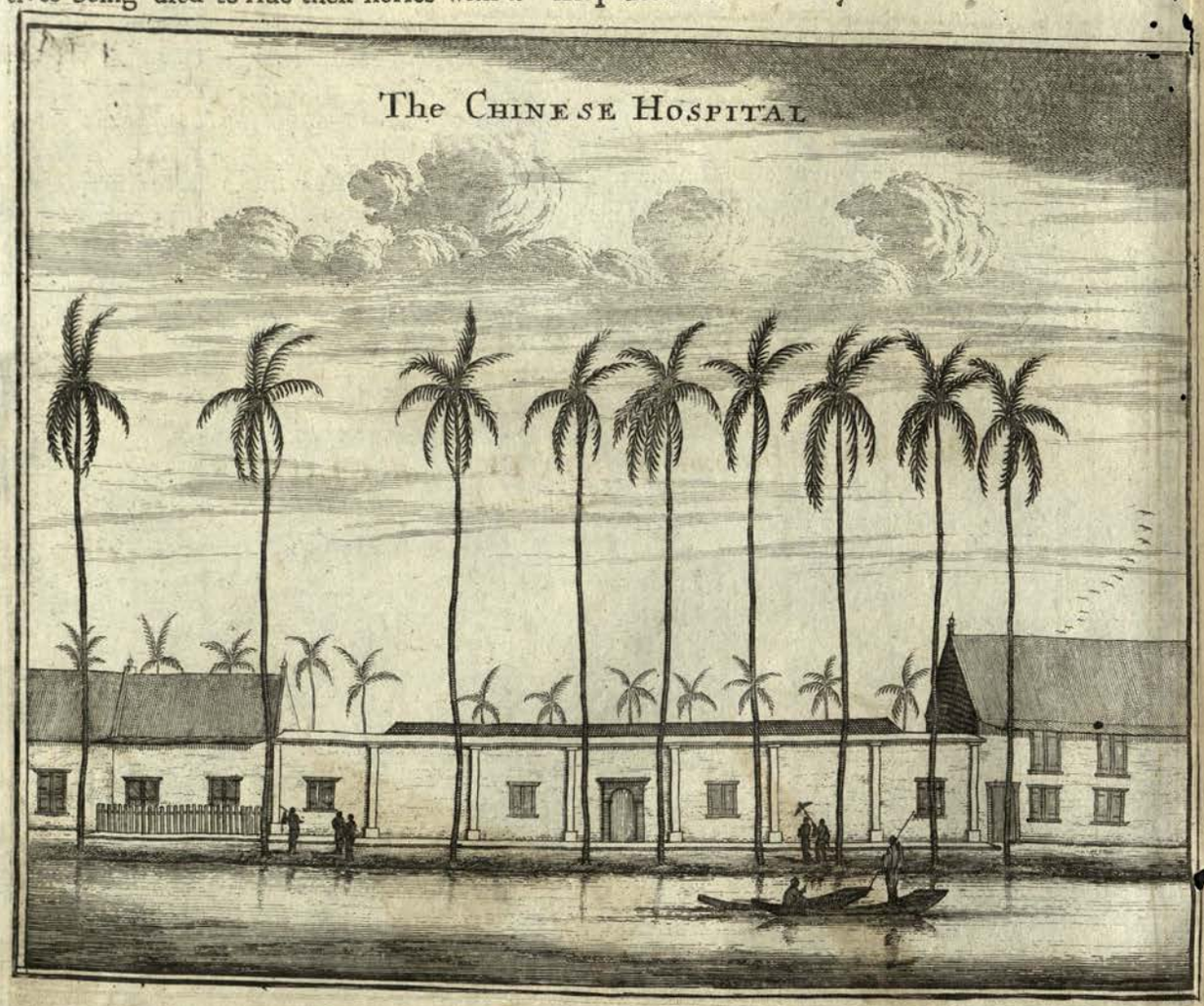
On the weſt-ſide of that ſpacious place which faces the *Town-Houſe*, is a certain ſtructure, in which are ſold all ſorts of cloaths ready made, as alſo ſtuffs and callicoes, white and painted, beſides divers other commodities expoſed to ſail there, by the *Chineſe*. Theſe have here their peculiar ſhops, for each of which they pay 3 crowns *per* month. The whole building is of wood, being divided into 5 walks or galleries, having ſhops on each ſide; and as many doors from without, which are kept open day and night, becauſe the ſhopkeepers don't put up their commodities till very late at night, and lay them out again early in the morning, with a great deal of curioſity, to invite the buyers to give them a good price, at which the *Chineſe* are very dextrous and quick, ſo that unleſs you be upon guard, you are overreach'd before you are aware of it; however, theſe little ſhops have this conveniency, that you may furniſh your ſelf here at an eaſier rate, and that all at once, with abundance of ſmall things, which you can't buy ſo conveniently at the great ſhops where they will not be ſatisfied with a ſmall gain.



The city ſtables.

On the eaſt-ſide of the *Town-Houſe* is a goodly ſtructure, fitted up for ſtables for horſes, being all of brick-work without, and provided with racks, mangers, and partitions, and paved with ſtones, ſo that the horſe-dung may be removed and waſh'd away with all imaginable conveniency. The place where they manage their horſes is very airy and well ſituated, having two doors, one whereof leads to the city's *Binne Gracht*, for the conveniency of watering and waſhing the horſes. In this ſtable are kept, beſides the coach and cart-horſes, above 100 ſaddle-horſes, that are managed daily by certain perſons kept for that purpoſe. Their beſt horſes are the *Arabian* and *Perſian* horſes, which they buy here at a high rate, 200 crowns being a common price for an indifferent *Perſian* horſe, the beſt being not to be got for money. It is worth obſervation, that the *Perſians* train up and manage their horſes without blows, whereas our managers are uſed to make uſe of whips and ſpurs, which makes them unfit for the due management of thoſe horſes. Abundance of horſes are alſo brought to *Batavia*

1662. *via* from *Japara* in the iſle of *Java*; but theſe are not comparable to the *Perſian* horſes: Some of theſe however are very tractable, if well handled from the beginning, but many of them are broken mouthed before they come to *Batavia:* The natives being uſed to ride their horſes with a light hunting-bridle, they are apt to toſs up their heads, when they are rid afterwards with a curb-bridle, to prevent which, our managers faſten a leather ſtring to the girt under their belly, the other end of which being buckled to the bridle, makes them keep their heads ſteady. 1662.



The Chineſe *hoſpital for ſick and aged perſons.*

On the *Rhinoceroſes Gracht*, near the ſpinhouſe, is the *Chineſe* hoſpital for ſick and aged perſons, built of brick, and divided into convenient apartments, and a pleaſant court to walk in: It was built in the year 1640. In this houſe ſuch as are ſick and ſuperannuated, and have not wherewithal to ſubſiſt, are received and maintain'd. For the maintenance of which a certain duty is laid upon marriages and burials; as alſo upon actors of plays, farces, and ſuch like ſhews. And as, beſides this, many of the rich *Chineſe*, either by voluntary contributions or legacies, give great encouragement to this houſe; it is provided with a conſiderable revenue. The whole management of this houſe is committed to two *Hollanders*, and as many *Chineſe*, who have a ſecretary to keep their accounts.

The hoſpital for children.

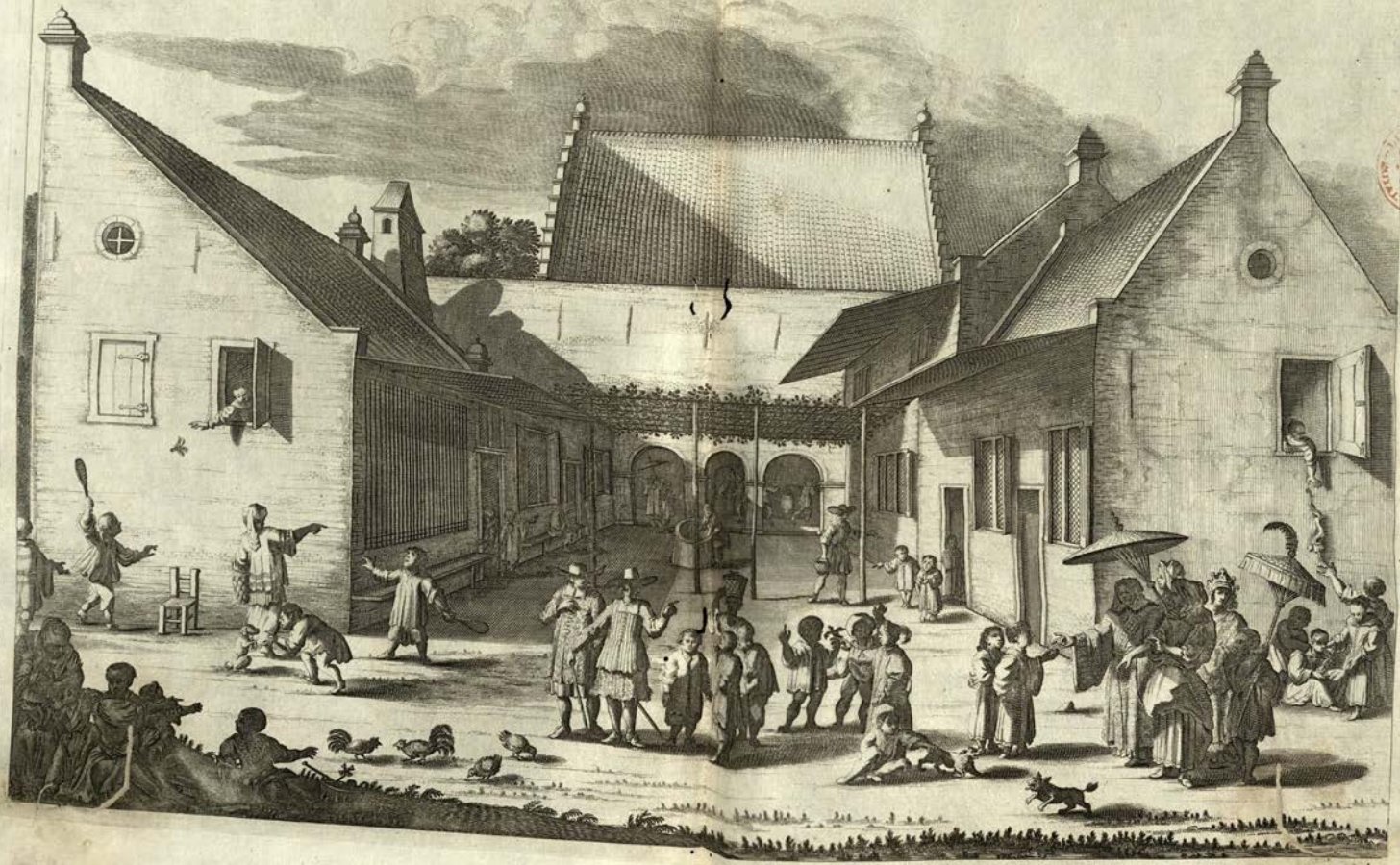
At the extremity of the weſt-end of the *Rhinoceroſes Gracht*, you ſee the hoſpital wherein poor orphans are maintain'd and educated, being of brick, with convenient lodgings for the ſervants of the houſe: It has hitherto no ſettled revenue, being maintain'd by the voluntary contributions of well-diſpoſed people.

The houſe of the artiſans.

In the eaſt-corner is the houſe wherein are lodged all the artiſans belonging to the company, as carpenters, bricklayers, gunfounders, ſtone-cutters, glaſs-makers, turners, ingineers, ſeal-cutters, pewterers, painters, *&c.* all which are diſpoſed into their proper quarters, under the direction of three *Hollanders* appointed by the company. Beſides the ſlaves belonging to the houſe, there is alſo a chirurgeon and a ſchoolmaſter; the laſt of which is obliged to ſay prayers every night; at which all are obliged to be preſent under a certain forfeiture. In this houſe the ſurveyor-general has his lodgings, which are very handſome, and keeps two clerks under him. He overſees the workmen. In this houſe alſo are maintained ſuch criminals as have been condemned to the chains, who are kept

Betwixt p. 270. 274.

The Hospital for Children
at
BATAVIA.



1662. here to hard labour, and well guarded. Every night at nine a clock, the doors of the houſe are ſhut up, and a guard of ſlaves is placed to prevent any diſorders which might happen among ſo great a number of people of different callings. I had for ſome time my lodgings in this houſe; and here it was that I firſt made the draught, and afterwards made the deſcription of *Batavia*. The wharf belonging to this houſe is only fitted for the building of ſmall yachts and boats, ſuch as are uſed only in the road for the loading or unloading of ſhips: But ſhips of bulk are built at the iſle of *Ormus*, about a league to the weſt of *Batavia*, where are conſiderable magazines for ropes, and other implements belonging to ſhips, which are defended by certain fortifications. 1662.

The Rope-Alley.

The *Rope-Alley*, where they are employed in twiſting ropes, is likewiſe in one corner of the city, oppoſite to the carpenter's wharf, being planted with large nut-trees, which afford an agreeable ſhade to the rope-makers. A little beyond it to the weſt you ſee the pack-houſes of the company; wherein are laid up pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, mace, *&c.* The overſeer has a goodly habitation for his own uſe.

The LODGINGS of the ARTISANS belonging to the COMPANY.

The magazine of rice.

Not far from thence, *viz.* near the baſtion call'd *Amſterdam*, ſtands the company's magazine of rice, a large ſtructure, having a door looking to the water-ſide, where ſhips may be laden and unladen. It was built in my time 1670, of brick-work. There is a ſquare encloſed with a wall at the inward wharf, where the receivers and other ſervants of the company have their habitations.

The *Prawenhouſe*, ſo call'd from the word *Praw*, which in the *Malayan* tongue ſignifies a *boat or ſmall veſſel*, ſtands upon the brink of the river, for conveniency of ſuch ſmall boats as are built or refitted there; here ſeveral ſhipwrights, and a good number of ſeamen have their quarters, the laſt being obliged to be ready upon call, wherever they are ordered to row by the deputy governor, under whoſe tuition they are. On the eaſt-ſide of the little wharf, the overſeer has a ſmall houſe. Having thus given you an account of the publick ſtructures of this city, with ſuch draughts thereof as time and opportunity would permit us to take, we will now proceed to the four great markets of *Batavia*, and begin with the fiſh-market.

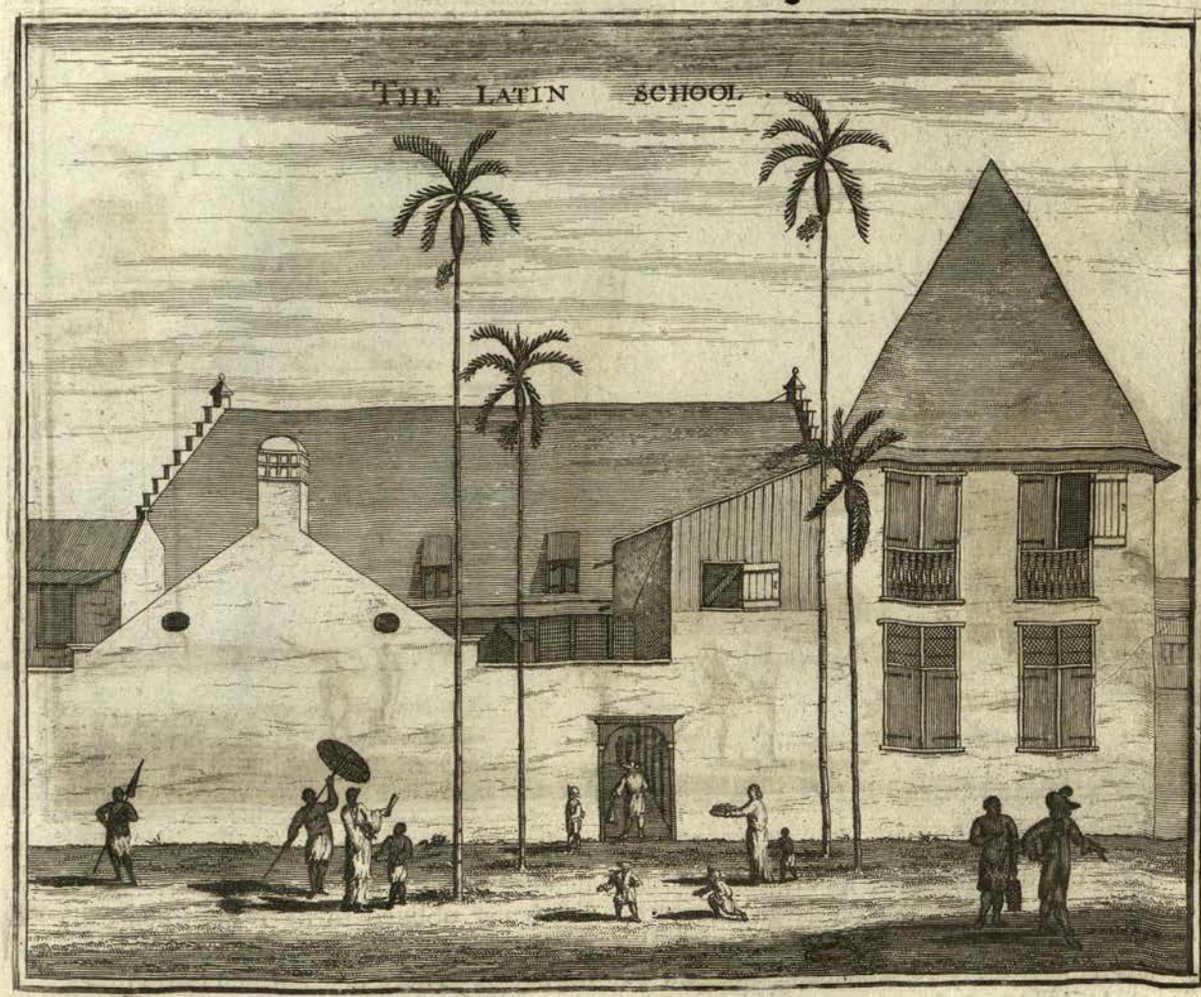
The fiſh market.

The fiſh-market is on the weſtern-ſide of the great river, being ſuſtained by ſtrong wooden

1662. wooden piles, and covered on top with pan-tiles. Oppoſite to it is the dwelling place of the *Aſſlager* (or *Outroper*) where the fiſher boats are oblig'd to ſtop, and their cargo is ſold immediately by publick ſale, to the faireſt bidder; the fiſhmongers are generally *Chineſe*, each of which has his own ſtall, for which he pays two reals *per* month. The *Outroper* pays ready money to the fiſhermen for what they ſell to theſe *Chineſe*, who allow him twopence in the crown, and are obliged to repay it at a ſet time. Here you may furniſh yourſelf with ſea, river, or ſhell-fiſh, according to your own pleaſure, from 10 a clock in the morning till four in the afternoon; when the fiſhmongers leave their ſtalls here, and ſell the remnants near the river-ſide behind the fleſh-hall.

The rice or corn market. The rice or corn market is adjoining to the former, or rather oppoſite to it at the north-end; being built after the ſame manner, except that it has no ſtalls or banks; here you meet with grains of all ſorts which are ſold here, according to the market price, by a certain ſmall meaſure called *Ganting*, containing about 13 or 14 pounds of rice, which is commonly ſold for ſixpence. He that has the overſight of the market and meaſures, has a houſe at one end; his buſineſs among other things is to ſet the mark upon the meaſures and weights, which is done twice a year; *viz.* in *January* and *July*, at the town-houſe, in the preſence of two *ſhepemen* or aldermen. They pay two-pence for each mark. 1662.

The fowl-market. Near the new bridge, as you paſs along the river-ſide to the *Croſs-Church*, is the fowl-market, where the *Mardiikers* and *Topaſſen* (a kind of negroes) ſell all ſorts of fowl in great plenty, ſo that you may buy an ordinary pullet for three-pence, but the beſt ſort are dearer. In this market you ſee many huts, in which they ſell dried fiſh, eggs and courſe earthen ware.



The fruit market. The fruit-market begins at the new-bridge, extending by the river-ſide to the *Middlepoint*. Here you meet with all ſorts of fruits and herbs, ſold by the *Chineſe* and *Negroes*, who pay the 10th penny exciſe. From four a clock in the afternoon till night, this market is ſo crowded with people, that there is ſcarce any paſſing in it.

The Latin *and* Greek *ſchools.* On the *Tyger*'s-*Gracht* is the *Latin* and *Greek* ſchool, the back-ſide of it reaching to the *Kaymans-Gracht*, with a lofty ſtone-gate. It has a very pleaſant court, where the ſchoolboys may divert themſelves at

Betwixt P. 272, 273.

Between p. 272, 273.

1662. certain times. The rector or head ſchool-maſter has a very handſome houſe. Beſides this ſchool, there are divers other ſchools at *Batavia* for the inſtruction of young people in reading and writing; in which ſome of the natives, and eſpecially the *Topaſſes* are ſo ingenious, that they don't give way in that point to any other nation. What books are uſed here are brought out of *Holland*; but in the year 1667, a printing houſe was erected, and ſeveral books have been printed here with good ſucceſs.

The caſtle. The caſtle is a quadrangle, ſituate in a level ground, two baſtions of which, *viz.* the *Diamond* and the *Rabbet* front the city, one facing the *Tyger's-Gracht*, and the other in a ſtrait line thro' the *Lord-ſtreet* to the *Middlepoint* of the new-gate.

On the weſt-ſide the river waſhes the very walls, being encloſed by part of the city, which lies open on that ſide; the two other baſtions call'd the *Pearl* and the *Sapphire* face the ſea; the low grounds toward the weſt are well planted with gardens and orchards; the baſtions, as well as the *Courtins* of the caſtle, are faced with white ſtone from the bottom to the top, and provided with watch-houſes at convenient diſtances; the ditch is very broad and deep, being incloſed 1669, within a quick-ſet hedge, ſerving not only for an ornament, but alſo as an additional ſtrength to the place, from whence they fire with advantage upon an approaching enemy. 1662.

In this caſtle the *Dutch* governor general of the *Indies*, and all the members of the council of the *Indies*, reſiding at *Batavia*, have their places of reſidence; as likewiſe the head factors who keep the accounts, and of what is paid to the ſervants of the company; and the general book-keeper, the ſecretary of the great council, the captain of the armory, the phyſician, chirurgeon, and commander of the ſoldiery; all theſe I ſay, beſides ſeveral others, have their fix'd habitations here. But the houſe or rather palace of the governor-general ſurpaſſes all the reſt in magnificence.

It is built of brick, two ſtories high, yet ſo lofty, that the top of the roof ſurpaſſes in height all the other buildings, and may be ſeen a great way at ſea; eſpecially the lanthorn or turret, which ſtands in the midſt of it, having inſtead of a weather-cock a ſhip of iron, very artificially wrought. The door is juſt in the middle, unto which you aſcend ſeveral broad ſtone ſteps; in this palace is the council-chamber for the great council to meet in, and near it the ſecretaries office and chamber of accompts. The great hall is hung about with bright and well poliſh'd armour, enſigns, ſtandards and

1662. and flags, which have been taken by the *Dutch* in ſeveral ſea and land engagements; in this hall prayers are ſaid every night, and here it is that the governor at certain times gives audience to all ſuch as have occaſion to repreſent their grievances to him. Behind it are pleaſant walks planted with trees, among which a *Tamarind* tree of an exceſſive height, and ſtanding in the center of the garden, affords a moſt agreeable ſight. Out of this garden you paſs thro' a little gate of the *Courtin*, by a ſmall bridge to a ſummer-houſe, built upon piles in the midſt of the water, from whence you have a very pleaſing proſpect, not only of the fortifications of the caſtle, but alſo of the rivers mouth, and the road where the great ſhips ride at anchor. At the eaſtern corner of this ſummer-houſe is a door leading thro' a gallery, to the before-mentioned chamber of accompts, which has a flat roof, convenient offices, and pleaſant walks belonging to it; the floor is covered with a kind of grey-ſtone neatly done. In this apartment moſt of the book-keepers and clerks are boarded at a certain rate by the treaſurer.

The houſes of the members of the great council are on the ſouth-ſide of the caſtle, the land-gate being in the midſt of them.

The armoury is built much after the ſame manner as the chamber of accompts; it extends along the eaſt-ſide of the *Courtin*, having ſeparate apartments for ſword cutlers, gunſmiths, and other artificers of that kind.

The governor of the ſea affairs has his houſe on the north-ſide juſt oppoſite to it, and on the ſame ſide dwell the factors, phyſician, chirurgeon and apothecary. Hereabouts ſtand alſo the magazines of fleſh, bacon, wine, *Brunſwick* mum, *Holland* butter, oil, vinegar, and divers other proviſions; and under ground are made certain vaults for gunpowder and artificial fire-works. The caſtle has four avenues, and as many gates. The firſt and largeſt is call'd the *Landgate*, built 1636, where you ſee a ſtone-bridge, ſupported by 14 arches over the ditch, being 26 rods long, and 10 foot broad, paved with *Dutch* bricks ſet on edge. The *Watergate* faces the north, where is a large watch-houſe for the garriſon, and ſome apartments on both ſides for the overſeers of the magazines and ſtore-houſes.

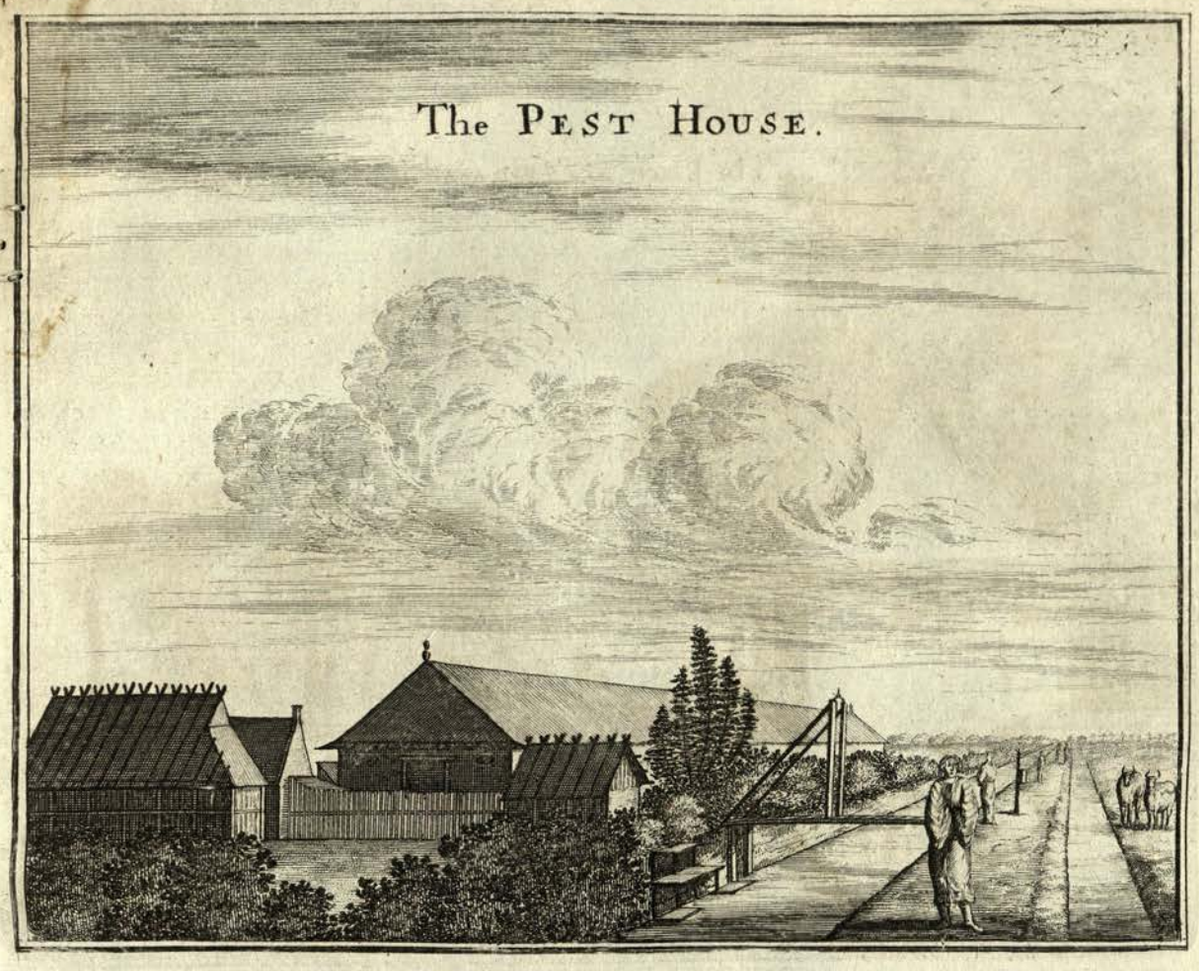
This was built 1630, according to the inſcription. Beſides theſe, two leſſer gates are in the *Courtins* to the E. and W. which are ſcarce ever made uſe of, unleſs that ſome veſſels laden with ammunition, and ſuch like things, are generally unladen here. There is a ſmall plain before the *Rabbet* baſtion, where the new liſted ſoldiers are exerciſed and taught the uſe of arms, by an officer appointed for that purpoſe. Not many years ago a wooden draw-bridge was built near the baſtion call'd the *Sapphire*, by which means you may walk all round the city to the boom, where you muſt be ferried over. 1662.

Before my departure, a project was on foot of building a tower and ſteeple upon the *Rabbet* baſtion, making ſome additions to the *Rotterdam* and *Utrecht* gates, and to enlarge the city to the E. and N. as far as to the turning of the great river, ſo that the north-ſide of the caſtle ſhould front the baſtion call'd the *Middlepoint*. Thus far of the city of *Batavia* itſelf, we will now take a view of its outſide.

It is eaſy to be gueſs'd at, what moved the regents of this city to ſurround it with forts at ſuch a diſtance, *viz.* to the E. as far as the river *Antjol*, and to the W. as far as the river *Anke*, along the bay of *Batavia*, and on the landſide to the S. by the forts *Northwiik*, *Riſwick* and *Jacatra*; theſe ſerving the inhabitants of the flat countrey, as a defence againſt the incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, ſo that they may quietly enjoy the fruits of their labour; the countrey all about this city being well cultivated and ſtored with rice and ſugar-reed fields, gardens and orchards, countrey-houſes, brick and tile wharfs and ſugar-mills, which are of great conſequence to the city. To give all poſſible encouragement for the manuring of the ground, the main channel of the great river was ordered to be ſtop'd up 1659, inſtead of which two branches being made, one leading to *Riſwick*, the other to *Jacatra*, theſe ſerve to lay the ground thereabouts under water upon occaſion. One of theſe branches is to the W. brought into another channel, leading directly to the middle of the city, and being ſtop'd near the ſecond bridge of the new gate by a dike and ſluice. Here you ſee ſeven mills, one whereof is a corn-mill, four gunpowder-mills, one ſaw-mill for wood, and one paper-mill, which are driven by the force of the water; near it the millers have their habitations.

Before the dike, juſt at the entrance of the city is the place where they refine the brimſtone; near this place 1658, a very ſtrong ſluice was built for the conveniency of bringing countrey commodities into the cities with leſs charge, but the ſame was ruin'd in a little time after by the force of the water.

Not many years ago, a certain contagious diſtemper began to rage at *Batavia*, which proving mortal to many, it was reſolved, (to ſtop the infection) to build a



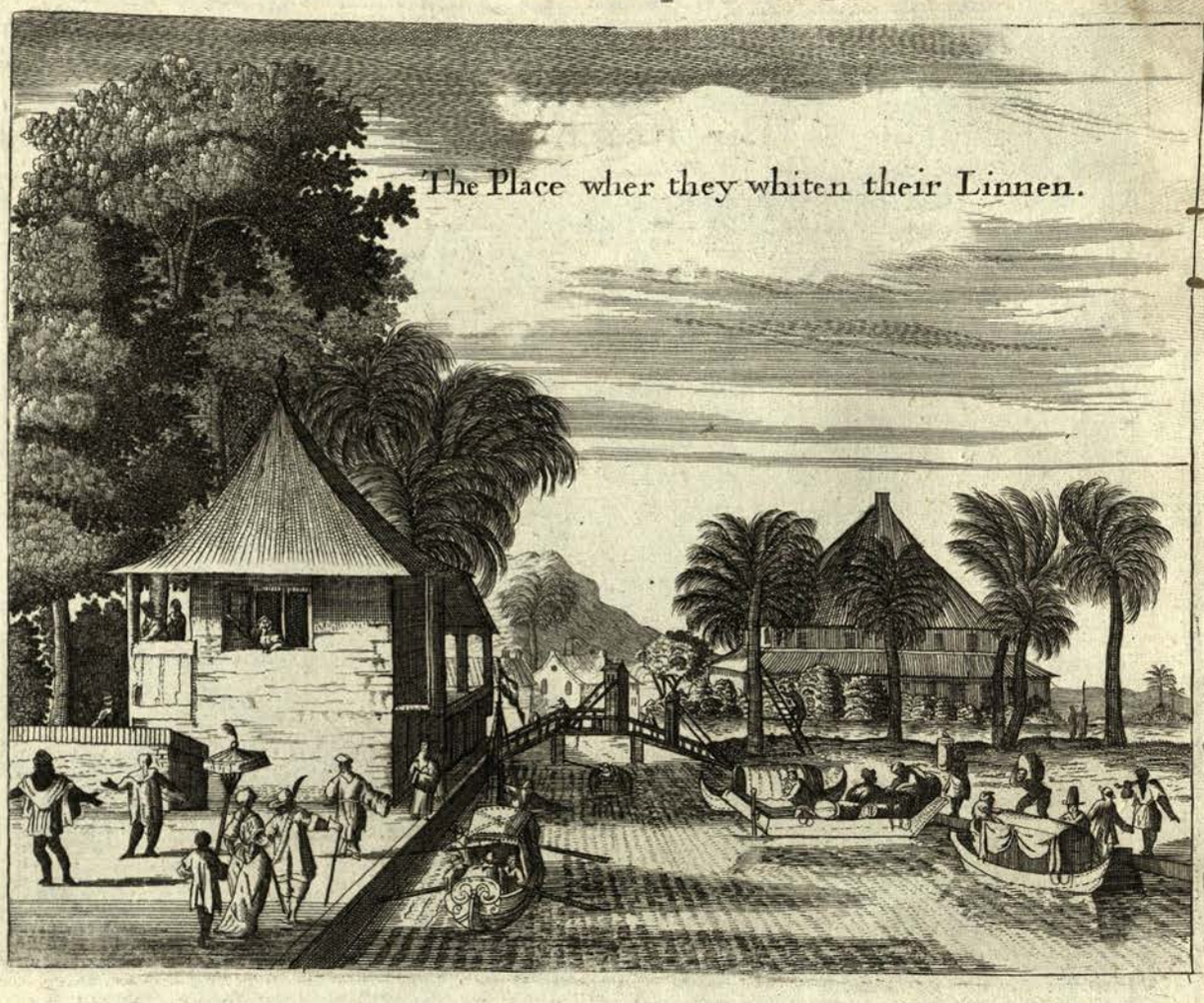
1662. kind of hoſpital or peſt-houſe, where ſuch as were ſeiz'd with this evil, might be provided with lodgings, diet, and ſuitable remedies. This houſe, which has with it the *Deiſt-Gate* near the road to *Arke*, is under the government of ſeveral of the richeſt citizens of *Batavia*.

By the eaſt-ſide of the dike where the mills are, a houſe was built in 1609, for the waſhing and whitening of linen apparel, the latter being carried thither by bamboo canes faſtened together. Without the city are beſides theſe many other houſes erected partly by the company, and partly by the liberality of ſome of the inhabitants, which I will paſs by in ſilence here, and ſay a word or two more of their out-works or forts: All theſe lie in a flat even countrey, made of earth, ſurrounded with ditches and quickſet-hedges, except the quinquangular fort call'd the *Riſwick*, and the fort *Ansjol*, both which are faced with brick-work. They are all well provided with great artillery, and proviſions for nine months, or perhaps for a whole year, as well as the garriſon of the city of *Batavia* it ſelf. There is a certain officer appointed to keep the cannon and other arms neat and clean, the which being under the over-ſight of a captain of the artillery, who commands alſo the fire-workers, and has his habitation upon the baſtion call'd the *Diamond*. The garriſon conſiſts chiefly in foot, there being only a troop of horſe, which ſerves as a guard to the governor-general, who are obliged to be upon the guard in their turns. Theſe enjoy great privileges, are commanded by one of the beſt officers, and are obliged to appear every *Sunday* in their armour well poliſh'd, and with their piſtols, carabines, and broad ſwords. 1662.

Their out-works.

The inhabitants of *Batavia* conſiſt either of the citizens, or ſuch as are ſervants to the company, being of divers nations; among whom the *Dutch* exceed the reſt both in riches and dignity, moſt places of honour and profit being in their hands. *The inhabitants.*

The *Chineſe* drive here a conſiderable traffick, being more induſtrious than any of the other *Indians*; they deal much in fiſh, and cultivate moſt of the rice, reed and corn-fields; ſome alſo maintain themſelves by fiſhing, but the chiefeſt upon merchandizing; they farm the exciſes and cuſtoms; but of late years ſome of the other nations have found ways to imitate them in their thriftineſs and cozenings, at which they are great artiſts, which I know by my own experience. They live here according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own countrey, under the tuition of a *Chineſe* governor, who manages all their affairs *Chineſe.*



1662. fairs with the company. They are dreſs'd after their own faſhion, in a coat with wide ſleeves, either callicoe or ſilk, according to their abilities. They don't ſhave their heads here according to the *Tartarian* faſhion, as they do now in *China*, but wear their hair long and neatly twiſted. Their habitations are ſettled thro' the whole city, but live for the moſt part on the weſt-ſide, near the great river, and many of them on the eaſt-ſide; their houſes are low, with the roof cover'd over the firſt floor.

The Malayans. The *Malayans* as they are not ſo much addicted to trading as the *Chineſe*, live for the moſt part upon fiſhing; their boats are made after the *Indian* faſhion, with large ſails. They have alſo a governor of their own, who lives in the *Rhinoceroſes Gracht*, whereabouts moſt of them have their dwelling-places. They wear light callicoes or ſilks, tho' ſome of their women of faſhion uſe flower'd and ſtrip'd ſilk; their hair, which is very black, they tie behind in a knot, but the men wear a piece of cloath about their heads. Thoſe few merchants that are among them, are next to the *Chineſe*, accounted the cunningeſt traders; the houſes of the *Malayans* are but very indifferently built there, being covered with leaves, and planted round with coco-trees. They have a cuſtom of chewing the *Bethel* leaves continually, and take tobacco through ſugar-canes lackered over with ſtone ball. 1662.

The Moors. The *Moors* or *Mahometans* here maintain themſelves almoſt in the ſame manner, and live near the *Malayans*; ſome however drive a kind of pedling-trade, and ſell coral and glaſs beads in the ſtreets, ſome have ſmall ſtalls in market-towns. A few of them merchandiſe, eſpecially in free-ſtone, which they fetch in their veſſels from the adjacent iſlands. They are clad after the *Mahometan* faſhion.

Amboyneſe. The *Amboyneſe* inhabit a particular part of the ſuburbs, on the left-hand, as you come from *Jacatra* to the city, near the burying place of the *Chineſe*; near it their governor (who has done great ſervice to the company) has built himſelf a ſtately houſe, after the manner of the *Amboyneſe*. They live for the moſt part upon carpenters work, being extremely dextrous in building of houſes of bamboo-canes, and have a peculiar way of ſplitting and twiſting of canes in divers figures for windows, which afford a free paſſage to the air. The *Amboyneſe* are a courageous nation, of a dreadful aſpect, with long black hair, and much inclined to mutiny; their chief weapons are cymeters, and ſhields of an oval figure, where with they know how to ward a blow

V. II.

Betwixt pa. 276.277.

A Melayã Captain...

Betwixt pag. 276. 277.

The habit of a Malayan and his Wife at Batavia.

Betwixt pag. 276. 277.

29

A Souldier of Amboina.

H. Cause. sculp

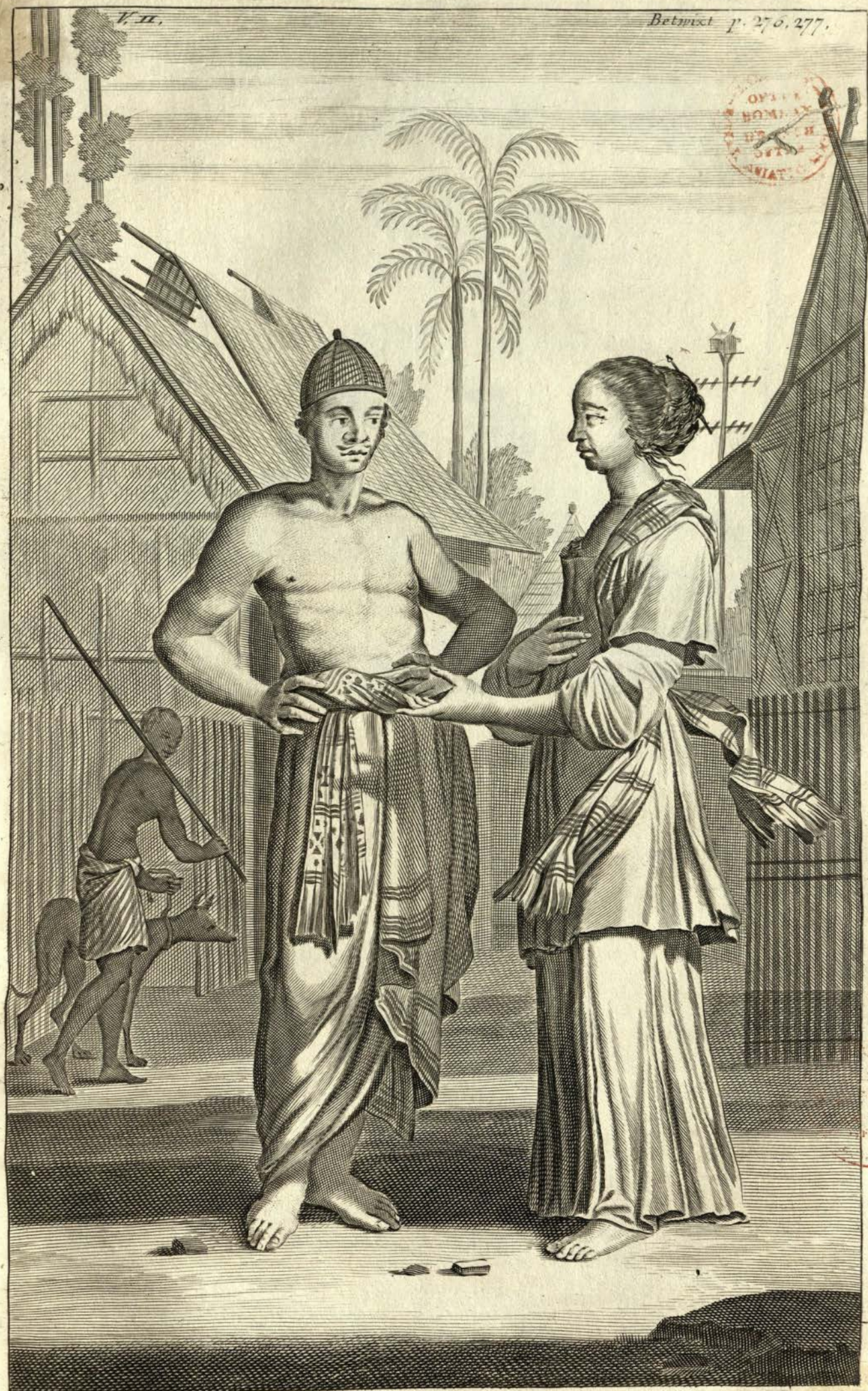
Betwixt pag. 476. 477.

A Negro Pedler with his Wife.

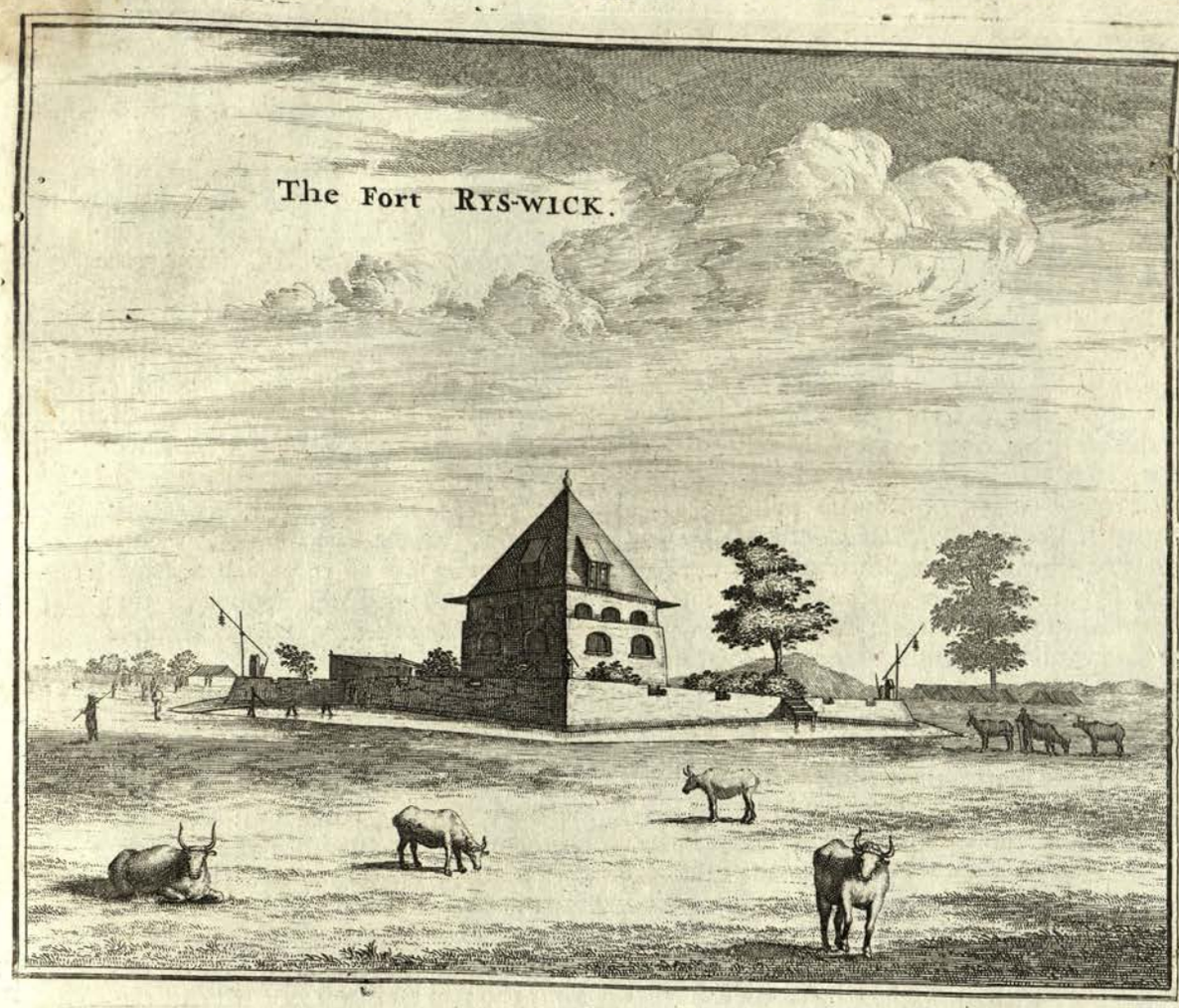
Betwixt pag. 276. 277.

A Marchant of Java.

Betwixt p. 276. 277.



A Javaneſe Man and Wooman.



1662. a blow, and to intercept their enemies arrows: The men wear a piece of callicoe wrapt ſeveral times about their heads, both ends hanging down, and adorned with flowers and ſome other ornaments. The women have only a piece of callicoe wrapt about them, and another piece round their ſhoulders, their arms being left bare; their houſes are made of wooden planks, carved with leaves, indifferently high built: Their dreſs is like that of the *Moors*.

Javaneſe. The *Javaneſe* inhabit in houſes of bamboo-canes, on the other ſide of the burying-place of the *Chineſe*, ſome of which are neatly built and cover'd with the twigs of coco-trees. Some maintain themſelves with huſbandry, and eſpecially with planting of rice, others with building of boats, uſed by the inhabitants for the carrying of their commodities to the city; they alſo go abroad a fiſhing, their boats which are turn'd like horns in the figure of a half-moon, being ſo nimble, that they call them the *Flying-Boats*. The *Javaneſe* men go for the moſt part naked, being only covered from the middle to the knees; ſome wear a kind of a ſcarf, whereon they faſten their ſwords; on the head they wear a cap, but go bare-footed. Their houſes excel in neatneſs thoſe of the reſt of the *Indians*.

1662. The *Mardiikers* or *Topaſſers* are a mixture of divers *Indian* nations, call'd *Topaſſers*, i. e. *Accommodators*, becauſe they will accommodate themſelves eaſily to the manners, cuſtoms and religion of ſuch as they live among; tho' ſome will have them derive their name from a precious ſtone call'd a *Topaz*. They live both within and without the city, the chiefeſt of which being merchants, who traffick in their own veſſels with the adjacent iſles, live in very ſtately houſes. The reſt live upon huſbandry, graſing and gardening, and have ſome artiſans among them; they have their own captains, who ſit in the council of war, and ſchool-maſters who teach their children to read and to write. Their dreſs approaches near to the *Dutch* faſhion, but their breeches reach down to their ankles, and wear a kind of caps on their heads. Their women are clad like other *Indian* women. Their houſes are better built than thoſe of the other *Indians*, generally of ſtone, and cover'd with tiles, ſtately built and arch'd. Before their houſes they plant coco-trees, and all ſorts of *Indian* fruits and flowers, but the backſide they reſerve for the keeping of pigs, pidgeons, fowl and other ſorts of poultry, which they bring to ſale in the market.

1662. Mardiikers *or* Topaſſers.

1662. *The soldiers of* Makaſſar.

The chief arms of the ſoldiers of *Makaſſar* are certain poiſon'd arrows of a foot long, pointed at one end with fiſh teeth, and on the other with a kind of hard wood; when they are to go into the wars, they provide a good number of theſe arrows dipt a good while before in a poiſonous liquor which they let dry upon them. This poiſon is the juice iſſuing out of the bark of a certain tree growing in the iſle of *Makaſſar*, and two or three adjacent iſles of the *Bougiſſes*; it is of the height of a clove tree; its leaves reſembling alſo thoſe of that tree; the juice of which, while yet freſh, is mortal, and not to be cured by antidotes. Theſe poiſon'd arrows the ſoldiers of *Makaſſar* don't ſhoot out of their bows, but thro' trunks, as we let fly at the birds in *Europe* with ſmall earthen balls; with theſe they will hit any mark within four rods diſtance. This poiſon is ſo pernicious, and penetrates with that ſwiftneſs thro' the whole maſs of the blood, and ſeizes upon the ſpirits, that the *Makaſſars* themſelves know no remedy againſt it. The moſt approved remedy againſt it is man's dung, which taken immediately after the wound is given, cauſes a vomiting, and hinders the operation of the poiſon: I have known ſeveral of our ſoldiers cured by this remedy, tho' ſome others I have ſeen die not long after they had been wounded, notwithſtanding the uſe of it, and others after two or three days. In the iſle of *Makaſſar* grows a certain root, of a bitteriſh taſte, which is look'd upon as a great antidote againſt this poiſon, and is often uſed as ſuch by the *Dutch*; they chew the root, and lay it about the orifice of the wound.

Timoreſe ſoldiers.

The *Timoreſe* ſoldiers or inhabitants of the iſle of *Timoor*, uſe ſwords of ſandel wood, wherewith they can cut a man through the middle at one ſtroke: For in this iſle, and the *Molucca-Iſlands*, and all along to the S. S. E. beyond the *Leſſer-Java*, to the 10th deg. of ſouthern latitude, grow whole woods of white and yellow ſandel wood, call'd *Chandava* by the inhabitants. The *Timoreſe* are very barbarous, but warlike; formerly they were all pagans, but of late years moſt are turn'd mahometans, and ſome *Roman* catholicks.

Bougiſſes.

The *Bokjes* or *Bougiſſes*, who formerly inhabited divers iſles near that of *Makaſſar*, are a warlike people, arm'd with cymeters, arrows, and ſhields, which they handle with great dexterity. They go for the greateſt part naked, having only a piece of ſtuff about the middle down to the knees. The women are clad like the other *Indians*. After the *Dutch* became engaged in a war with the king of *Makaſſar*, theſe *Bougiſſes* fixt their habitations in and about *Batavia*, till the event of the war; their king having his reſidence near the out-guard, betwixt the forts of *Riſwick* and *Northwick*, the queen being permitted to reſide within the city; but after the *Makaſſars* were conquered by the *Dutch*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Spellman*, and a firm peace was ſettled with the neighbouring nations, both the king and queen had a houſe aſſign'd them in the *Lords-Street*. This houſe or palace extends to the brink of the river, with very pleaſant walks, flower-gardens, and a moſt delightful vineyard, which in my time, 1676, bore vaſt branches of grapes. The gate facing the ſtreet is very neatly built, of the *Ionick* order, with a gallery on the top of it, and the apartments ſo ſpacious and well-contrived, that moſt of the *Indian* kings and their retinue might live here. 1662.

Number of foreigners at Batavia.

Among the foreign nations reſiding here, there may, according to computation, be raiſed 6720 fighting men, *viz.* 400 *Topaſſars* or *Mardiiken* under two captains, within the city, beſides 710 without the city, under three captains, making in all 1110; of *Regantiins* 70; *Amboyneſe* 600; *Malayans* 201; *Chineſe* 1200; *Moors* 200; of the *Javaneſe* in their quarter within the *New-Gate* 750; near the burying-place of the *Chineſe* 1500; in their quarter beyond the *New-Fort* 800; and of *Braſilians* beyond the fort 300. That this iſland is ſufficiently fruitful, and able to maintain its inhabitants, is evident from the exportations that are made yearly thence to *Amboyna* and other places: It is true no wheat grows here, but ſuppoſing the ſupplies that are brought of that grain from *Suratte* and *Japan* ſhould be ſtopt, the defect thereof may very well be ſupplied with rice. The chief artiſans here are *Dutch*, moſt of which live very well, and the *Chineſe* have many carpenters and bricklayers among themſelves, who will work as journeymen. Their cabinet-makers have a way of joining the wood of their cabinets, ſo that the jointures are not to be ſeen. Others get a livelyhood by ſelling of ſugar-beer, cookery, and the ſale of *Sury* or coco-liquor, and *Arack* or *Indian* ſtrong-waters, of which they make punch, (as the *Engliſh* call it) a liquor that opens both the hearts and purſes of the inhabitants. But the chief inns and taverns are kept by the *Dutch*, who pay, as well as all the other nations, two reals *per* month for their licenſe, beſides 70 reals exciſe of every pipe of *Spaniſh* wine they ſell. The diſtillers of *Arack* are moſt *Chineſe*, who pay 50 reals exciſe for every chauldron or goſper *per* month.

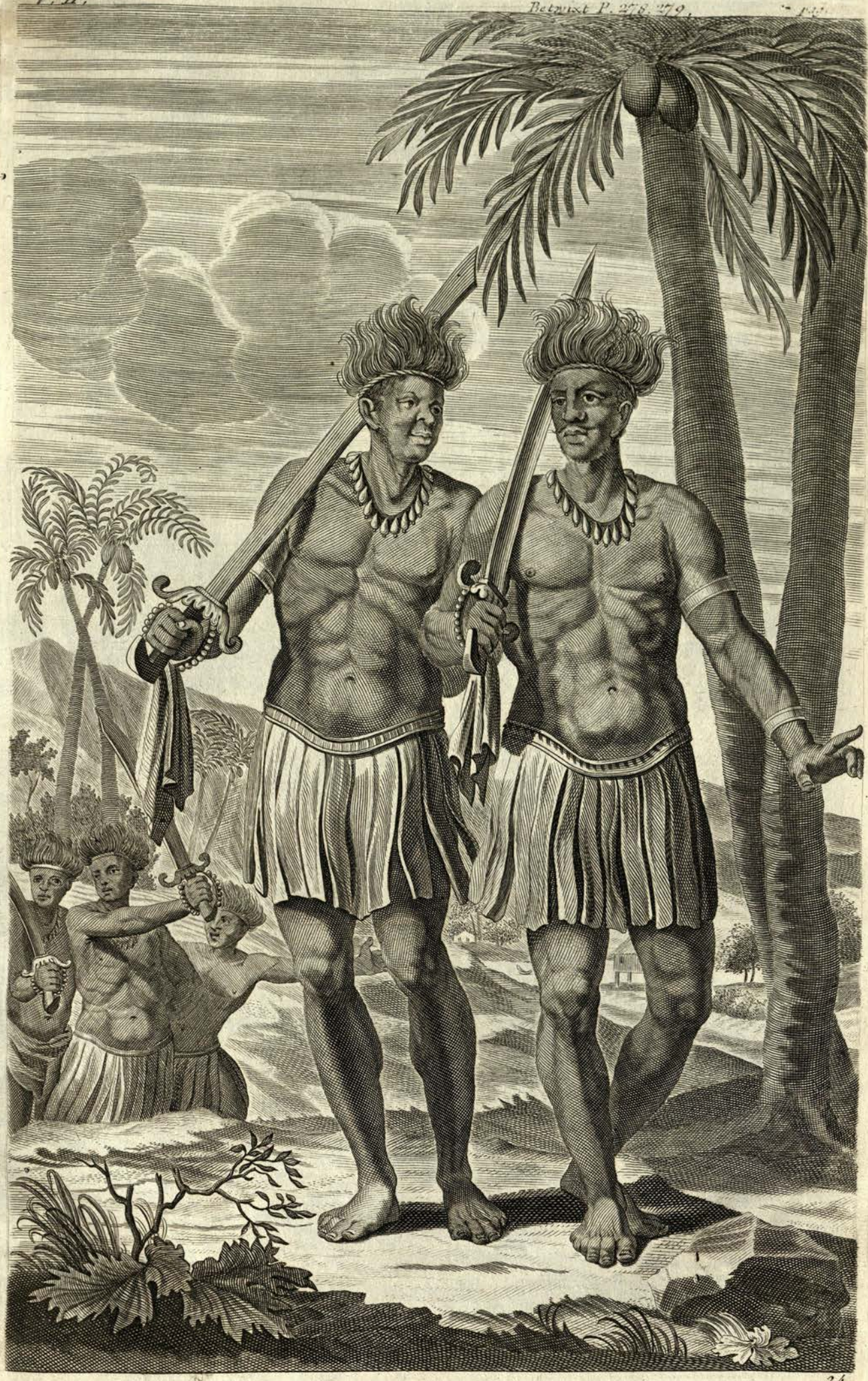
The

Pag. 278. 279.

33.

A Makaſſer with his Wife as they are habited at Batavia

Betwixt P. 278. 279.



34.

Tymorian Souldiers.

35.

A Bougis of Bokjes.

Betwixt pa. 278.279.

Makaſsar Souldiers who blow poiſon'd darts out of Trunks.

Betwixt pag. 278. 279.

A Topas or Mardick with his Wife.

1662. The government of the city of *Batavia* is ſettled upon the ſame baſis as in the *United Provinces*, being adminiſter'd by ſix peculiar colleges or councils.

The firſt and chief is compoſed of the members of the council of the *Indies*, in which the governor-general of the *Indies* preſides, whoſe name was Mr. *Maetzuiper* at that time. In this council all affairs of ſtate are tranſacted: Their chamber is in the palace of the governor, where audience is given every day to redreſs the grievances of the people.

The ſecond college or council conſiſts of nine perſons, beſides the preſident, who commonly is one of the members of the great council, and is the keeper of the great ſeal, repreſenting a woman placed in a tower, with a balance in one, and a ſword in the other hand, with this inſcription; *The ſeal of the council of juſtice of the caſtle of* Batavia; this college being generally called the *Council of Juſtice*. Here are debated and decided all matters relating to the publick revenue and treaſury. They alſo take cognizance of differences ariſing about cuſtoms. The preſident in conjunction with the council has a voice in the determination of civil cauſes, and has a third part of all the fines; but if they exceed 100 reals, he has only a ſixth part. His chief buſineſs is to take care that no incroachments be made upon the prerogatives of the ſovereignty of the *United Provinces*. The ſecretary is to keep an exact regiſter of all things tranſacted in this aſſembly, without any other reward but his ſalary: He alſo has in his cuſtody the money which comes from the fines, of which he muſt give an account. The door-keeper is to attend whilſt they are ſitting, and to ſummon ſuch perſons as are to appear before them: He wears a ſtick and a ſilver-ſhield on the left-ſide, with the ſeal of the council. The goal-keeper keeps three tables for the priſoners; who are to pay half a real for turning the key. This council aſſembles in the council-chamber of the town-houſe, twice, and ſometimes thrice a week.

The third college or council conſiſts of the aldermen or ſenators, choſen out of the beſt citizens. They aſſemble three times a week, *viz. Mondays*, *Wedneſdays* and *Thurſdays*, from 7 till 11 in the forenoon. At their election they are preſented with 50 rixdollars, and with 100 more every 6 months. In this council are determin'd all the cauſes betwixt the citizens, (from whom however lies an appeal to the council of juſtice;) if any difference ariſes betwixt a ſervant of the company and a citizen, the laſt muſt be ſummoned before this court; and no citizen is obliged to appear before the council of juſtice, but muſt be ſummon'd before this aſſembly firſt, and there anſwer for himſelf. This council iſſue their orders in relation to the publick ſtructures, bridges and ſtreets, yet not without the approbation of the great council. The preſident has the cuſtody of the ſeal, and calls the aſſembly together when he thinks fit: He may peruſe the regiſter, and propoſes all matters to the council: He has a double voice, and is commonly one of the members of the great council. The *Landroſt* or chief judge, has in this aſſembly a deciſive ſentence in criminal cauſes, and is allowed a third part of all the fines. This council conſiſts of nine perſons, among whom are two *Chineſe*. They have alſo a door-keeper, who is called the city meſſenger, having a ſhield with the city's arms in it. 1662.

The government of Batavia.

The fourth council conſiſts of the overſeers of the hoſpital of the orphans, being choſen out of the beſt citizens, except the preſident, who is generally a member of the great council. It conſiſts of five members only, three whereof are citizens, the other two ſervants of the company: Their buſineſs is to provide for the poor-orphans, and to enquire into their condition, and what is left by their parents.

The fifth is the council appointed for the determination of matters of leſs moment; the preſident whereof is a member of the council of juſtice. They are to give licences for marriages, and not to permit men before they are twenty one, and maids before eighteen years of age, to marry; nor mahometans or pagans to marry with chriſtians, nor any *Hollanders* with the natives that don't underſtand *Dutch*. They ſit twice a week in the town-houſe, where cauſes of little moment are pleaded and ſoon decided.

The ſixth council of *Batavia* is the council of war, in which the chief officer of the militia of the city is preſident. Here are determined all matters relating to the militia of leſs moment, which are brought before them by the city major; but matters of conſequence are referr'd to the determination of the judge and court of the ſenators. They alſo meet in the town-houſe once a week.

All theſe courts have each their own ſecretary, clerks and waiters.

The eccleſiaſtical government of *Batavia* is adminiſtred by the miniſters, church-wardens and overſeers of the poor, who aſſemble in the veſtry of the church upon the ſummons of their preſident, who is choſen every month. The miniſters being choſen in, and ſent hither out of *Holland*, are

The eccleſiaſtical government.

1662. are confirm'd here, and live in great eſteem among the citizens.

The original and riſe of Batavia.

Batavia, the capital city of all the *Indies* under the *Dutch* juriſdiction, has been frequently attempted by the natives or *Javaneſe*; for no ſooner had the *Hollanders* in 1618. (after the taking of *Jacatra*, unto which they gave the name of *Batavia*) erected a fortreſs here, but the natives being encouraged by the *Engliſh* of *Bantam*, endeavour'd to drive them from thence. To effect which, the *Engliſh* perſuaded them to erect a redoubt or great battery, upon which they planted their great guns, from whence they play'd ſo furiouſly upon the new baſtion of the *Dutch* fort, that they were not able to bring it to perfection. *John Peterſon Koen*, the *Dutch* governor, having thereupon call'd together a council of war, it was reſolved, that to hinder the further progreſs of the enemy, they ſhould make a ſalley the next morning by break of day, in order to attack the redoubt, and the quarters of the *Chineſe* and *Engliſh* at the ſame time. Accordingly our men were divided into three troops, commanded by *Peter Van Broek*, (afterwards governor-general of the *Dutch-Indies*) *Peter Van Dirks*, and *Peter Van Rey*, with theſe they attack'd the before-mentioned poſts at once. The *Javaneſe* fought bravely at firſt; but ſeeing the *Hollanders* perſiſted in the attack, reſolved either to die or overcome, they retreated, leaving their ſtrong hold to the enemy, who deſtroy'd all their work in a few hours. But being ſorely gall'd by the fire of the city, they had not the ſame ſucceſs at the new redoubt erected by the enemy near the river-ſide; ſo, that having endeavoured, but in vain, to make a breach there, they were forced to retire with the loſs of 15 men killed and 10 wounded. Beſides this redoubt, the *Javaneſe* had another battery raiſed in the midſt of the city, which being mounted with heavy cannon taken out of the *Engliſh* ſhips, did alſo conſiderable miſchief to the beſieged, who were day and night at work in raiſing batteries, and putting their fortifications in a ſtate of defence; whereas the enemy being much ſuperior in number, had had time enough to provide themſelves with all things for this enterpriſe. In the mean while the *Hollanders* made a ſecond attempt upon the redoubt near the river-ſide, but were repulſed with the loſs of 7 or 8 of their men, and a lieutenant, whoſe head the *Javaneſe* carried in triumph on the top of a lance. The *Engliſh* then living at *Bantam*, would fain have revenged themſelves upon the *Dutch* inhabitants there, for the damages their countreymen had received at *Batavia*, had they not been prevented therein by the *Pangerang*. Whilſt the *Dutch*, who were not above 240 fighting men ſtrong in the fortreſs, were thus defending themſelves againſt ſome thouſands of the *Javaneſe*, (beſides the *Engliſh*) an *Engliſh* ſquadron of 11 ſhips appeared in the road of *Batavia*, coming from *Bantam*; whereupon the governor of the fort, having recommended the defence thereof to *Peter Van Broek* the deputy governor, he went on board a man of war, with an intention to engage the *Engliſh*, but finding himſelf two weak, left what ammunition he could ſpare, in the caſtle, and ſo ſet ſail for the *Molucca* iſlands, being purſued for ſome days by the *Engliſh*, but to no purpoſe; who after their return, came again to an anchor in the road of *Batavia*. Thus the *Dutch* were attack'd both by ſea and land, yet did not loſe their courage, but defended themſelves with ſo much bravery, that the enemy thought fit to offer a truce, to ſettle, as they pretended, the preliminaries of a peace. 1662.

Hoſtages being exchang'd on both ſides, the *Dommagon* or prime miniſter, the king of *Jacatra*'s brother demanded the ſum of 4000 crowns from the *Hollanders*, which he ſaid they had forfeited according to agreement, for having attack'd the *Engliſh* without the king's leave, and 4000 more for the letting them finiſh the new baſtion, which he ſaid was not comprehended in the ſaid contract; after many debates and conteſts, certain articles were at laſt agreed on, which the *Dutch* (who wanted ammunition) were willing to ſign; but the *Engliſh* finding thoſe conditions againſt their intereſt (the *Dutch* being thereby permitted to remain in the poſſeſſion of their fortreſs and habitations at *Bantam*) found out the following trick to break off the treaty; they ſo far prevail'd, firſt with *Peter vander Broek* the deputy-governor of the fortreſs, that he came out to meet the king of *Jacatra* at an appointed place, but no ſooner appear'd there but he was taken priſoner, with thoſe few that attended him, and laid in irons; being threatned with preſent death, unleſs he would prevail with thoſe in the fortreſs to ſurrender it immediately; but finding the garriſon reſolved to defend the place, the *Engliſh* brought more of their heavy cannon aſhore, in order to batter it with the utmoſt fury; at the ſame time they drag'd the deputy-governor, loaden with irons and a rope about his neck, to the walls of the caſtle, threatning him once more with immediate death upon the ſpot, unleſs the garriſon would prevent it by an immediate ſurrender; the deputy-governor was ſo far from being overcome by the fear of preſent death,

Bravery of the Dutch *governor of* Batavia.

1662. that on the contrary, like a brave and faithful commander, he exhorted them to defend the place to the laſt drop of blood, which ſo exaſperated ſome of the *Javaneſe* and *Engliſh* that ſtood near him, that they threw him backwards by the rope, and ſo drag'd him back to the council, all which he took patiently, and with ſo undaunted a courage, that ſome of the *Engliſh* being aſham'd of ſo barbarous an action, afterwards beg'd his pardon. By this time the *Dutch* having ſpent all their ammunition, and quite tir'd out with continual labour and watching, without any hopes of preſent relief, ſaw themſelves under an indiſpenſable neceſſity to ſurrender the place under condition, that the garriſon and caſtle with all the artillery ſhould be deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, and the merchandizes, money and jewels to the *Javaneſe*; it was ſign'd the firſt of *February* 1619, by *Wydurk Bama*, king of *Jacatra*, and the *Engliſh* chief commander on one ſide, and by thoſe in the fortreſs on the other ſide.

The *Hollanders* being now upon the point of delivering themſelves and the fortreſs up to their enemies, a ſudden accident robb'd the *Javaneſe* and the *Engliſh* of all their hopes; for the *Pangerang* of *Bantam* had no ſooner notice of this capitulation, in which he had no ſhare, but he order'd his *Dommagon* or chief miniſter to march with a body of 4000 men to ſecure the *Dutch* deputy-governor, and the caſtle with all that was found in it for his uſe. Accordingly he march'd with all ſecrecy to *Jacatra*, and meeting with the king in his apartment, put his dagger to his breaſt with theſe words: *King, ſurrender yourſelf priſoner, or expect no quarter*, which ſo terrify'd the king, that he comply'd not only with his demands, but ſoon after retir'd with the queen into the mountains, without ever being heard of ſince. The *Dommagon* of *Bantam* having taken the deputy-governor into his cuſtody, ſummon'd the fortreſs to ſurrender, which thoſe refus'd to do, except upon the before-mention'd conditions, which the *Bantameſe* refuſing to agree to, and the *Engliſh* in the mean while (ſeeing they were like to be diſappointed in aim) beginning to reimbark their cannon, thro' contrivance of the beſieged, theſe finding their enemies at variance about the booty, began to take freſh courage, and having in ſeveral attacks bravely repulſed the *Javaneſe*, were now ſo confident of maintaining the fort, that they gave it the name of *Batavia*; thus matters ſtood, when on the 25th of *March* 1619, their ſo long look'd for relief, conſiſting of 17 men of war, under the command of *John Peterſon Koen*, came from the *Moluque* iſlands in the road of *Batavia*: Within a few days after they landed 1100 men, divided into 12 ſeveral bodies, and edged on with revenge, attack'd the city of *Jacatra* with incredible fury, the *Javaneſe* defended themſelves with great obſtinacy for ſome time, but no longer able to endure our fire, they left their entrenchments, and look'd for their ſafety in an open flight, being cloſely purſued by the *Dutch*, who gave no quarter; this happened the 30th of *March* 1619, which day is yearly celebrated here in memory of this great action. This done, Mr. *Koen* ſail'd with the fleet to *Bantam*, demanding the immediate reſtitution of all the priſoners; the *Pangerang* being at firſt unwilling to grant his demand, he began to thunder with his cannon into the city, which ſoon terrify'd him into a compliance. The *Engliſh* ſeeing themſelves now quite out of all hopes of accompliſhing their deſign, by the coming of the *Dutch* fleet, made the beſt of their way thro' the ſtreight of *Sunda*, and thoſe of *Bantam*, finding themſelves forſaken by their confederates, thought it moſt convenient to give over their project. 1662.

The *Hollanders* having now their hands free, and ſeeing the ſituation of their new fortreſs in ſo fertile a countrey, near a very advantageous bay, capable of containing 1000 ſhips with ſafety, reſolved and gave immediate orders for the building of the city, under the cannon of the fortreſs, the adjacent iſlands furniſhing them with ſufficient ſtone and mortar, and what elſe was requiſite for this undertaking, being purchaſed from the neighbouring confederates. But the *Javaneſe* not being able to brook the riſe and encreaſe of this new city, the *Mataran* (or *Javaneſe* emperor) 1629, laid cloſe ſiege to it with 12000 men, under the conduct of the prince of *Madure*; and being advanc'd with their works within muſket ſhot of the walls, they made ſeveral furious attacks in the night-time, but were as often repulſed by the fire of the beſieged, who beſides this made frequent ſallies, and ruin'd their works, without giving them leiſure to repair them. The *Javaneſe* being reſolv'd to try all means to reduce the place, ſtop'd the current of the great river with piles ram'd into the bottom, behind which they threw all the dead carcaſſes of men and beaſts, which not only infected the water, but alſo the air, which occaſion'd diſtempers among the beſieg'd, who were forced to drink ſalt water for a conſiderable time, till at laſt by continual digging having found ſome ſprings of tolerable good water, they began to refreſh themſelves with leſs danger and more eaſe. The *Javaneſe* finding alſo this de- 1662.

1662. sign to prove unſucceſsful, had recourſe again to force, and the 2d of *October* 1629, made a general aſſault on the ſouth-ſide of the city, relieving their troops continually with freſh men, but were repulſed bravely without any conſiderable loſs of the *Dutch*. At the ſame time they aſſaulted a ſmall outwork or tower call'd *Maaſland-Waerberg*, defended only by 15 men, who defended themſelves courageouſly, as that they were attack'd. At laſt, having ſpent all their powder and ball, they went to work with the tiles and bricks of the caſtle within; the *Javaneſe* being ſenſible of their want, advanced to the very foot of the walls, and having found means to bring a great rope round the building, were endeavouring to pull down the tower; but the beſieged ſeeing themſelves in extremity, made a furious ſally upon the *Javeneſe*, who thought not fit to ſtand the ſhock, but ſoon retreated to their entrenchments, except a few that were ſlain upon the ſpot. The firſt of *November* 1629, about ſix hours after ſunſet, the *Javaneſe* ſet fire to their camp in three ſeveral places, and march'd off with all imaginable ſecrecy, after a ſiege of three months and three days. No booty worth mentioning was found there, but 800 men miſerably murthered all on a ſpot; a miſerable ſpectacle! occaſion'd as we learn'd afterwards by the haughty courage of the prince of *Madure*, which happened thus: During the firſt ſiege of the caſtle of *Batavia*, the emperor of *Mataran* having ſent a body of troops under the command of one of his beſt officers to the king of *Jacatra*, and the ſame returning unſucceſsful, the prince of *Madure* ſpoke ſlightly of the matter, telling openly at court, *That if he had been ſent with ſuch troops, he would have carried the caſtle or died in the attempt.* The *Materan* being inform'd thereof, and reſolv'd to try his fortune againſt *Batavia*, gave the ſupreme command of his army to the ſaid prince, who proving unſucceſsful, juſt as he was ready to march off with his troops, was order'd to be ſlain with all his followers, *to verify his own words* (as he ſaid) *that he would either carry the caſtle or periſh in the attempt.*

Batavia beſieged by the Javaneſe.

The *Javaneſe* loſt above 30000 men in this unfortunate ſiege, notwithſtanding which, thoſe of *Bantam* in the year 1655, had a mind to try their fortune againſt the *Dutch*; who meeting them in the open field, this occaſioned many ſkirmiſhes, in which the *Javaneſe* commonly had the worſt, ſo that being pretty well tired with the war, and hearing of the approaching ſuccours from the *Molucca* iſlands, under the command of *Arnold Ulaming*, they thought it their beſt way to come to a compoſition with them, ſince which time they have not thought fit to come to any rupture, but maintain a good correſpondence with thoſe they know are able to cope with them; eſpecially ſince they have ſtrengthned their city with divers conſiderable outworks and forts. 1662.

The fort *Ansjol* on the ſea-ſide, the fort *Aake* to the weſt-ſide, and on the *Quinquangular* fort, the *Riſwick*, *Noothwick* and *Jacatra* on the land-ſide. The fort *Aake* is built 1200 rods from *Batavia* to the eaſt, near the ſea-ſide juſt by the lime-kills, and faced with ſtone. The fort *Aake* lies about 500 rods from the city, more towards the land-ſide, being alſo a free quadrangular figure; hereabouts live abundance of farmers along the river, the grounds being very fertile here. Near it is the *Peſt-houſe*. The fort *Jacatra* ſtands upon the bank of the river, not above 500 paces to the north-eaſt of the city; from whence there is a ſtrait and pleaſant walk thither, planted on both ſides with gardens and orchards. The *Chineſe*, *Amboyneſe*, and ſome other foreigners have their habitations hereabouts. The fort of *Northwick* lies to the north of the city near the river, betwixt that of *Jacatra* and *Riſwick*.

The outworks of Batavia.

Without the city many of the citizens have very pleaſant gardens and houſes. Upon the great river without *Batavia* you ſee a houſe belonging to captain *Burghs*, built flat on the top after the *Indian* faſhion, being ſurrounded with all ſorts of *Indian* trees. Upon the brink of the river is a pleaſant ſummer-houſe. Without the city, near the great river, ſtands another houſe belonging to a rich citizen call'd *Strantwich*, belonging formerly to Mr. *John Maetzuicker*, governor-general of the *Dutch Indies*: It is very airy and pleaſantly built, with a very fine front, the gardens being well ſtored with trees and flowers of moſt ſorts.

Without the new gate, in a grove of pleaſant trees, you ſee the tomb of a *Chineſe* governor, named *Sequa*; being no more than a heap of earth raiſed above the ſurface of the ground, and encloſed with brick-work, plaiſtered white all over: In the midſt you ſee a table, and upon it a cup, into which the *Chineſe* put ſometimes money, ſometimes victuals, to appeaſe the manes of the deceaſed.

A Chineſe tomb.

The grounds about *Batavia*, and indeed of the whole iſle of *Java*, are extremely fertile in all ſorts of fruits the *Indies* afford; but what is moſt ſurprizing is, that divers plants, which in *Europe* grow on ſmall and tender ſtalks, riſe up here very thick, and with hard ſtalks; whereas

Trees, plants and flowers of Java.

1662. on the other hand, divers ſorts of beans and flowers grow in *Java* upon trees. The ſoil about *Batavia* is ſo rich, that the ſeeds brought hither out of *Holland*, *Perſia*, and from *Suratte*, thrive extremely, and yield plentiful fruits.

Fruits of the earth. *Holland* cabbages, if ſown in due time, and well look'd after, come here to a good perfection, but if neglected they will not cabbage. Provident nature ſeems to have been careful in abundance of aſtringent plants for this climate, where the bloody flux and other diſtempers occaſioned by the gall, are ſo frequent. Of trefoil or clover they have great ſtore here; and in their gardens purſlain, aſparagus, endive, lettice, bekabung, water-creſſes, parſley, radiſhes, red and white beetes, and ſuch like: The radiſhes grow longer and better taſted here than in *Europe*, and there is a certain kind of them ſhorter but thicker than the reſt, which are boil'd like our turnips. The *Chineſe* pickle radiſhes, and uſe them to create an appetite to their victuals. Here alſo is found a certain kind of *Mandragora*, called *Bella Donna* by the *Italians*, in great requeſt among the *Indians* in burning fevers; they pickle it in vinegar, and eat the fruit roaſted in the aſhes as a diſert.

Vines. Vines are very plenty and good here if well cultivated; whether or by whom the vines have been tranſlated hither is uncertain, there being no mention made of it in the journals of the voyages made into thoſe parts ſince the year 1595. They grow very luſciouſly upon the walls of the houſes of *Batavia*, which bear fruit in a manner all the year round, provided they be pruned in due time; for 14 days after they are pruned the buds come out, which in 14 days more ſtand in full bloſſom, and in two months longer produce ripe grapes; ſo that every vine brings forth ripe grapes every three months, and conſequently four times in the year. But they don't thrive ſo well without the city; whether the lands be too low, or not ſufficiently purged from the ſalt-petre, I will leave to the enquiry of others; ſince it is certain, that vineyards would be of prodigious conſequence to the inhabitants, there being vines here which bear grapes, each bunch weighing 16 or more ounces; and there are ſome grapes as big as the *Spaniſh Muſcadine* grape.

Blue-beans. All along the roads about *Batavia* grow a certain plant among the woods, with ſmall branches not unlike the hops, which ſpread very plentifully upon the ground, or will riſe up to a good height on ſtalks like our *French* beans, having leaves like our roſe-trees. The flower comes forth out of a bud as large as our ordinary roſes, pointed at the end; they are of a lovely ſky blue colour, and yellow in the middle, but the fruit being rank is not regarded. 1662.

Indian garden-herbs. The *Indian* beets grow in the gardens of *Batavia*, their leaves being not unlike our ſorrel leaves, with a pale vein thro' the middle: They bring forth purſley flowers on green ſtalks; ſome are white, others a mixture of purple and green. The leaves and ſtalks when boil'd, are in taſte like the *Indian Bajan:* All ſorts of garden-herbs are in great requeſt among the *Indians* here, becauſe moſt of the *Indian* foreigners that come from *Suratte*, and the coaſt of *Coromandel*, feed for the moſt part upon fruits of the earth; for believing the tranſmigration of the ſoul, they will not eat the fleſh of any living creature; for which reaſon alſo they abſtain from red beans, or herbs of a red colour, as having a reſemblance to blood; and for the ſame reaſon it is, that the *Indians*, tho' otherwiſe very ignorant, yet are very well verſed in the knowledge of plants and trees. The *Malayans* call all pot-herbs or other eatable herbs *Seir*, but medicinal and poiſonous herbs *Oubat*. About *Batavia* are to be found divers ſorts of pot and other garden herbs; as red and white beets, parſley, divers ſorts of lettices, dill, fennel, aſparagus, *&c.* And of fruits of the earth water-melons, pompions, cucumbers, citruls, *&c.* And of pulſe, all ſorts of beans and peas, which grow up to a great height on ſtalks or trees.

Fokky-Fokky. The fruit call'd *Fokky-Fokky* by the *Indians* is ſhaped like a pear, ſometimes near a yard long, and of the thinneſs of a man's arm: It contains abundance of ſmall ſeeds, the rind being thin, but ſo ſmooth and bright, that you may ſee your face in them like as in a looking-glaſs: The leaves are green but rough, and as it were covered with a hairy ſubſtance: They grow up to a good height. This fruit is one of the beſt and moſt eſteem'd of all the *Indies*, being of a delicious taſte, and when boil'd with wine and pepper, not unlike our artichoak bottoms. They are frequently eaten both by the *Dutch* and *Indians*, inſtead of the *European* turnips, being look'd upon as very nouriſhing and eaſy to be digeſted; beſides, that by their diuretick quality they are good againſt the gravel and ſtone. There is another wild kind of *Fokky-Fokky*, the fruits whereof are round, and when ripe turn yellow, but theſe are only food for the hogs.

Jamboes. In the plains of *Java* grows a tree, the fruit whereof the *Malayans* call *Jamboes*, and the *Dutch* ſloes or ſmall plumbs: This tree reſembling in all reſpects our ſloe or wild plumb-tree; the fruits being alſo of an aſtringent but not diſagreeable taſte: The fruit when ripe is yellow, and the juice

1662. juice thereof mix'd with *Champana* and roſe water, is uſed againſt the inflammation of the throat. The juice taken inwardly is good againſt the bloody flux, and other bileous diſtempers. Thus this juice of the *Indian* fruit *Jangomas* is equivalent in its virtue to the *Acacia* of the antients, or to our *European* ſloes.

Cubebes or Kumuk. In the iſle of *Java* only, *viz.* in the woods near the ſhore of the ſtreight of *Sunda*, grows wild a certain fruit called *Cubebes* and *Quabeb* by the *Arabians*, *Kumuk* by the *Javeneſe*, and by the reſt of the *Indians*, except the *Malayans*, *Kubab Sini*, i. e. *Chineſe Kubebe*, not becauſe it grows in *China*, but becauſe it is tranſported thither in great quantities. The tree which bears this fruit is both in leaves and branches not unlike to our apple-tree, but ſomewhat leſſer. The fruit is round, ſmaller than pepper, of a dark brown colour, and if pinch'd with the nails, will emit a certain liquor like unto the cloves. This fruit is in ſo high an eſteem among the *Javaneſe*, that they will not permit them to be tranſported, unleſs they are boil'd before-hand, to prevent their being tranſplanted into another place. They gather ſome of them before they are ripe; theſe are light, with a rough rind, within which is a ſmall ſoft and whitiſh kernel. When they are ripe the rind is ſmooth, have a bigger kernel, and are much heavier than the others. Before they are quite ripe, they have an aromatick, biting, and bitteriſh taſte, and when chew'd offend the brain: But the ripe ones are neither ſo ſharp nor ſo bitter, and don't ſend ſo much of their offenſive vapours up to the head; they are reckoned hot and dry in the third degree; are good to attenuate ſlime in the ſtomach and breaſt, expel wind, and correct the cold ſymptoms of the womb. Chew'd with maſtick, they draw the phlegmatick humours from the head, and ſtrengthen the brains. They are in great requeſt among the *Javaneſe* and other *Indians*, who ſteep them in wine, and take them to raiſe their appetite to venery, and to warm the ſtomach. Three or four chew'd, diſperſe the vapours which occaſion giddineſs in the head, but care muſt be taken to ſpit out both the phelgm and *Cubebes*, and to keep the noſtrils cloſe while you are a chewing, that ſo the ſmell and ſcent of them may penetrate with the more efficacy, and affect more immediately the head.

Aſſafetida. The *Javaneſe*, *Malayans*, and other *Indians* uſe very frequently for the reliſhing of their ſauces, a certain drug called *Hin*, by the *Arabians Altit*, and by the *Europeans Aſſafetida*, by reaſon of its ill ſcent. This ſhrub, out of the root of which this juice is expreſs'd, grows in *Perſia*, betwixt *Gamron* and *Lara*. It is of two ſorts; the firſt is not unlike our *Oſier*, out of the leaves and ſprigs of which is ſqueezed the *Hin* by a preſs, and the juice afterward coagulated in the ſun: The ſecond ſort is much ſtronger and worſe ſcented, being the juice expreſs'd out of the root of this ſhrub. This juice, and that of *Amſion* or *Opium*, are two of the chiefeſt commodities of the *Dutch* trade in the *Indies*. Our *Eaſt-India* ſhips bound to *Java* and other *Indian* ports, do always carry a conſiderable quantity of this juice from *Perſia*, which they exchange with the *Javaneſe* for ſuch of their countrey commodities as they have occaſion for. 1662.

Both great and ſmall *Cardamome*, (as the *Arabians* call it) called *Malignetus* by the *Indians*, grows likewiſe in the iſle of *Java*. The ſmall *Cardamome* grows on a ſtalk with ſmall joints like reeds, (the leaves being alſo like theirs, and grow in cluſters like them;) but the *Cardamome* ſeldom grows above two or three foot high, and the leaves rub'd betwixt your fingers, emit a very odoriferous ſcent. From the root firſt ſprout forth in ears like the *Spicknard*, the flowers being of a pale colour, not unlike the orange-flowers. After theſe come certain huſks, which contains theſe well-ſcented ſeeds, which are green, but in time turn of a dark vermillion colour. The *Cardamome* is a moſt excellent ſpice of extraordinary virtues, having an agreeable heat conſonant to our nature, without leaving any heat behind it, which is the reaſon that it is chew'd without any addition. It promotes urine, and the monthly terms of the women; opens the obſtructions of the ſpleen and liver, and procures a ſweet breath. The great *Cardamome* grows plentifully in the woods of *Java*; the flowers grow on the ſtalk like the hyacinth; it differs from the ſmall *Cardamome* in divers reſpects: It grows to the height of ſix foot, the leaves are larger, and the ſtalks not knotty like the reeds. The ſmall *Cardamome* ſends forth an ear from the root, and the huſks are ſometimes a finger long. However, the leaves and flowers are of the ſame ſcent in both, but the leaves of the great *Cardamome* are not only much larger, but alſo covered with a *Lanugo* on the under ſide. This ſhrub is very pleaſant to behold, of a light green colour, with white flowers tip'd with purple red at the extremities. Cardamome.

The plant called by the *Malayans Moulit Bebek*, i. e. the *Ducks-Beak*, from its ſhape, grows in the gardens of *Batavia* on a ſomewhat longer ſtalk than the *Cardamome*, being a ſempervirent herb; the leaves alſo differ from thoſe of the *Cardamome*, being carved or edged in the circumference. Moulit-Bebek.

1662. The inhabitants uſe the juice of this herb againſt puſtules and other exulcerations of a bileous nature; and ſteep'd in vinegar, it is a good remedy againſt the St. *Anthony*'s *Fire*; the *Malayan* women lay it upon the heads of their children to corroborate the brains.

Indian *Sorrel.* In the iſle of *Java*, and adjacent iſlands, grows an odd kind of ſorrel, having no reſemblance to the *European* ſorrel, growing up to the height of ſix foot, with a ſtrong, hard, and three corner'd ſtalk not unlike the hemp; the leaves being alſo not unlike thoſe of the hemp, beſet with ſharp ſmall prickles. The flower has but one ſingle leaf of a pale yellow colour, but of a purple colour below. The leaves chew'd have the ſame taſte as our ſorrel, but are more oily: The ſeed is thorny like that of *Carduus*, and of a cooling and drying quality. The *Malayans* eat this herb among their ſallads; they alſo take the leaves, and after they have mix'd them well with the ſawduſt of ſandel-wood upon a marble-ſtone, and a little coco oil and vinegar, make a cataplaſm of it, which they apply to the head to cure the tooth-ach, proceeding from a hot cauſe.

Benzoin *tree.* In the iſle of *Java* grows likewiſe the tree, out of the bark of which, after an inciſion made, flows that well ſcented gum called *Benzoin* or *Benjuin*, being a ſhrub or tree ſpread into many branches, of the thickneſs of a man's arm.

Nardus. About *Batavia* grows a plant in great plenty call'd *Nardus*, moſt in requeſt among the *Javaneſe*, who uſed it in their fiſh and boil'd meat ſauces, to give them a reliſh. They ſteep the *Nardus* in vinegar, and make a ſyrup of it with ſugar, which is eſteem'd a good remedy againſt the coldneſs of the bowels, and opens the obſtructions of the ſpleen and liver. This vinegar and ſyrup cures alſo the ſtings of the ſerpents and ſcorpions, if applied outwardly and taken inwardly at the ſame time.

Amfion, *or* Opium. *Amfioen* or *Amfion*, as it is called by the *Indians*, and *Opium* by the *Europeans*, is nothing elſe but the juice of poppies, much uſed by the *Javaneſe* and other *Indians*, eſpecially when they are upon the point of engaging their enemies. The *Amfion* is a very uſeful drug to the *Indians*, without which they would be at a ſtand how to cure many diſtempers in this hot climate, as the bloody flux, burning fevers, and ſuch like diſtempers proceeding from the gall. The poorer ſort of the *Indians* boil the leaves and ſprouts of the *Amfion*, out of which they make a ſlighter ſort of *Opium*, by coagulating the decoction called *Pouſt*.

Pyzang. The fruit called *Pyzang* or *Indian* figs, as alſo *Bachovees* from the *Portugueſe* word *Bakovia*, are called *Pyzang* or *Banana*'s by the *Malayans*, *Gedars* by the *Javaneſe*, *Thio* by the *Chineſe*, by the reſt of the *Indians* *Oucelli*, by the inhabitants of the iſle of *St. Thomas* *Oucella*; and by the *Arabians* *Maus* and *Muza*. The ſtem or trunk of this tree grows up in long oval ſcollops to the height of 20 or 30 foot in ſix months time; its circumference being of four foot, but ſo ſoft, that you may cut it with a knife like a cabbage ſtalk. It ſpreads its branches very loftily, and bears leaves, ſome of which are a foot and a half broad, and five, ſix, or ſeven foot long; green on the uppermoſt ſide, but dark on the other ſide, with a thick vein through the middle. The fruit has an ear, the ſtalk a yellowiſh brown, is very pleaſing to the ſight, and ſhap'd like a cucumber, turning at the extremities towards one another as they hang on the tree: Before they are ripe they are of a parrot green colour, but when come to full perfection, yellow both in and outſide. When the fruit is fit to be gathered the ſtem is cut down to the ground, and the fruit, which is green as yet, taken and hung up in the houſe, where it ripens and turns pale yellow in a few days. The rind is ſo thin, that it may be taken off without a knife. Neither the tree nor fruit produces any ſeed, but a very handſome flower of the bigneſs of an oſtriches egg, which ſprouts forth on the top out of large buds, and opens its leaves by degrees. Whilſt the ſtem has fruit enough to nouriſh, the leaves fall off one after another: Out of the before-mentioned knot or flower comes forth a branch, on which grows the fruit in a cluſter, ſometimes 1 or 200 together, ſo that ſometimes one branch is as much as a man can carry, and each ſtem or trunk brings forth no more than one cluſter. There are divers ſorts of theſe figs, diſtinguiſh'd by the inhabitants by different names, ſhapes and taſtes; and they put them to various uſes; ſome have a way of drying them in the ſun, when they taſte as pleaſantly as the *Portugueſe* figs: Of this kind I taſted at *St. Anthony*, one of the ſalt iſlands.

The *Dutch* fry them with butter and eggs, or with butter alone, and eat it for a dainty; thus dreſs'd they are accounted cooling, nouriſhing and opening. The fruit raw is very aſtringent, and conſequently not to be eaten thus, becauſe they are windy, and will create a nauſeouſneſs in the ſtomach; and ſometimes will produce the bloody flux. However, they being of ſo agreeable a ſcent and taſte, they are ſometimes eaten raw, provided they are cut off the trees a good while before they come to full maturity; when the rind will remain

1662. green, and the pulp by degrees acquires a very agreeable taſte, not unlike our ſugar pears: If you cut the fruit thro' the middle, you will ſee the figure of a croſs within: The leaves of this tree are uſed like as we do our mats, to pack up goods with: And I remember, that in 1660, when I travell'd with Mr. *James Huſtart* to the iſle of *Buro*, the inhabitants ſerved up their victuals in thoſe leaves inſtead of diſhes, and covered their meats with the ſame: They alſo uſed them inſtead of napkins to wipe their hands on: When one of our ſervants offered them a glaſs with liquor, they refuſed to take it; but inſtead thereof brought forth a leaf of a certain tree, which being accommodated for that purpoſe, they drunk out of it, telling us, that their cup needed no waſhing: The *Javaneſe* being of opinion, that the leaves of theſe fig-trees have a great virtue to extinguiſh the fire, they plant them near their houſes, to make uſe of them in caſe of neceſſity. So ſoon as the ſtem or trunk is cut to the root, after the fruit is come to maturity, the root ſends forth new ones, round about the old one, which coming to their full growth in a little time, and producing new fruits, the ſame may be had freſh all the year long. This tree grows without much trouble, and in ſuch plenty, that for a penny you may buy a whole bunch; they grow beſt in a fat and mellow ſoil. Some will have this fruit the ſame, which by the ſpies of *Iſrael* were brought out of the *Land of Promiſe* into the camp of the *Iſraelites*: Others are of opinion, that theſe were the leaves wherewith *Adam* and *Eve* covered their nakedneſs: Others again maintain, that *Adam* eat of this fruit, which occaſioned his fall, whence they call them *Paradiſe Apples*.

The Bamboe. The *Bamboe* grows all over *Batavia*, being ſtrait reeds clove in two at the upper-end, having no root faſtened in the ground, but grows without the leaſt portion of earth from the ſurface of the water, having on the bottom a thick knob, from whence ſprout forth ſmall twigs like threads, which being nouriſhed by the air and thaw, bring forth leaves and flowers. Its flowers are very white, having five long leaves ſomewhat crumpled, not unlike the white lillies; they have alſo a very odoriferous ſcent, and a yellow ſeed within. The leaves ſprout forth at the extremity of the twigs bending downwards, which bear long and narrow leaves. It is very ſurprizing both for its natural growth, and its moſt agreeable ſcent.

Button *flower.* The flower called by the *Malayans*, *Borago Soſan*, by the *Javaneſe*, *Bunbang Ungo*, and *Licuhoa* by the *Chineſe*; the *Portugueſe* call *Fule de Botano*, i. e. the *Button Flower*, from its reſemblance to a button. 1662. It grows in great plenty in the gardens, by reaſon of its pleaſing purple colour, (which remains even after it is dried) but has no ſcent. It grows like our clover, except that the leaves grow cloſer to one another on thin brown ſtalks; The flower comes forth with green buds betwixt two leaves.

The white ſweet-briar. The white ſweet-briar, called *Boenga Dadu* by the *Javaneſe* and *Malayans*, and *Tyntſou* by the *Chineſe*, bears leaves and flowers like our roſe-tree, except that the flowers, which are very white, are not altogether ſo large, and have pointed leaves; they ſcent like our roſes, but not altogether ſo ſtrong. They ſay, that this tree was firſt tranſplanted from *Perſia* near *Batavia* by the *Dutch*, when they firſt ſettled here: Out of the leaves of the flowers they diſtil roſe-water, uſed in the ſame manner as our roſe-water, for which reaſon they are very induſtrious to propagate this tree.

Jakkas. The tree which bears the fruit called *Jakka*, or *Jakkas* by the *Portugueſe*, and *Nanka* by the *Javaneſe*, is one of the largeſt fruit-trees of the *Indies*, which delights in high and dry grounds, where it will grow up to the height of an oak-tree. The leaves are blue on the underſide, but green on the other ſide, round and leſs than the leaves of our cherry-trees. It bears no flowers, the fruit growing out of ſtem and branches, of ſuch a bigneſs, that one of them weighs ſometimes nine or ten pounds, being commonly eight inches thick, and a foot and a half long: They are very pleaſing to look upon, not unlike the pompions or large melons, but on the outſide like the *Ananas* or pine-apples. The fruit is green at firſt, but after it is gathered and ripened, yellow: It has a thick rind, covered with a kind of three cornered thorny *Lanugo*, but don't prick. Within this rind you have certain diviſions like as in a honey comb, which contain certain kernels or cheſnuts larger than dates, encloſed in a yellow pulp, which is eaten. The kernel is generally of the bigneſs of a joint of a man's thumb, and two of them be ſometimes found in one of theſe fruits if it be of the largeſt ſize; ſome are yellow, others white within; the harder the ſweeter they are. The fruit is of an agreeable ſcent, yet of a rough taſte, and if eaten raw create winds, but if roaſted like cheſnuts are well taſted, and a provocative to venery, for which reaſon they are frequently eaten by the common people. If you eat too much of this fruit it inflames the blood, produces looſeneſſes, exulcerations in the bowels and bloody fluxes. In ſhort, this fruit is very unwholeſome by reaſon of its luſcioufneſs,

and

Indian Figgs
The herb of the Bamboe Canes
Indian Figgs

1662. and is commonly evacuated by ſtool juſt as it is eaten; the pulp about the kernels being ſo tough, that it is ſcarce to be manag'd with the teeth; the kernels are eaten boil'd by the inhabitants with a little ſalt inſtead of rice. Of this fruit there are two ſorts; one is call'd *Barka*, and is the beſt, the other *Papa* or *Giraſol*; which is ſofter than the other; as you may perceive by preſſing it with your fingers. They grow all over the *Indies*, but thoſe of the iſle of *Ceylon*, and the coaſt of *Malabar* are the beſt; I remember that the queen of *Signati* preſented me with one, which was of ſo delicious a taſte, that I could meet with none afterwards like it.

The flower Siampin. This flower is called by ſome the flower of *Camboja*, becauſe it was tranſplanted from thence to *Batavia*, tho' others look for its original as far as *China*, whence it is call'd *Pakjahoa*. It grows all about *Batavia* in the gardens, on knotty trees, which grow ſometimes twelve foot high. It bears no ſeed, but thick oily leaves, white on the extremities, but a pale yellow towards the ſtalk; ſome have red ſpots on the upper ſide. The flower ſprouts far at the ends of the twigs in a broad knot, which produces ſeveral flowers, the ſcent whereof is like our *May* flowers, but ſtronger and not ſo agreeable. The leaves of the ſtem are long, pointed at the end, green and full of veins; the wood is grey, and near the top where the flower buds out, ſurrounded with many young ſprigs.

The flower Katſiepiri. The flower call'd *Katſiepiri* by the *Malayans*, *Korban* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Micuboa* by the *Chineſe*, grows in the gardens of *Batavia*, the tree being not unlike a palm-tree, but ſomewhat higher, and with larger leaves. The flowers ſprout out of pale green buds, are well ſcented with thick, oily and ſnow white leaves, with yellow ſeeds in the middle. This flower is in great requeſt for its pleaſing ſcent, being ſold ſometimes for two-pence a piece.

Arroz or rice flower. The rice-flower is called by the *Portugueſe Fulo di Arroz*, by the *Malayans Boingo Pitſia Pria*, and by the *Javaneſe Pella Sidanga*, all in the ſame ſenſe from its ſcent, which is like rice when it comes boiling hot out of the pot. It grows on a kind of vine which ſpreads its branches like our vines, with very fair broad leaves, like thoſe of the quince pear-tree, and are as green as a leek. The branches grow ſo thick that the ſun cannot penetrate them, being ſupported by bamboo ſticks. The flower has ſingle white leaves, ſtreaked with white within, and in the middle a pointed ſprout ſurrounded with ſmall buds.

Jamboa. The apples called *Pompions* by the *Dutch*, *Jamboa* by the *Portugueſe*, and *Thoe* by the *Chineſe*, grow ſcarce any where elſe in the *Indies* but in the iſle of *Great-Java*, eſpecially in the gardens of *Batavia*. This tree is produced by no other ways than either by laying off of the branches, like as we do our vines, or from the ſeed of the fruit; the firſt bears fruit the ſecond year, but the tree which comes from the kernel or ſeed does not bear till the third or fourth year. The apples are of a gold colour without, and ſome of them red within; their taſte being not unlike our cherries. Some are white and ſomewhat ſweeter; they are very like oranges, both in and out ſide, except that they are five times as big, ſome weighing 10 or 12 pounds, and being 10 or 12 inches in circumference, ſo that one apple is ſufficient for two or three at a time. They grow in cluſters four or five together, on thin twigs ſupported by bamboo-canes, without which they would either break or hang down to the ground. The tree alſo grows like the orange-tree, except that the branches are ſomewhat thicker and cloſer, and the leaves broader. The bloſſoms have white leaves, with a yellow ſeed within, being of the bigneſs of our apple bloſſoms: The fruit continues almoſt all the year round, and after it is gathered will keep four or five months. It delights in a fat ſoil, and the ground muſt be kept clear of weeds near the ſtem.

Mangaes *or* Manges. Moſt and the beſt of the *Indian* fruits continue throughout the whole year, except few, among which that call'd *Mangas* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Pao Ampelan* by the *Malayans* is one; the trees which bear this fruit are ſometimes as tall, thick and well ſpread as the largeſt oak trees in *Europe*. The flowers which are white, ſprout forth of certain ſmall twigs growing on the branches, which produce ſuch vaſt plenty of fruit, that when they begin to ripen, they are forced to ſupport them with ſticks. Their time of gathering is chiefly in *September* and *October*; tho' leſs or more they continue throughout the year. And moſt of the trees bear fruit but every other year. The fruit is ſomething larger than a plumb; green at firſt, but when ripe of an orange colour; ſome are ſpotted, and being of the ſame colour on the inſide are very pleaſing to the eye, but ſomewhat crabbed in taſte. The inhabitants make divers reliſhing pickles of them; they boil them in a certain pickle, and make them as good in taſte as the beſt *Portugueſe* olives; others are pickled with vinegar and green pepper, and are uſed with roaſted meats like our pickled cucumbers. They are alſo preſerved with ſugar for the uſe of the women; they have another way of taking off the rind and the kernel, the ſpace of which they

1662. they fill up with ſugar, butter and eggs, and ſo make a delicious diſh of them, very pleaſing both to the palate and ſtomach. The fruit, if eaten in any great quantity after it is ripe, is very unwholſome, but moderately uſed, is good againſt the bloody-flux. The tree is produced out of the kernel, and does not bear till ſome years after, neither does it bear fruits for ſeveral years before it dies.

Mangoſtan. The fruit call'd *Mangoſtan* by the *Malayans* and *Manges Tanges* by the *Javaneſe*, carries the bell before all the other *Indian* fruits, for its agreeable taſte. It grows chiefly about *Bantam*, and in ſome places of *Malacca*. The tree which bears this apple, grows no higher than a plumb or mulberry-tree, having a ſtreight ſtem of the bigneſs of a man's calf of his leg; with a rough bark, its branches growing up like thoſe of the clove tree; both the leaves and branches affording a very agreeable ſight. The apples hang at the extremities of the ſmall twigs, each being cover'd with two leaves, of two palms in length, having abundance of veins; they are ſomewhat of a pale green on the outſide, but light green on the inſide. This agreeable fruit comes forth from a pale green bud, which opening produces the bloſſom, and theſe the fruit. On the top of the apple is a kind of a coronet, which opens as ſoon as it begins to ripen. The ſeveral points of this coronet has ſo many marks to direct you how many kernels are contained in the apple; which are ſometimes ſix, ſometimes eight; but thoſe which have the moſt kernels, are generally the beſt. The fruit has a very thick rind, not unlike our granate apples, of a purple colour without and whitiſh on the inſide; Its taſte is ſomewhat crab-like, not unlike the rind of the granate apple, and ſomewhat inclining to bitter; the pulp which is round the inward kernels, is ſometimes white, ſometimes inclining to red, being exceeding pleaſing to the palate, and not unwholſome for the ſtomach, notwithſtanding its cooling quality, it being ſcarce ever known, that any body ſurfeited himſelf by the eating of this fruit, a thing otherwiſe very common to the cooling fruits of the *Indies*. Theſe are accounted very proper even in agues, and have towards the bottom, about the ſtalks, three or four different rinds or ſhells. Theſe are brought in ſuch vaſt quantities from *Bantam* to *Batavia*, that you may buy many of them for ſix-pence, and I have ſeen ſeveral of them in the gardens about *Batavia*, one whereof bore fruit very plentifully, which makes me believe they would thrive very well hereabouts.

Indian *Almond-tree.* As far as I remember, there is ſcarce any kind of fruit tree in the *Indies* which 1662. caſts its leaves ſo as to remain bare except this tree, which as well as the fruit is call'd *Katopper*. The tree grows up very tall, with thick branches and leaves, which afford a very plentiful ſhade; it is in all reſpects like an elm-tree, except that its leaves are above a palm in length and very narrow, with yellow veins. The ſtem of this tree is very ſtrait, out of which come forth the branches one above the other in due order. The fruit grows in cluſters on the extremities of the twigs with the bloſſoms, which are ſmall white flowers with a yellow ſeed, and many green buds not open'd yet near them: The fruit is encloſed in a hairy ſubſtance, which turns yellow, and ſhrinks as it ripens; within which is a hard ſhell, which contains commonly one, and ſometimes two kernels. Theſe are as ſweet as almonds, being not unlike them in ſhape, and are eaten and uſed otherwiſe like almonds; the ſhell is ſo hard that you can ſcarce crack them with your teeth. There are divers ſorts of them; ſome having a pale red ſhell, which are bigger, others a yellow one.

The Javaneſe Rottangs. The *Javaneſe Rottangs* grow in thoſe countries wild, and are different in their kind; ſome would have them to be a kind of reed, becauſe they grow ſometimes with knots or joints; whereas otherwiſe they have no reſemblance either in the ſtem or leaves to the cane or reed kind. This grows ſo faſt, and twiſts its ſelf ſometimes ſo cloſely up to the very tops of the higheſt trees, that they die for want of air. They are much uſed in the *Indies*; however the beſt walking canes are brought from *Japan* and *Siam*. They bear alſo a kind of fruit of a brown colour like our earth-nuts, with a very thin rind, containing two kernels, which are white, but of an unpleaſant taſte, and therefore ſcarce ever eaten, except a ſmall portion thereof next to the rinds which is well taſted. The *Chineſe* make divers ſorts of pickles of this fruit, in the nature of the pickled olives, and draw an oil from them, which is very good to heal wounds.

The tree and fruit Anrae. The tree and fruit call'd by the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch Anrae*, is call'd *Sarboroſia* by the *Malayans*. It grows in divers places of the *Indies*, to the height of an ordinary apple-tree, with rough leaves, which are green at firſt, but turn brown as the fruit begins to ripen, and grow directly oppoſite to one another, like thoſe of the tree *Gojovas*, but are not ſo broad. It bears no bloſſom, the fruit coming forth of buds like the *Portugueſe* figs, which has a rough rind, with pale green knots, not unlike the pine-apple; it comes to full maturity in three months time, when it is gathered, and

1662. kept till it grows ſoft, that it may be broken with ones hands; within it reſembles a rotten medlar, being full of ſeeds, and the pulp of ſo agreeable a taſte, that one can ſcarce be ſatisfied with it. The inhabitants make many inciſions in the bark, to make the tree bear the better, as we ſay of our walnut-trees, when the twigs are well beaten whilſt they are gathering the fruit. There is another ſort of theſe figs called *Atanoane* by the inhabitants, which are leſſer, as is likewiſe the tree, which reſembles a ſhrub, with narrow leaves, but above a palm in length. The fruit is of the bigneſs of a *China* apple, yellow and ſhadowed with an orange colour, but white within, with brown ſeeds; they are much more luſcious, and when cut open emit a ſcent like roſe-water, being accounted very comfortable to the brains, and therefore held in great eſteem. This fruit likewiſe ſprouts forth out of long green buds, which opening, contain another round nut or bud, which produces the fruit.

Date-tree. The date trees grow in great plenty in *Perſia* near *Gamron*, and delight much in ſandy grounds. Some of theſe trees have of late years been tranſplanted to *Batavia*, of which I ſaw a young one in Mr. *Peter Moleth*'s garden, the draught of which I have inſerted, but whether it will bear fruit time will ſhew. The date trees continue in their full vigour for many years; they have, like the coco-trees, very ſmall roots, and the trunk is thicker near the top, than towards the root. The pith of the three is accounted excellent good to encreaſe ſperm and an appetite to venery, and the *Perſians* about *Gamron* are ſo fond of this fruit, that they eat it at their meals as we do bread, or the *Indian* rice. The dates hang in yellow ſhells on the trees, being of a delicious taſte, eſpecially if eaten green. There is a male and female date-tree, the laſt of which bears fruit only; they differ alſo in this, that the female has a thicker and longer ſtem, but the bloſſom is the ſame in both, and ſhoots forth in a great bunch or cluſter on the top of the tree, of the thickneſs of an arm, which opening after ſome time produces the flowers, and thoſe the fruit. The *Perſians* cut off this knot from the male tree before it opens, which they cut into divers pieces, one of which they put into the knot or cluſter of the female tree, (which they have a way to open) pretending thereby to make the tree bear greater plenty of fruit.

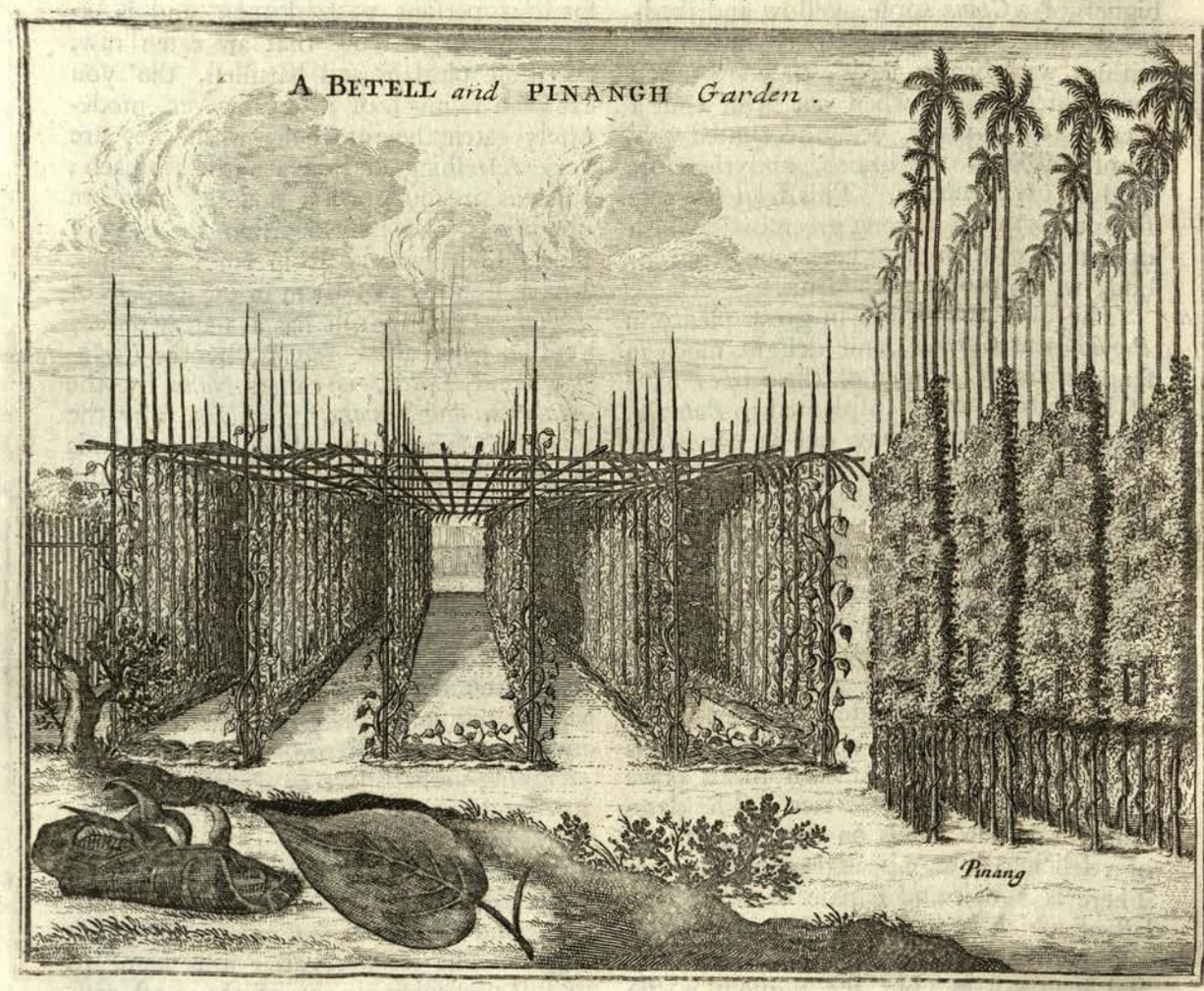
They have many ſtories of the male and female trees, tho' not worth the inſerting here.

Water-melons or Patekas. The water-melons, call'd *Batiek* by the *Indians*, as alſo *Patekas* or *Pateko*, grow almoſt in all the countries betwixt the two tropicks of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, yet the 1662. nearer to the *Equinoctial* line, the better they are, and continue in vigour all the year round, except in the heighth of the rainy ſeaſon. Some are white without, as at *Batavia*, but the red ones are the beſt; they have a thin green rind, which is ſoft and tender within. The pulp is bright, and ſo tender as to melt in ones mouth like ſugar. The ſeeds are black, not unlike our pompion ſeeds: The plant creeps with its ſtalks and leaves along the ground like the pompions, and at their opening reſemble our cucumbers. The fruit is ſufficient for four perſons to feed upon, and is, among all other fruits that are eaten raw, the moſt pleaſant and harmleſs, tho' you eat ever ſo much of it. However, moderately eaten they are beſt, when they are very refreſhing and acuate the ſtomach; whereas in too great a quantity they are obnoxious, and may occaſion the bloody flux: They grow beſt in ſandy grounds. I have ſeen ſome of them in the gardens of *Holland*, but the fruit has a watery taſte.

Ananas. The fruit called *Ananas*, by the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, is called *Nuna* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, and *Unglay* by the *Chineſe*. The plant which produces this fruit delights to grow in ſhady places and a fat ſoil: Firſt ſhoots forth a ſtalk of an inch thick and a foot long, on which near to the ground grows the fruit, not unlike a melon, with a well colour'd rind, being of a pale red colour mixed with orange colour'd ſtreaks, which towards the extremities are green. The fruit looks yellow within. They are ſometimes five inches in circumference, and nine long, weighing perhaps five or ſix pounds. Below and round about the ſtalk come forth cerrain ſprouts like houſe-leek or aloes, with 15 or 16 carved leaves of the ſame colour as the fruit, green in the middle, and of an orange colour about the edges. The *Ananas*, after it is come to its full perfection, is one of the moſt delicious fruits of all the *Indies*; but before they are well ripe, they contain a corroding poiſonous quality, of which the ripe ones even have ſome remnants, and therefore ought not to be eaten in too great a quantity, unleſs you cut them into ſmall ſlices, and by pouring ſome *Spaniſh* wine upon them draw out the ſharp humour. Some uſe water inſtead of wine, notwithſtanding which they often create a heat in the throat; but as they are diuretick, ſo they are accounted good againſt the gravel: But without being ſteep'd in wine or water, they would exulcerate the palate of the mouth and the tongue, and cauſe a mortal bloody-flux. They have a way of preſerving them with

1662. ſugar, and are thus tranſported frequently from the *Weſt-Indies* into *Europe*. This fruit has ſo fragrant a ſmell, that when it is cut it fills the room with a ſmell like roſe-water: In taſte they approach next to our large ſtrawberries, which being very inviting to the pallate, makes one eat too much, and inflames the bowels, or occaſions burning fevers, for which reaſon they ought to be eaten with caution. Thoſe of the iſle of *Ceylon* exceed the reſt in taſte; thoſe growing near *Batavia*, and in other parts of *Java*, are not ſo fine. The fruits ripen in ſix months; when they are cut from the ſtalks, which remain thus; or elſe they take the ſprouts, and having cut them from the main ſtalk, put them thus without any root in the ground, which afterwards produce new plants. The fruit *Ananas* grows in moſt parts of both the *Indies*, and ſome are of opinion, that the firſt plants thereof have been tranſplanted many years ago from *Braſil* unto the *Eaſt-Indies*. 1662.

Among other *Indian* plants, which are beneficial to human kind, is that called *Betel* or *Betele* by the *Indians*, and *Siry* by the *Malayans*, *Sury* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Lauheu* by the *Chineſe*, which is one of the Betel.



moſt inconſiderable ones. It reſembles at a diſtance the black pepper, and runs up with its branches round trees, ſtalks, poſts, or any other thing it meets with, like our hops, to a good height, delighting eſpecially in a well dung'd ſoil, and ſhady places; and growing but ſlowly in the open air: It requires alſo a conſiderable heat, which is the reaſon that it is planted near the ſeaſide, and after all muſt be defended and covered againſt the cold night blaſts, being ſo tender, that it can't bear the leaſt cold. Both the branches and leaves are in all reſpects like thoſe of the pepper; the leaves being ſometimes ſix inches broad, and as many long, of a dark green colour, having ſeveral veins thro' the length, and 5 or 6 croſſwiſe; the ſtalks are an inch broad. The leaves have a ſpicy taſte, very penetrant and ſomewhat aſtringent. They are ſo generally uſed in the *Indies*, as if the inhabitants could not live without them. They take a ſingle leaf, and a ſmall quantity of lime made of burnt oyſter ſhells, then folding the leaf together, they put into it the lime, and a fourth part of the nut *Areka*, (or *Pinang*) which augments the aſtringent quality of the *Betel*, and draws the ſpittle: After they have chew'd it thus a while, the firſt ſpittle is red, like ſtagnated blood, which being paſs'd, they ſwallow the reſt. The firſt ſpittle taints

1662. the lips with a pleaſing red, as ſoon as it affects the brains, which is chiefly attributed to the *Areka*; and I have ſeen ſome, who, tho' uſed to chew this mixture, were ſeized with ſwooning fits: It never fails to create a giddineſs in the head to ſuch as are not uſed to it, which is ſoon cured by rubbing their gums with a little ſalt. The juice thereof, which is ſwallowed down, has an aſtringent and corroborating quality of the ſtomach, after the firſt ſpittle which contains the lime, is ſpitted out: It cloſes the upper orifice of the ſtomach, diſperſes the vapours ariſing from drunkenneſs, and revives the ſpirits. It corrects a ſtinking breath, cures the tooth-ach and ſcurvy, faſtens the teeth and ſtrengthens the gums, but makes the teeth as black as jet, an ornament much affected by the *Indians*; and if you chew too much of this mixture, it will looſen and corrode the teeth. *Betel* chew'd without lime, produces a green ſpittle, but with lime, makes it red; perſons of quality mix ſome muſk, ambergreece or camphire with it: The uſe of it is ſo frequent here, that no body pays a viſit to another, but a ſmall diſh of *Betel* is brought immediately. Nice people ſpit in pots.

Pynang *tree.* The ancient herbaliſts have placed the *Pynang* tree among the palm-trees, perhaps becauſe its ſtem, leaves and branches, are not unlike the coco-tree. It owes its original to the kernel of the nut like the coco-tree, and grows all over the *Indies*, eſpecially in the iſle of *Ceylon*, where they drive a great traffick with theſe nuts, and tranſport them in prodigious quantities to the coaſt of *Madura* and other places. In a few years after it is planted it bears nuts. From underneath the leaves ſprout forth certain twigs, which grow cloſe together, and are full of ſmall of ſmall white leaves, emitting a moſt fragrant ſcent at a conſiderable diſtance, eſpecially mornings and evenings. After theſe flowers come the nuts, called *Faufel* by the *Arabians*, *Areka* by the *Indians*, and *Pynang* by the *Malayans:* They grow very thick together on both ſides of very ſtrong ſtalks, being green at firſt, but turning yellow by degrees; ſome are of an orange colour. Some of theſe nuts grow not ſo cloſe on tender twigs; others, which are of an orange colour, grow out of certain green huſks, in bunches like grapes; they are covered on the out-ſide with a hairy ſubſtance. This tree equals in heighth the coco-tree, but the ſtem ſeldom exceeds ſix or ſeven inches in thickneſs, neither has it ſo long and many branches as the coco-tree, and the leaves are ſhorter and broader. Theſe trees look very odly at a diſtance, being ſo thin of ſtem and almoſt without branches, ſo that they are beat by the wind on all ſides, yet never break. The ſtem is ſpongy within, but the bark very hard, of which they make laths for the coverings of their houſes, for which they are very uſeful by reaſon of their ſtraightneſs. The fruit reſembles an acorn, but is four bigger; however, when cleanſed from the hairy threads, the nut ſcarce exceeds the bigneſs of a nutmeg, and looks like it within. The kernels are aſtingent, and good for the ſtomach. They make no other uſe of them but for chewing with the *Betel* leaves and lime, as we told you before. They cleanſe the nuts from the hairy ſtrings with a pair of ſciſſors, and cut the nut if large in four, or elſe in two pieces; and this put into a leaf of *Betel*, and mix'd with a little lime, they chew ſo long as it will draw the ſpittle, and ſpit out what remains; but the old *Pynang* nuts with the *Betel* leaf will diſſolve inſenſibly in the mouth. Such as are not uſed to the chewing of *Pynang*, eſpecially if uſed before it is come to its full maturity, will certainly be ſeiz'd with giddineſs in the head, and will fall down without ſenſe or motion. 1662.

Suryboa. *Suryboa* is a certain plant which runs up cloſe round the *Pynang* tree to a great heighth, and being planted in rows, afford ſhady and agreeable walks. The leaves and branches are like thoſe of the *Betel* or of pepper: The fruit is not unlike in ſhape to the *Bengal* pepper, growing on ſmall and green ſtalks of two fingers length: It is green and chequer'd, of the length of a palm, but ſcarce an inch thick, containing a white kernel with ſmall ſeeds. Theſe kernels are uſed with the *Areka* inſtead of *Bethel*, being a pleaſant chew. They cut them throught the middle, and taking one half of the *Pinang* kernel likewiſe cut in the middle, they tie both together wirh a cotton thread, and with the addition of a ſmall quantity of lime made of oyſter-ſhells, uſe it like as they do the *Bethel*; it has the ſame effects, and being not ſo common as the *Betel*, is more eſteem'd among perſons of quality.

Dap-Daf *or* Dap-Dap. *Dap-Daf* or *Dap-Dap*, is a very agreeable fruit both raw and dreſs'd, having a very pleſant taſte, of a mixture of ſweet and ſour, and of a cooling quality. It grows out of the bottom of a ſtem of a tree, having very fine leaves, the flowers or bloſſom conſiſting of ſmall red leaves. The fruit is inclining to red, mix'd with black ſpots of an oval figure, and ragged, bent a little at the end like a cucumber. It contains a white kernel of a delicious taſte, being encloſed in a whitiſh rind. Theſe trees bear fruit all the year long,

1662. long, and grow properly in the *Molucca* iſlands, from whence they have been tranſplanted into the gardens of *Batavia*, but do not thrive ſo well there as in their native ſoil, being much peſter'd with aunts or piſmires, which do incredible miſchiefs to the fruits there. The tree whereof I took the draught at *Batavia*, was ſurrounded with rails, within which the ground was paved with ſtone, and a ſmall ciſtern in it with water, notwithſtanding which the fruit was ſo covered with piſmires as ſcarce to be diſcerned.

Takkatak. The fruit call'd *Takkatak*, or *Boa Burun* by the *Malayans*, and *Kannekoeni* by the *Javaneſe*, are by the *Dutch* called *Red-Currants*, from their reſemblance to our currants, tho' in their qualifications they are very different. Theſe berries grow on high trees with large leaves, not unlike the cheſnut trees, and ſprout forth in large buds in cluſters, on the twigs of the trees, being of the ſame bigneſs as ours, but are of a ſour taſte; notwithſtanding which they are much coveted, and ſold and uſed in great quantities at *Batavia*, in the ſame manner as we do our red-currants. They grow in the gardens about *Batavia*, and bear fruit every three months, but moſt in *September*.

Moringo. The tree call'd *Moringo* by the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, *Ramongy* by the *Malayans*, and *Kelor* by the *Chineſe*, is found not only in all the gardens, but alſo before the houſes: It has a white bloſſom, which ſprouts forth from white buds, having a yellow ſeed within. The fruits grow ſeveral together, being encloſed in hard huſks, not unlike our *French* beans, except that the huſks are round and longer. So ſoon as they are ripe, they are gathered, and the twigs on the top being cut off, others ſprout forth in their ſtead, which bear new fruit. The leaves are very ſmooth and thick, in taſte not unlike the coco leaves in *Holland*, but not ſo biting and penetrant. They ſtew theſe leaves with meat, or eat them alone, as we do our ſpinage, being well taſted and cooling; the ſame they do with the huſks, whilſt they are young, but when old are tough; ſo that both the uſefulneſs and pleaſantneſs of this tree is a ſufficient encouragement to the people to afford it a place in their gardens, eſpecially ſince it wants no great induſtry to plant it, as growing out of a ſprig of the tree planted only in the ground without any root, which in a few months begins to bloſſom and to bear fruit.

Torre. The tree called *Torre* by the *Malabars*, *Tary* by the *Portugueſe*, *Rombang Juri* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Huſk-Tree* by the *Dutch*, does not riſe above the heighth of an ordinary apple-tree: It brings forth certain 1662. huſks hanging ſtrait down on thin ſtalks of about a quarter of a yard in length, and the thickneſs of a little finger. The huſks contain 8 or 10 ſmall peaſe, which are eaten as well as the leaves, which are round and ſmall, growing on ſmall twigs, and the flowers, which are ſurpriſing at firſt ſight. They ſprout forth out of green buds in the ſhape of a half-moon, with purple-coloured points, and ſtreaks of the ſame colour within: From the innermoſt leaf come forth certain long and thin ſprouts like fillets, with yellow hairy points; the ſtalk is green, but the beginning of the leaves of the flower are white, interſpers'd with veins to the extremities, with a parrot-green colour intermix'd with ſome red, which affords a moſt agreeable ſpectacle to the eye: The inhabitants alſo make uſe of the leaves as a ſovereign remedy againſt the ſtings of the ſerpents, in which caſe they ſqueeze them betwixt two ſtones, and mixing a little ſalt with them, apply them to the tumor, which give immediate relief.

Devil's-Plant. The *Portugueſe* have given it the name of *Folio di Inverno*, or *Devil's-Leaf*, or *Helliſh-Leaf*, becauſe it will over-run all places wherever it lights; the *Malayans* call it *Garrak*, and the *Javaneſe Klatte*: It has ſeveral phyſical virtues againſt divers diſtempers. There are two ſorts, diſtinguiſh'd by their different colours, one having green leaves, and growing very faſt, the other being brown and red, like the leaves of our red cabbages, and growing up to the heighth of 12 or 14 foot, with carved leaves hanging on very long ſtalks. On the top ſprouts out a bunch of green buds, which opening by degrees, produce yellowiſh flowers; after which comes the fruit, not unlike a cheſnut, containing a bean or kernel, which is very good food.

The broad Nomerado. The plant or herb called the *Broad-Numerado* by the *Portugueſe*, and *Bajan Dierdia* by the *Malayans*. The ſhape of the leaf which grows on the ſtalk of this plant chequered with various colours like a tulip, is altogether like our beetes, and uſed in the ſame manner, but is preſerved for the beauty of its leaves, which are on the top, as an ornament of the gardens. There is another ſort reſembling in colour our red cabbages, and is frequently planted by the *Chineſe*, who ſell it in great quantities in the market of *Batavia*; it is of an agreeable taſte, either boil'd with meat or ſtew'd by it ſelf.

Kappok. The tree which produces the *Javaneſe* cotton, is call'd *Kappok* by the *Malayans*, *Jerondo* by the *Javaneſe*, and *My* by the *Chineſe*, grows up to the height of a great maſt, ſpreading its branches directly ſtraight-

1662. ſtraightways on all ſides. The bark of this tree is white, as far as the lowermoſt branches, but from thence to the top green; the flowers which are white come forth out of certain buds growing out of the branches; then come the fruits of the bigneſs of a hen's egg, pointed at the end, being green at firſt, but turn brown like a dried oak-leaf. Theſe fruits hang on the middle and end of the branches, two and two together, ſeldom one alone. They open at laſt near the ſtalks, and produce the cotton-wool, which covers the ſeed, and extends its ſelf when expoſed to the air. The ſeeds are black, not unlike the brown pepper, but ſomewhat ſmoother. The cotton-wool is gathered in the *Indies* in *October* and *November*, wherewith they drive a conſiderable traffick all over the *Indies*, where they are uſed inſtead of feathers, to ſtuff their cuſhions, bolſters and quilts withal, feather-beds being unknown here, but is not long enough for combing, or for weaving: Great care is to be taken that no fire come near it, for if it takes fire it burns with ſuch violence, that ſcarce any water can quench it. This tree grows whereever it is planted.

Jamboes. The tree *Jamboes*, as the *Indians* and *Javaneſe* call it, the *Portugueſe Roſado*, the *Malayans Jamboe Ramus*, and the *Chineſe Ileapont*, affords a very agreeable entertainment to the eye, while it ſtands in full bloſſom. It grows up very regularly, in the ſhape of a pyramid, the branches growing in good order, neither entangled within one another, neither above one another. It riſes to the heighth of a large pear-tree in *Europe*, and takes deep root. The leaves are long and green, at the extremities of the ſmall twigs ſprout out green buds, which produce flowers with leaves as red as blood, containing certain red fillets within: The fruits are of an oval figure, reſembling in bigneſs and ſhape our ſugar-pears, which grow in cluſters 23, 24 or 25 together: Some are red, others white, but both of the ſame taſte, tho' the white ones are reckoned the beſt. They ſmell very ſweet, but are ſomewhat mellow: The ſtone which lies in the middle has a large but bitter kernel, which is never eaten. Abundance of theſe flowers which produce no fruit, fall from the tree upon the ground, which cover the ground underneath, and afford a pleaſant ſight. The ſtalks of the flowers are red, not unlike the ſea-lion's, but not ſo long. Theſe flowers have ſo pleaſing and ſavory a taſte, that they are uſed and eaten as a delicious ſallad. The fruit has a ſweet, yet reliſhing reſt, and allays the exceſſive heat of the ſtomach; if ſtew'd with ſugar, and a little wine, they eat like ſtew'd pears. The beſt I ever met with were in the iſle of *Ceylon*, where they grow in great plenty. Theſe trees are produced from the ſeed, and bear fruit in the 4th year, and three times in a year, ſo that they never are in want of this fruit throughout all the ſeaſons: 'Tis generally believed that this tree, for his ſweet ſcented flowers and well taſted fruit's ſake, was tranſplanted from *Malacca* into other diſtant countries. There is yet another ſort of *Jamboes*, which grow in the iſle of *Amboyna*, on trees no bigger than our cherry-trees, but they are not ſo well taſted; ſo that this tree is cultivated there rather for its bloſſom, which is red alſo, than the goodneſs of the fruit. 1662.

Among many other fruits, which if eaten raw, are crabbed and ſour upon the tongue, we muſt not paſs by in ſilence what the *Portugueſe* call *Nelyka*, the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe Boa Malakka*, the *Chineſe Soaly*, and the *Dutch Wild-Plumbs:* They grow in vaſt numbers on thin twigs, and are greeniſh of colour; the twigs have ſmall green leaves growing cloſe together. The fruit has a ſouriſh taſte, and is very cooling, for which reaſon it is in requeſt by ſome, tho' generally no great account is made of it. They are in their prime in *Auguſt*, and are then to be ſold in the market in *Batavia*. Boa Malakka.

The tree called *Canary* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſe* and *Chineſe*, is an *Indian* oak-tree, which grows very high with lofty branches and very ſmooth leaves, interwoven with divers veins. The ſtem grows thick, and extends it ſelf into ſeveral protuberances near the root. The rangers of the foreſts keep a watchful eye over theſe trees at convenient diſtances, when the acorns begin to fall, becauſe the wild-boars appearing in great numbers, they ſhoot them; ſo that during that ſeaſon, the wild-boars fleſh is ſold at a cheap rate in the market of *Batavia*. The fruit is nothing elſe but an acorn or nut, produced out of a yellow bloſſom growing on ſmall twigs. The nut or acorn is encloſed in a green ſhell, and next to that another, which is ſo hard, that you muſt break it with a hammer, if you will come at the kernel, which is as white as an almond, and of as good a taſte, being covered by a thin ſkin. Canary tree.

In and near the city of *Batavia*, grows in the gardens a certain flower, both in ſcent and figure not unlike our camomile-flower, but whether it obtains the ſame virtue, is unknown hitherto. The *Topaſſes* call it after the *Portugueſe*, *Fulo di Madre*, i. e. *Mother-Flower*, becauſe its leaves and the flower are ſomewhat like the *Matricaria*, and perhaps of the ſame kind. It Camomil tree or Fulo di Madre.

1662. grows about a foot high, with large carved leaves: The flower which is white, ſprouts forth out of green buds, with double leaves carv'd at the ends.

The flower call'd *Four-Lights* comes forth out of ſmall buds, being not unlike a ſingle gilliflower, but of a bright red colour. It conſiſts of four carved leaves, which have certain pleaſant curls at the ends. The leaves are dark green on the inſide, and pale green without, checquered with ſtreaks which run all along to the point of the leaf, which has the ſhape of an heart. This flower is kept only for ornaments ſake, but is ſoon faded.

Alli or water-flower. There is ſcarce a lake or pool in this countrey, but what produces ſome flower or other; but the flower called *Alli* is found in great plenty all along the ditch or *Gracht* betwixt *Anſjol* and *Jacatra*. It is a pretty ſort of a flower, which may be kept a pretty while in water: It comes forth out of long and large buds, is pale green without, and white within with yellow ſeeds. After it is opened, it is not unlike a tulip or lilly, except that the leaves are green on the out-ſide. Its virtues are unknown as yet, but is kept for ornament's ſake.

White violet or Jarron. The leaves of this flower growing cloſe within one another like our violets, it has got the name of a white violet, ſcarce differing from it in any thing but the ſcent. It grows wild on certain ſhrubs without *Batavia*; when they are planted in the gardens, the ſtalks thereof are cut down cloſe to the ground, when new ſtalks ſprout forth, which bring flowers in great plenty. The inhabitants who call this flower *Jarron*, ſay it was brought hither from the iſle of *Baly*. The *Malayans* call it *Benja Suſun*, the *Javaneſe Malati Rompah*, and the *Chineſe Beleboa*. It much reſembles the *Katſiopiri*, but is not ſo ſtrong of ſcent, tho' it has no ſcent at all, except in the morning, before the ſun-beams have dry'd up the dew from its leaves. The leaves are pale green, in ſhape not unlike peach leaves, but ſomething broader: The flower iſſues out of a pale green turned bud, of the bigneſs of a double daffadil, and is ſnow white.

Cotton of Bengale. There is a certain ſort of cotton which is tranſplanted from *Bengal* to *Batavia*, called by the *Chineſe Algocdan*, but by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe Kapas* or *Kappas*; the tree bears flowers and fruit throughout the whole year. So ſoon as the flowers are gone, there buds out a knot, containing the cotton or wool: The leaves are carved in three places, being not unlike a certain herb the *Dutch* call *Ducksfoot*. The flower is brown red, having within certain pointed fillets. This cotton is fit for weaving. 1662.

Wild Mangas. The fruit called *Batsjan* by the *Javaneſe Malayans* and *Chineſe*, is a kind of wild *Mangas* of ſo ſtrong a ſcent, that you may ſmell it before all other herbs in the market. The tree which bears this fruit, is very delightful to the eye, and not unlike the *Mangas* tree, but the leaves are ſomewhat bigger than thoſe of the almond-tree, of a dark green colour. The bloſſom is alſo like that of the *Mangas* tree, and yellow. The fruit is green, of the bigneſs and ſhape of a limon, within which grow certain almonds, which are much more taking to the eye than toothſom, tho' the ſmell is much more diſagreeable than the taſte, which is bitteriſh, and ſomewhat nauſeous, and not comparable to the true *Mangas*, which is the reaſon they are not much planted near *Batavia*, but abundance of them are brought to market there from *Bantam*, in *October* and *November*.

Marokko. About *Batavia* and all over the iſle of *Java* grows a certain tree called *Marokko* or *Morukko* by the *Portugueſe*, *Dap-Dap* or *Dadap* by the *Javaneſe*, *Darradap* by the *Malayans*, and *Oyſenſio* by the *Chineſe*. Its leaves are like thoſe of the poplar-tree, but as big again, ſmell very well, and grow on yellow ſtalks. Theſe leaves being interſperſed with many yellow veins, appear at a diſtance as if the tree were cover'd with flowers. The inhabitants lay theſe leaves over their pots, in which they have their boiled rice, the ſteam of which draws out from thence a very agreeable ſcent; but have no other uſe that I know of.

The plant Dutter. The plant call'd *Ratſiobonk* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, *Bantohoa* by the *Chineſe*, *Datura* by the *Turks* and *Perſians*, *Duroa* by the *Indians*, and in a broken dialect *Dutter* by the *Dutch*, grows wild in the woods, almoſt all over the *Indies*; it ſeldom riſes above the heighth or thickneſs of our red cabbages, the ſtalk being very like the ſame, but the leaves brown, pale, green and carved. It bears divers flowers, which open every morning, and cloſe up again about noon; they are white within, and pale yellow without, ſome being near a palm in length, and of the figure of a bell, others carved at the extremities; after theſe comes the fruit, which has a pale green rind, cover'd with thorny prickles; they ſeldom exceed the bigneſs of our yellow palms, and contain yellowiſh ſeeds. Whether this plant has the virtue of intoxicating to a degree of madneſs for a certain time, as ſome would have it, I am not able to determine; but this I am certain of, that the *Topaſſes* and other negroes, who keep it in their gardens near

Batavia

1662. *Batavia*, look upon it as a fable. It is properly a kind of nightſhade or henbane.

Kananga. The trees call'd *Kananga* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſe* and *Chineſe*, bear leaves of a parrot green colour, above which comes forth the bloſſom; they are planted near the *Betel*, which winds about them; and growing to a great heighth, their lofty tops are conſpicuous above moſt of the other fruitful trees in the gardens; as far as I know, they have no other uſe. Beſides that, theſe trees are eaſily to be diſcerned from the reſt by their crooked hanging boughs, they commonly ſet a little wind-mill in the tops to frighten the birds out of the garden, eſpecially the great bats here, which keep their rendezvouſes in theſe trees, and are ſeen hanging with their claws to the branches thereof with their heads downwards, and that in ſuch numbers, that you ſee ſometimes more batts than leaves on a tree.

Indian *oak.* The *Indian* oak-tree produces no eatable fruit, yet does its wood make a ſufficient amends for this defect, being the moſt laſting of all, and as good as our *European* oak. This tree grows up to a great heighth, as may be ſeen by the long pieces of timber in many of the churches, and other lofty buildings of *Batavia*. This tree is ſufficiently known by its large branches and broad leaves, which ſprout forth out of the boughs and branches, being intermix'd with green veins of a pale brown colour, and ſomewhat rough, ſomething reſembling the fig-leaves, but are not carv'd; at the extremities of the boughs ſprout forth certain flowers not unlike the hops, which produce acorns, or ſeeds from whence this large tree takes its root; the inhabitants uſe the leaves in the dyſury: They take a certain quantity of the liquor contain'd in the coco-nuts, in which they boil ſome of theſe leaves, to the conſumption of half the liquor, and this decoction they give the patient to take inwardly, which appeaſes the pain. I have ſeen pieces of this oak-timber as ſtreight as an arrow, not leſs than forty foot long, and of $2\frac{1}{2}$ foot diameter to the very top in thickneſs; and nothing more common than to meet with boards of this wood of three and more foot broad. The *Malayans* call this tree *Kyati*, from whence they call this oak-wood, *Kiaten-wood*; which is exceeding hard, and has the ſame veins as our oak, being very laſting, and not ſubject to be worm-eaten, being proof eſpecially againſt the mice, which ſometimes will eat whole pieces of the timber within, tho' the out ſide appear very ſound.

Water-pompions. The fruit call'd water-pompions by the *Dutch* from their ſhape, are call'd *Katolas* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, and with a broken name *Katilas* by the *Portugueſe*. It is neither a tree, ſhrub, herb nor plant, but ſprouts forth in the nature of ſmall branches, from a ſmall ſeed, and ſpreads to that degree, that it runs over the tops of the houſes with its leaves and flowers. The *Indians* frequently lead them over their ciſterns in which they bathe, being ſuſtain'd by bamboo-canes to keep off the heat of the ſun-beams. They bring fruits the whole years round, but eſpecially in *April* and *Auguſt*. The flowers are like thoſe of our pompions, and fade without producing any fruit. The fruit is of two ſorts, one grows to the bigneſs of our ordinary pompions, but the other which is the beſt, ſcarce exceeds in bulk our cucumbers or melons. They are uſed in the ſame manner for ſalad. There is another ſort of the length of a man's arm. but no thicker than a good walking-cane, the rind being full of ſpots; that of which I took the draught was 13 inches long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ diameter, weighing $3\frac{1}{4}$ pounds. When the gardners have a mind to make this grow longer than their ordinary ſize, they faſten a weight with wire-thread to the extremities of it, which ſtretches it downwards to a prodigious length. The leaves and branches are like thoſe of the pompions; the fruit green inclining to yellow on the rind without, but white within; as are alſo the ſeed.

Champakka. If we ſhould enter upon giving you an account of all the flowers that grow in the iſle of *Java*, it would require an entire volume; among the chiefeſt and beſt is that flower call'd *Champakka* of *Siampakka* by the *Malayans* and *Indians*, and *Vinhoa* by the *Chineſe*. The tree which produces theſe flowers, grows up to the heighth of our moderate pear-trees or peach-trees, with large wrinkled leaves, intermix'd with many veins. The branches or boughs grow all in a ſtrait line from the tree, and afterward turn upwards; they are generally ſo weak that no body can climb up to the tree, ſo that the flowers which grow on the top, muſt be taken down with bamboo-canes or reeds. Theſe flowers are in great requeſt among the *Indians*, for their odoriferous ſcent, and uſed in garlands: The ſcent is betwixt a roſe and a violet, and ſo ſtrong, that it may be ſmell'd in the houſes, as the flowers are carried by in the ſtreets; they are of two colours, *viz.* of an orange colour and green, not unlike the bloſſom of a *Spaniſh* orange-tree, but reſemble in figure the *Engliſh* ſaffron. This flower is one ingredient of that famous ointment made by the *Indian* women call'd *Borbory*; they alſo adorn their hair among the reſt with this flower. This tree alſo bears fruit, which grows out of the ſprigs like bunches of grapes,

1662. grapes, and are of the ſame colour and bigneſs, but fit for nothing.

The great creeping-beans. The branches which produce the beans, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Large Creeping-Beans*, are call'd *Katsjang Parang* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, and run up in many ſmall branches to ſuch a heighth, that their curl'd ſprigs on the top grow beyond the pinacles of the higheſt buildings. At the bottom they are of the thickneſs of a man's arm, and change their leaves and fruits, without any alteration to themſelves; they bear fine green and thick leaves, intermix'd with ſmall veins; the bloſſoms are of a purple colour, and before they open pointed at the end: The huſks which contain the beans, are green like ours, having a purple colour'd ſtring all round the huſk. They are of divers ſorts, among which theſe following are moſt in requeſt.

Fabas de Moro. The *Moors-Bean* call'd *Fabas de Moro* by the inhabitants, are very large, and run up to a great heighth; they commonly plant them near the *Pynang* trees, which ſerve them for ſupporters. The huſks are about a foot in length, and an inch in breadth; they are chiefly uſed by the *Chineſe* and *Javaneſe*, but neglected by the *Dutch*, by reaſon of their unſavoury taſte.

Gondola. The bean call'd *Gondola* runs up likewiſe to good heighth, affording a very agreeable ſhade; the leaves boil'd or ſtew'd are very cooling; the ranks don't hold above one year, tho' the beans will keep green three or four years; I did plant ſome of the large creeping-beans at *Koulang* about a ſummer-houſe, four or five of which yielded me near ſix buſhels of beans.

Kadjang. *Kadjang* as the *Javaneſe* and *Malayans* call it, and the *Chineſe Petau*, is a kind of peaſe known by all the inhabitants of *Batavia*, which grow in vaſt plenty in the fields about *Batavia*. When they are ripe, they are gather'd and dry'd in the air. Theſe peaſe are of the bigneſs of our vetches, which grow among the winter-corn, and grow with green ſhells at firſt, but turn black afterwards. Betwixt each two leaves ſprouts forth a bud, which produces a flower, and this the pea. Theſe peas are of great advantage to the ſhips in their return home, and when boil'd with bacon and well butter'd, are very good for the ſtomach. If you plant them in a pot, with earth and keep them well water'd, they will come in twice 24 hours, and make a good ſallad aboard a ſhip.

Makandou. The tree, the fruit whereof the *Javaneſe* call *Makandou*, has very broad, thick and fine leaves, the bloſſom is long and white, after which comes the fruit *Makandou*, in all reſpects like a pine-apple, except that it is not pointed at the end, neither ſo hard, but ſoft. Before it is ripe, it is green, but afterwards yellow, and almoſt inſipid. The *Malayans* roaſt it in the aſhes, and take it inwardly againſt the bloody-flux, aſthma and pleuriſy. In the iſle of *Java* grows a certain tree with leaves like thoſe of the aſh-tree, and a knotty ſtem or trunk. It bears a fruit like unto our hazle-nuts, the kernels whereof, after they are taken out of the ſhells, are of no ill taſte, yet a little aſtringent. The leaves apply'd to wounds and ulcers, cleanſe them and render them fit for healing; a ſpoonful of the juice of the leaves is a good remedy againſt the worms. Out of the ſtem grows a twig, but to no great heighth, which brings forth yellow flowers, like thoſe of the nightſhade; after theſe come the fruits, which before they are ripe are green, but afterwards red, and of a circular figure; if you ſqueeze them betwixt your hands, they ſend forth ſuch an ill ſcent, that no *Aſſa Fœtida* or *Segapenum* is comparable to it; for which reaſon the *Indian* women apply to the noſtrils of ſuch perſons as are afflicted with fits of the mother: The *Indians* look upon them as not fit to be eaten. 1662.

Daulontas. In the woods of *Java* grows a certain ſhrub, call'd *Daulontas*, to the heighth of ſix foot, ſpreading its branches at a good diſtance, like our water-willow in *Holland*; and that in ſuch vaſt quantities, that the *Chineſe* are forced to root them out with fire and ſteel: The leaves are not unlike thoſe of the *Balſamina*, and cover'd likewiſe at the ends. It bears cluſters of flowers like coronets, not unlike thoſe of the elder-tree; after which come certain berries that are very better, both the leaves and flowers ſmell like the camomile-flowers, and contain the ſame virtues: its decoction is excellent good againſt the cough, and nothing provokes the monthly terms of the women beyond this remedy.

Mangam. The fruit *Mangam* is look'd upon by the *Javaneſe* as the greateſt antidote in the world, even beyond *Bezoar*, *Malaive* nuts, *&c.* The tree which bears this fruit grows upon the graves of their kings, and the fruit is of the bigneſs of a coco-nut. Whenever the king of *Bantam* intends to give a mark of his particular favour to any of his particular favour to any of his great men, or ſome foreign miniſter, he firſt puts his drinking-cup upoe this fruit, and then drinks to the perſon he intends to honour.

In theſle of *Java*, on the banks of rivers, but eſpecially about *Bantam* grows a certain plant, the leave, whereof reſemble altogether the horn of *Alce*, from whence

1662. the *Javaneſe* have given it the name of *Simbar Mangiram*, and the *Malayans* that of *Tanda rouſa*; it has no root, but inſtead thereof a veiny knot or lump, which lies not under ground, but either upon ſtones, or in hollow trees, ſending forth its leaves on all ſides. This plant is ſempervirent and full of juice, and if ſome of the leaves happen to rot by the rains, the next ſunſhine produces others in their ſtead. The *Javaneſe* uſe theſe leaves like as we do the roots and leaves of the white-lillies, *viz.* to make poultices of to apply to tumors; but they are not proficuous in the St. *Anthony*'s fire, which ſhews that this plant is very hot, which its bitteriſh and biting taſte ſeems alſo intimate. Taken inwardly it purges by ſtool, and applied to the navel kills the worms.

Simbar mangiram.

Water-flower. The flower called *Tratty*, or *Tongjong Tratty* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, *Tienhoa* by the *Chineſe*, and *Fulo de Tranke*, i. e. *The Flower of the Lake*, by the *Portugueſe*, is very large and fair, and grows moſt commonly in pools and ſtanding waters. The ſtalk grows to the heighth of a fathom above the ſurface of the water, and the flower reſembling our tulips, except that it has broader leaves, and is at leaſt as big again. Some are of a purple colour near the points of the leaves, which by degrees turns pale yellow or white towards the ſtalk. Some are quite white, but of the ſame ſhape as the former. At the firſt opening of the buds, theſe flowers emit a moſt fragrant ſcent, and diſcover to us their beauty, which by reaſon of its pleaſant colour attracts the ſight of all that paſs by. They ſprout forth out of a green bud, which burſts open like thoſe of the peony-flowers: Some of the leaves grow upwards like the flowers, being of the breadth of a brim of a hat, and bright green; ſome lie flat and cloſe to the ſurface of the water, being round, out of the midſt of which comes forth a ſtalk with the flower. After the leaves are fallen off come forth round huſks or buds of the bigneſs of a man's hand, of a green colour, containing a pale yellow ſeed, and many ſmall and yellowiſh beans, which lying bare in part, reſemble the *Faba Ægyptiaca* of *Dioſcorides*, *viz.* this huſk being flat on one ſide, is as if it were cut aſunder in the middle with a knife, and diſcovers about 30 beans placed in a circle. As theſe beans grow to their full bigneſs, they are encloſed in a peculiar huſk, and when ripe, reſemble the green huſk of a hazel-nut without the ſhell, and are not unlike it in taſte, being very ſweet, but ſomewhat phlegmatick; they are ſold daily in the market of *Batavia*: It ſeems to me to be a kind of water-lilly, having broad and red leaves, and being the ſame both in the 1662. ſtalk and root, tho' it differs from our *Duteh* water-lillies, which are white or yellow, but are of a purple colour in the *Indies*: It alſo differs from ours in the fruit and huſk. The leaves of this plant are ſteemed cold in the third degree, like our *European* water-lillies; wherefore alſo the *Dutch* here, after the example of the *Malayans*, give the decoction thereof in burning fevers, frenſies, bloody-fluxes and other hot diſeaſes. There is alſo another ſort, with pale purpled flowers; and a third alſo worth ſeeing. There grows alſo in the rivers and pools abundance of what is commonly called ducks-meat, being a food the ducks are mighty fond of, whereof the *Chineſe* keep here great numbers. In the ſtanding pools and rivers grows alſo the *Potamo Geyton*, or fountain-herb, and water-plantine, which if chew'd cauſes great burning in the throat and upon the tongue.

Nothing is more frequent in the *Indies* than to ſee the trees bear fruit all the year round; but the fruit called *Langzap* by the *Malayans*, *Kakaſan* by the *Javaneſe*, and in a broken dialect *Lanſen* by the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, is gathered but once a year, *viz.* in *February*. The trees which bear theſe fruits, hanging in bunches like grapes, in vaſt quantities, ſpread in a large circumference, with lofty branches, and pale green leaves like the lawrel leave, or thoſe of the cheſnut-tree, but are not carved. The fruits have a ſoft and yellow rind like our peaches, containing a white and ſharpiſh liquor. They reſemble moſt our yellow plumbs, but are inclining to red and white within, the pulp being divided by certain partitions, is of a ſomewhat aſtringent taſte like our red currants, and ſo luſcious, that one can ſcarce be ſatisfied with them; they are in great requeſt here, being accounted very good to allay the heat of burning fevers: Each has commonly two or three kernels, from which you muſt ſuck the pulp, the kernels and ſkin being both bitter. The fruit ſprouts out of ſmall yellowiſh buds or knots, after the bloſſom. They grow in vaſt plenty in the iſle of *Amboyna*, and eſpecially ar *Gilolo*, where I have ſeen prodigious quantities of them brought to market. The iſle of *Java* produces another ſort of this fruit, called *Boa Rampi* by the *Malayans*, and *Kapandung* by the *Javaneſe*, differing from the former only in the outſide, being for the reſt the ſame in taſte and virtue; for which reaſon they might well be call'd the *Javaneſe Lanſen*: Theſe are ripe in *October*, and are brought out of the countrey to *Batavia*. Langzap.

Theſe purple plumbs are ſo called by the *Dutch* from their colour, but by the *Purple plumbs.*

1662. *Javaneſe Gapak*, and by the *Malayans Boka Gobok:* They grow in great plenty on trees of a moderate ſize; they are of a purple colour without, but white within, with red ſtones. They have a ſouriſh taſte.

Jambulang. The fruit *Jambulang* is the ſame with our black-cherries, which is the reaſon the *Dutch* call it by that name here, but the *Javaneſe Duat*, and the *Malayans Kriango*; tho' they are of an oval figure, and not of ſo agreeable taſte, approaching to our great ſloes; they ripen in *Autumn*. The tree which bears theſe fruits is alſo much taller than the black-cherry trees, and ſpread their branches at a great diſtance. The leaves are dark green, taper towards the ſtalk, and broader at the ends, being intermix'd with many ſtrings or veins. The flowers have red leaves with ſmall filets within: The fruit is brought to market at *Batavia* by whole large baſkets full in the months of *September* and *October*. It is look'd upon among the inhabitants as a very good remedy againſt the bloody-flux.

Fulo de Sapato, *a ſingle and double ſhoe-flower.* The ſingle ſhoe-flower is call'd by the *Portugueſe Fulo de Sapato*, i. e. *Shoe-flower*, becauſe the flower chew'd affords a juice, which is excellently good for blacking and beautifying of ſhoes. There are two ſorts of it, which may be diſtinguiſh'd as male and female, like our peony-flowers. Out of the flower, which is darken'd, and not unlike our common roſes, ſprouts forth on the top a yellow ſtalk, at the end of which bud out leaves like a coronet, covered with a yellow wool: The leaves are green, and carved at the extremities like our nettles. Theſe produce large buds containing the flower. They are aſtringent of taſte, and conſequently cooling: The water diſtill'd thereof is good in burning-fevers, and applied outwardly to the forehead procures ſleep. There is alſo another kind of theſe flowers, with ſingle leaves, of an iſabella colour, which grow upon ſmall trees like our ſweet-briars: They ſpread their branches at ſuch a diſtance, that they are frequently uſed for arbours; they alſo make baſkets of the twigs. The inhabitants waſh their heads with the decoction of theſe leaves, and when ſteept in vinegar, uſe it againſt the looſeneſs; they alſo apply it to bruiſes. Theſe buſhes or ſmall trees require an exceſſive heat for their growth, which is the reaſon they commonly plant them againſt the eaſt-walls here, as we do in *Europe* againſt the ſouth-walls, for the exerciſe of heat. There is likewiſe a ſhoe-flower with double leaves not differing from the former, except in its leaves, and the coronet in the middle, which are both of a bright red colour like a ruby.

The flower Dukol. The flower called *Dukol* by the *Javaneſe*, *Bale Adap* by the *Malayans*, and *Fulo di Poco*, i. e. *Flower of the Buſh*, by the *Portugueſe*, grows every where in the hedges, to the heighth of 12 or 13 foot; it produces at the top a white leaf growing ſtraight upwards, near unto which the flowers, which are of an orange colour, grow in cluſters. The other leaves are dark green, with white veins running through the middle. 1662.

Crab on wild-plumbs. The fruit called *Boenga Tanjong* by the *Malayans*, *Kombang* by the *Javaneſe*, *Kauky* by the *Chineſes*, and *Crab-Plumbs* by the *Dutch*, grows on very high trees with wrinkled leaves. The flowers, which are very ſmall and of an iſabella colour, open every morning, and ſend forth a moſt fragrant ſcent, but cloſe up again againſt ſun-ſet. The fruit is of the bigneſs and ſhape of a hazel-nut, green at firſt, but turns yellow afterwards, and of an orange colour at laſt: The pulp which is of the ſame colour, grows about a brown ſtone, but being of a ſour taſte, this tree is admired and planted chiefly for its flowers ſake.

Karembolas. The fruit called *Karembolas*, and likewiſe *Kamozia*, *Karabelli*, *Chamarah* and *Bolunbach* by the *Indians*, grows in many places of the *Indies* on a tree, with a ſlender ſtem, twig and leaves, which is produced from the ſeed, and growing to the heighth of an ordinary cherry-tree, bears a flower of a pale blue colour, after which comes the fruit, which is green at firſt, but turns yellow, reſembling in ſhape our pompions. Some of theſe trees (which is very ſtrange) produce a fruit of ſo delicious a taſte, that nothing can be beyond it; whilſt others of the ſame kind bear a fruit ſo aſtringent and ſour as can ſcarce be imagined; when they are cut in the middle, they repreſent in the inſide a ſtar. The leaves of the tree are green, not unlike the roſe-tree leaves, but not carved and full of ſmall veins.

Boca Bidara, *or* Maſſam. The tree which produces the fruit called *Boca Bidara* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, and *Maſſam* by the *Chineſe* and *Portugueſe*, and by the *Dutch Prick-Plumbs* from their thorney prickles, grows up to the heighth of our cherry-trees, with aſh coloured leaves, with a triple vein. Its twigs are covered all over with almoſt inviſible thorns or prickles: It produces fruit all the year round, in ſuch plenty, that the twigs bend to the very ground. The fruit is of the bigneſs of a hazel-nut, of a dark green colour without, but white within, containing a ſtone of an iſabella colour: The flowers are yellow, having no more than five leaves, with as many ſmall ſtalks betwixt them. This fruit being of an agreeable taſte, tho' ſomewhat aſtringent, is eaten raw, and very cooling. The tree

1662. grows wild at ſome diſtance from *Batavia*, but has been of late years cultivated in their gardens.

Javaneſe *Turnips.* The root called *Gadang* by the *Javaneſe* and *Malayans*, has got the name of a *Javaneſe* turnip among the *Dutch*, becauſe it grows like our potatoes in the earth, and is of the bigneſs of our turnips, tho' it differs much from them both in its ſubſtance and taſte. It bears dark green leaves, with white ſtreaks or veins, betwixt which ſprouts forth a twig with flowers of a purple colour. They are accounted very nouriſhing and wholeſome, if not uſed in too great a quantity.

Muſh-rooms. Here grow divers ſorts of muſhrooms or toadſtools, called *Kulet* by the *Malayans*, and *Jamor* by the *Javaneſe*. Some are of a red, others of a pale green colour; they grow without any ſeed out of the moiſture of the earth. Some of them are uſed here like as in *Europe*, and are eaten with wine and ſugar.

Indian Saffron, *or* Borbori. The plant, the root whereof is called *Borbori* by the *Javaneſe*, *Saffran di Terra*, i. e. *Saffron under Ground* by the *Portugueſe*, *Kurkum* by the *Arabians*, and by the *Latins* *Radix Curcume* or *Curcumy-root*, has its leaves not unlike thoſe of the white-hellebore, *viz.* thick, long, and broad, ſmooth and interſperſed with many veins. The ſtalk is thick, and grows up to a conſiderable heighth: The flower is of a purple colour, and the root reſembles the gentian-root. After the flower comes the fruit, like a cheſnut, containing a round ſeed not unlike our peas. The root contains a ſaffron yellow tincture, whence it has got the name of *Indian* ſaffron. The *Malayans* boil and eat them both with fiſh and fleſh, and look upon them as the moſt ſovereign remedy in the world, againſt all the obſtructions of the liver, lungs and ſpleen; again the gravel and ſtone, the ſtoppage of the monthly flowers, and other diſeaſes of the womb, but moſt eſpecially againſt the yellow jaundice: This root is one of the main ingredients in that ointment, called *Borbori* by the *Javaneſe*, wherewith they anoint the whole body.

The Indian *tree houſleek.* The *Indian* tree houſleek, grows in the iſle of *Java*, on the *Mango* trees, and a certain *Indian* oak called *Kyati* by the *Malayans*. The ſhrub has long leaves, in taſte not unlike our ſorrel, but are more juicy, and much thicker, like our common houſeleek. It has long round roots, out of which ſprout forth certain threads, which faſten to the trees and ſtones, and grow thus till they come to their full perfection. It has a ſmall white flower of an aromatick, ſmell approaching to the ſmell of citrons, for which reaſon the *Malayans* look upon it as a great ſtrengthener of the ſinews and brains. The leaves and flowers made up into a conſerve, are good againſt the cramp, and very cordial, like our borage-flowers. After the flower comes the fruit, of the length of a finger, and an inſipid taſte, containing ſeeds as big as our barley. This plant has a certain quality of reſiſting all putrefactions and poiſons; for which reaſon the *Malayan* phyſicians preſcribe it as an infallable remedy againſt poiſon'd wounds occaſion'd by the poiſon'd darts and other weapons of the *Javaneſe*, which they poiſon with the blood of a certain ſerpent called *Gekko* by the *Dutch*. 1662.

Indian Veronica. The fields and woods of *Java* produce a certain herb called *Veronica* by the *Europeans*, with a white flower; the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe* call it *Oribat Matta*, i. e. *a Remedy for the eyes*, becauſe its juice allays the inflammations and defluxions in the eye. The ſame juice or the decoction of the herb, they alſo uſe againſt old coughs and conſumptions: By reaſon of its diuretick quality, they alſo preſcribe it for the gravel and ſtone, and the *Gonorvirulenta*. The leaves bruiſed are alſo apply'd outwardly to ulcers, as having a ſingular drying quality.

Kolkas. The plant call'd *Kolkas* by the *Arabians* and *Moors*, has a very thick root, large broad leaves, and bears a red fruit growing in cluſters, not unlike the *Arum*. It contains a ſlimy poiſonous ſubſtance, for which reaſon the *Javaneſe* cut them in ſlices, and ſteep them three or four days in river water; after which they ſqueeze the remaining juice out by a preſs, and having laid the roots to dry, make a kind of meal or flour of it, of which they make cakes inſtead of rice. The *Malayans* and *Chineſe* prepare them in the ſame manner. The bread made of theſe roots, which the *Javaneſe* of *Materan* were forced to eat 1629, at the ſiege of *Batavia*, for want of rice (their magazine of *Tengel* being deſtroy'd by the *Dutch*) occaſioned a peſtiferous bloody-flux in their camp; the *Chineſe* and *Malayans* alſo boil theſe roots, but throw away the the firſt decoction, and putting on freſh water, boil them again, and afterwards eat them with vinegar, oil of coco and pepper, as we do the red beat-root.

The Indian Betony *tree.* The *Indian Betony* tree has ſpeckled leaves like our *Pulmonaria*. The flowers ſprout forth like ears, ſometimes a thouſand in one ear, of a pale blue colour, like our roſemary-flowers. The decoction of this plant they account a good remedy againſt ſpiting of blood, the conſumption and coughs, call'd *Sabit Haty*, i. e. *the diſeaſe of the heart*, by the *Malayans*, who comprehend the liver, lungs, and even the ſpleen, under,

1662. der the general name of the heart. The *Indian* women uſe the juice thereof as an antidote againſt the ſting of ſerpents, ſcorpions, and ſuch like venomous creatures. 1662.

Indian *graſs.* *Java* produces all ſorts of graſs, and among the reſt, a peculiar kind, which has four ears croſſwiſe on the top of the ſtalk, the leaves being for the reſt like thoſe of common graſs. There alſo grows here another ſort of graſs, of the ſame kind with ſix or eight ears, which contain ſmall ſeeds. The *Malayan* phyſicians preſcribe the root and the graſs it ſelf for the bloody-flux, ſtoppage of urine, exulcerations and pains of the kidneys, and to promote the monthly times in women. *Java* produces likewiſe another kind of graſs differing from the reſt in the roots, which are three or four ſmall knots, which when chew'd have a flavour like cloves, but are not ſo hot in the mouth.

The Indian *prime-print.* The *Indian* primeprint has got its name from its reſemblance to ours, in its leaves as well as flowers; tho' the leaves thereof have a more odoriferous ſcent than our primeprint, and the flowers, tho' the ſame in ſhape, yet differ in their colour from ours, thoſe of the *Indian* primeprint being inclinable to a blue, whereas ours are as white as ſnow, but the berries of both are black. Like unto this is a certain ſhrub called *Alkanna* and *Henne* by the *Arabians*, and *Chinnets* by the *Perſians*, except that its leaves are ſomewhat leſs. The leaves of *Alkanna* are in great requeſt throughout the *Indies*, to give their teeth, lips, but eſpecially their nails, a red tincture, a thing much eſteemed among the *Moors*. They prepare the tincture, by ſteeping the leaves after they have been rubb'd ſmall upon a marble ſtone, in fair water mixt with a ſmall quantity of lime; with this the *Turks* and *Perſians* alſo die their horſes tails. The leaves chew'd leave a piquant taſte upon the tongue, yet without any ſharpneſs. Both theſe ſhrubs are in high eſteem among the *Indian* women, who uſe the decoction of the leaves in all diſeaſes of the womb, and have an opinion that it keeps them young; and to confeſs the truth, they have a peculiar virtue (if boil'd in water) to cure the *Indian* gout or barrenneſs, called *Beribery*; it grows all over the *Indies*, and the *Malayans* call it *Sagondi*.

The Indian *ſage-tree.* The *Indian* ſage-tree grows twelve foot high, whole woods of them being to be ſeen about *Batavia*; and if planted in the gardens, ſpreads its roots to that degree, as not to be eaſily rooted out again. The flowers are white, the leaves very long and of an agreeable ſcent. They cultivate the trees in the gardens by pruning and cuting the roots and ſhoots at certain times, and by this means make it as good and as wholeſome as our garden ſage. The *Malayan* women uſe it againſt the diſtempers of the womb, mixt with the *Sagandi* and the *Daulontas*, wherewith they bathe themſelves. The flowers are preſcribed by the phyſicians to correct the cold humours of the brain and ſinews, and by reaſon of their diuretick quality are very proper in the dropſy. Our garden ſage as well as roſemary, are a kind of rarity here, the exceſſive heat of this climate being as unnatural to them, as the cold is with us in winter.

The Indian Verbena. The *Indian Verbena* grows alſo in *Java*, being altogether like ours, except that the ears are ſomewhat longer and harder. They apply the flowers bruiſed to exulcerated legs, by reaſon of their drying quality, requiſite in the healing of wounds eſpecially at *Batavia*, where the moiſt and hot climate renders the cure thereof very difficult. A ſpoonful of the juice of the leaves taken inwardly, cures the cholick and bloody-flux; and the *Indian* women attribute to this plant a ſecret virtue againſt witchcraft.

The Indian Eſula. In the woods of *Java* grows a certain kind of *Eſula*, which ſhoots up to a great heighth, with a three corner'd ſtalk, ſometimes of the thickneſs of a man's leg; it has abundance of thorny knobs, which being however not very hard, don't prick: The leaves grow at ſome diſtance from one another, being not unlike thoſe of our houſleek; out of the ſtalk, (after an inciſion made) iſſues a milky yellow juice, of a ſharp taſte. This juice reduced to the conſiſtency of an extract is adminiſtred in the dropſy, lameneſs and other diſtempers proceeding from cold; it purges both by ſtool and urine. This plant differs not either in ſhape or the manner of growing from that, which affords that yellow juice, call'd corruptly by the apothecaries *Gutta Gemout*, and by the *Indians Lonan Cambodia*, becauſe it is of the product of the kingdom of *Kambodia*.

Mitium Solis. In *Java* alſo grows a certain kind of *Mitium Solis*, reſembling ours in its flowers, leaves and the ſtalk; but the fruit is much larger, and as hard as a ſtone, containing a mealy pulp. The *Portugueſe* have given it the name of *Yerva da Roſarios*, the roſary herb, becauſe the *Malayan* women uſe to make their roſaries of the fruit, and wear it about their neck inſtead of necklaces. Both the berb and fruit is proficuous in the diſtempers of the kidnies and bladder.

Boa Kamba *or* Indian *pears.* The fruit called *Boa Kamba* or *Kaman* by the *Javaneſe*, *Boa Binſel* by the *Malayans*,

1662. *ans*, and *Letſiſe* by the *Chineſe*, is by the *Dutch* called the *Indian* pear, by reaſon of its bigneſs and reſemblance to our pears. When ripe they are of a pale yellow with black ſpots, hollow within, with blue ſeeds, the pulp adhering cloſe to the peel. They are ſcarce ever cultivated in the gardens of *Batavia*, by reaſon of their crabbed taſte, tho' very agreeable to the eye; they are brought in great quantities into the market there, eſpecially in *February*. The tree grows up to a great heighth, having a brittle and coarſe wood and leaves.

Rambuſtan *or* Rampoſtan.

Rambuſtan or *Rampoſtan* as the *Malayans* call it, is one of thoſe fruits, which are produced without flowers, for this comes forth only out of a green bud. They grow in cluſters on very ſmall twigs of a tree, of the heighth of our cherry-trees, are of a purple colour, and reſemble at a diſtance our cheſnuts, whilſt they are hanging on the trees. Within is a ſlender quantity of a pulp, of an acid agreeable taſte, and in this a ſtone. They come to maturity in *February*. There is another kind of *Rambuſtan* growing on ſhorter twigs than the former, and being covered with a hairy ſubſtance; but tho' theſe two fruits are very different in outward appearance, their taſte is much the ſame.

Romani *or* Satarra.

The fruit called *Satarra* by the *Malayans*, *Gandaria* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Romani* by the *Portugueſe*, reſemble our yellow plumbs, but are ſomewhat bigger. The inſide is not unlike the *Mangas*, and in taſte like the *Batſian*, yet not altogether ſo ſour. They are green at firſt, but turn yellow mixt with an orange colour; the pulp is likewiſe yellow. The inhabitants pickle and uſe them like as we do olives; they are of no diſagreeable taſte, but ſomething more hairy than the *Mangas*.

The Javaneſe *flower.*

The *Javaneſe* flower called *Fule de Japan* (in the ſame ſenſe) by the *Portugueſe*, *Benga Japan* by the *Malayans*, and *Quiboa* by the *Chineſe*, delights in ſhady places; the ſtalk is not above a foot high, ſome of which produce white flowers, others of an iſabella and purple colour, ſprouting forth with ſmall knobs between the leaves; and no ſooner do the leaves of the lowermoſt flowers fall off, but others come forth on the top in their ſtead. The ſtalk, after the leaves have been caſt, produces a bud, containing a black ſeed, as ſmall as tobacco ſeed, tho' this plant will grow without it, if you put only a twig of it in the ground. Theſe flowers have no other uſe but to divert the eye.

The tree Patty.

The tree called *Patty* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, grows in many gardens about *Batavia*, being cheriſh'd by the inhabitants, by reaſon of its ſpacious branches and fine leaves, which afford an agreeable ſhade; it 1662. riſes up to the heighth of an apple-tree, with thin branches, on which you ſee the fruit hanging on the ſtalks, three and three together, of a crabbed taſte, and therefore not regarded; they reſemble the pine-apple on the one ſide, and have a ſeed within. The leaves are of a lively green colour, and grow very cloſe together.

Mary-golds.

The flowers called marygolds by our people, have got their name rather from their colour, than any other reſemblance to ours. The leaves are dark green, like thoſe of the apple-tree, but ſomewhat leſs: On the tops of the twigs ſprout forth certain orange colour'd buds, which opening produce the orange colour'd flowers with four leaves, they have no other uſe than to pleaſe the eye-ſight.

The huntſman's tree.

The huntſman's tree is a kind of wild palm-tree, the ſtem whereof is covered with a grey rind or bark, twiſted about as it were with circles. The leaves which are bright green, grow on long yellowiſh ſtalks, the lowermoſt of which turn yellow by degrees, and hang downwards; being for the reſt very agreeable to the eye. The fruit is not near ſo big as the leaſt coco-nuts, and has no other uſe, except that the inhabitants draw from it a certain ſyrup and ſugar, which they ſell to the neighbouring countries. The wood of the ſtem is very durable, provided it be kept from the air, and ſo hard, that they can neither ſaw nor cut it, but are forced to ſplit it by pieces of wood in it; ſome of the *Indians* make their bows of the twigs of this tree; and the *Chineſe* at *Batavia* make of the leaves and tender ſprouts, fans to cool themſelves with. The *Malabars* make uſe of the leaves inſtead paper, which they know how to order with a great deal of dexterity; for the leaves being about three inches broad, and above a yard long, they make holes at one end of them, and ſo tie as many of them together with a ſtring, as they have occaſion for at a time. They write with an iron pencil, wherewith they know how to imprint and cut their characters on the uppermoſt ſurface of theſe leaves, as that they remain indelible. This they perform for the moſt part without keeping their eyes ſo cloſe and earneſtly upon them, as we do. Theſe leaves are alſo very durable and will not eaſily putrefy, even in water; I have ſeveral letters writ to me upon theſe *Olen* or leaves by perſons of great quality among the *Malabars*. This tree alſo yields a juice like the coco-tree, which if boil'd, taſtes very ſweet, and is apt to inebriate, but if not boil'd, turns ſour immediately. But the chief uſe they make

1662. of it is, to boil it into ſugar. This huntſman's tree is none of the loweſt rank among the many kinds of palm-trees of the *Indies*, beingmuch eſteem'd and cultivated for its uſefulneſs, eſpecially in the iſle of *Ceylon* and in *Javapatnam*, where you ſee whole woods of this tree.

The tree and fruit Billingbing *or* Blingbing.

About *Batavia* grows a tree of a moſt delightful aſpect, with moſt pleaſant leaves hanging downwards. The ſtem, which is very thick, and branches ſend forth ſmall ſprouts full of green buds or knobs, which produce red flowers, not unlike a ſmall lilly; after which comes the fruit, growing in cluſters, reſembling both in bigneſs and ſhape our ſmall cucumbers, about the thickneſs of an inch, and a fingers length. They have a green rind, and within it a ſeed, not unlike that of the cucumbers, but ſomewhat more round. The *Malayans* and *Javaneſe* call this fruit *Billingbing* and *Blinbing*. This tree is among the trees what the ſheep are among the beaſts, for they not only rob it of its flowers and fruit, but alſo of its leaves and rind, ſometimes to the very root, as having their peculiar uſe in phyſick; ſo that this tree would make but a very ſlender appearance for the moſt part, were it not that provident nature did almoſt cover its ſtem and branches with odoriferous flowers and well-taſted fruits. The fruit is very juicy and cooling, but ſomewhat aſtringent, for which reaſon it is ſeldom uſed alone, but in ſauces, to give a good reliſh: The fruit is alſo preſerved with ſugar. Our phyſicians there prepare a ſyrup out of the juice, and preſcribe it in the exceſſive heat of the liver and blood; and this ſyrup is alſo mixed with the decoction of the rice, before it is peel'd, called *Pady*, and given in fevers. This juice alſo quenches the thirſt, and has one peculiar quality, that notwithſtanding its aſtringency, it takes away that ſour taſte of divers other fruits which ſets the teeth on edge.

The Indian *dog's-tongue.*

The herb call'd hound's or dog's-tongue, from its reſemblance to ours, which bears the ſame name, is by the *Javaneſe* called *Suroe*, by the *Malayans Sudu-Sudu*, and by the *Chineſe Kautſu*. The ſtalk is thick below, but grows thin towards the top. As you pull off the leaves, you ſee a milky juice drop out of it; of which two or three drops dropt into the ear, cures the ear-ach; as its uſe is only in phyſick, it generally grows wild.

Bitter-green.

The plant called bitter-green by our people, has got its name from its bitter taſte: It grows in the gardens of *Batavia*, and creeps up to the next tree or ſtalk, almoſt like the branches of the cucumbers, but that it leaves are deeper carved, and more pointed. The fruit is alſo not unlike a cucumber, yellow with green ſtreaks and a thick rind, yellow within, with a red kernel. When it comes to its full perfection, it is marbled with an orange colour. The *Dutch* make no account of this fruit, by reaſon of its bitter taſte; but the inhabitants uſe it in their ſawce call'd *Karry*, and put the root and leaves in their ordinary drink, which preſerves it for two or three days, whereas otherwiſe it would turn immediately. They cure the bitterneſs with ſugar. 1662.

Durions.

Among all the garden fruits, there is ſcarce any that exceed the *Durions*; 'tis true the ſcent of it is not unlike that of rotten figs, and conſequently not very inviting to ſearch after the kernel, which makes amends for the ſmell, being of a luſcious taſte. The tree which produces this fruit, grows crooked, with abundance of branches, and very harſh leaves pointed at the ends, of a palms length, ſometimes grey on the outſide, but bright green on the other ſide. They are not inferior in heighth to the talleſt trees of *Europe*. The fruit *Durions* grows in cluſters on the thicke ſtends of the twigs, and ſprouts forth out of a green bud, which growing bigger and bigger by degrees, opens at laſt into an iſabella colour'd flower, ſurrounded on the out-ſide with hard leaves, like a rind: This flower produces a thorny fruit of the bigneſs of a melon, covered with a thorny rind, not unlike the fruit *Jaka*; it is green at firſt, but turns yellow. It has four partitions within, in each of which you ſee a ſtone like a peach-ſtone, of the bigneſs of a cheſnut, containing a delicious ſweet and white kernel. Before they take out the kernels they ſtamp the fruit under foot, to avoid being wounded by the thorney prickles. The *Durions* are always eaten raw, being reckon'd one of the wholeſomeſt fruits in the *Indies*, if uſed moderately, but if in exceſs, inflame the blood, and raiſe pimples in the face. They ſeem to have an antipathy againſt the *Bethel*, becauſe they will not grow near it, but die. They come to maturity in three months time, and chiefly in *October* and *November*, tho' I have ſeen them alſo in the market of *Batavia* in *Auguſt*, for they are to be had all the year round, but not in ſuch plenty. They grow much about *Bantam*, whence they are brought to *Batavia*. The firſt that I ſaw was in the grounds of *Chriſtian Chandellour*, near the great river of *Batavia*; and ſince that I have met with them in divers other places thereabouts; ſo that this fruit thrives as well here as at *Bantam*, but no where better than near *Malacca*, where the *Durions* are of an exceſſive bigneſs.

1662. *Pepper.* The pepper, called *Lada* or *Laden* by the *Malayans*, and *Maritſia* by the *Javaneſe*, grows on tender branches, with abundance of knots, and creeps up along ſtalks or trees like our hops. Sometimes they will climb beyond the pinnacle of the higheſt trees, and afterwards hang downwards. On the ſtalks or twigs of theſe branches the pepper grows in ſuch thick cluſters, that they are ſcarce to be diſcern'd from the leaves. Theſe ſprout forth out of the buds of the branches, being green and interſperſed with veins, not unlike thoſe of the cinnamon-tree, pecked at the extremity, ſometimes of the breath of a hand, and long in proportion, of a bitteriſh taſte, and hot upon the tongue: After the leaves come forth certain twigs or ſtalks not unlike thoſe of the hazel-nut trees, on which hang the berries, like our red-currants, but in larger cluſters; theſe berries turn black as they ripen. The pepper is one of the chiefeſt commodities in the ſpice-trade; the beſt grows along the coaſt of *Malabar*, near *Koulang*, where I uſed to buy great quantities for the company's uſe. The pepper muſt be planted in a rich ſoil, and bears fruit within the year. In *Malabar* it ripens chiefly in *January*, but in other places ſooner or later, according to the difference of the climate. In the iſle of *Java* it ripens in *October*, and is gathered in *November* and *December*, and is then green, but turns black as it is a drying in the ſun; after which it is made up into balls of 80 or 90 pounds. The beſt pepper is white, cloſe and biting within: There is alſo a ſort of long pepper. The *Indians* alſo make a pickle of green pepper. Of the *Sagon* tree, repreſented in the next print, we have treated before.

Wild onions. The *Portugueſe* have given the name of a wild onion, or *Sabollos de Matte*, to a certain flower, becauſe its root reſembles that of an onion, tho' for the reſt it has not leaſt congruity with it. The *Javaneſe* and *Malayans* call it *Hakung*, and the *Chineſe Taukio*. This flower grows in a bunch on the top of a thin ſtalk, but near three foot high. They come forth out of red buds, are of a high red colour, with purple colour'd ſtreaks of a palm in length; are very delightful to the eye, and of no diſagreeable ſmell, eſpecially in the morning before the dew is dry'd up by the ſun-beams, for which reaſon they are much cheriſh'd in the gardens of *Batavia*. The leaves of this plant are above three foot long, and ſpread all round about, being pointed towards the extremities.

Potatoes. The Roots of potatoes, called *Patattes* by the *Portugueſe*, after the *Braſilians*, are called *Ubi Tora* by the *Malayans*, *Ubi* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Hantſoa* by the *Chineſe*. Theſe roots grow in the ground on branches, with leaves not unlike the cucumber leaf; ſome of theſe branches bearing white, others blue flowers, ſhaped like bells. The *Chineſe* cultivate theſe roots in the fields near *Batavia*, which muſt be well dung'd beforehand: They cut the ranks near the extremity, which they put into the ground, and let them grow for ſome time. Then they cover theſe ranks with rich earth, at a foot diſtance perhaps, into which the ranks ſend forth their roots, which come to maturity in a ſhort time, and ſometimes grow to the thickneſs of a man's arm, and a foot long. Some are red on the outſide, and theſe are in greateſt eſteem at *Batavia*, but don't approach in goodneſs to thoſe of *Braſil*, eſpecially near *Rio St. Franciſco*, where theſe roots are red both within and without. This root is frequently boil'd by the *Dutch* both with fiſh and fleſh, excelling in taſte and ſweetneſs much our parſnip-roots or artichokes; they are alſo eaten raw with ſalt, oil and vinegar, like a ſalad, but are not ſo eaſy a digeſtion then: The beſt way is to roaſt them in the aſhes, which makes them taſte like cheſnuts, and are good to ſtop the looſeneſs, a ſymptom very frequent to thoſe that inhabit near the line; for which reaſon this root is in great requeſt here, and cultivated with a great deal of care, which makes them very cheap here; for you may buy as much for a half-penny as will ſuffice for a whole meal. In the iſle of *St. Thomas* they uſe them inſtead of bread. They alſo make a kind of drink of them. They boil a conſiderable quantity of theſe roots in a kettle well cover'd, till they are ſoft or tender; then they ſtamp them well, and put them in a veſſel with water, where they begin to ferment in twice 24 hours, when the veſſel muſt be ſtopp'd up; which done, it turns clear, and as ſtrong as good beer.

1662. Beſides the potatoes, there grows another root about *Batavia* called *Injames* by the *Portugueſe*, after the *Braſilians*, by the *Javaneſe* and *Malayans Byra*, and *Siatſini* by the *Chineſe*. It has a very fine green leaf, and interſperſed with veins: The root has commonly five or ſix inches diameter, and is one foot and a half long, having a brown rind, but is white within. The flower is of a greeniſh colour. Theſe roots are ſold in the market of *Batavia* by the piece, weighing each 15 *Katty*, or thereabouts, a *Katty* being a pound and a quarter, according to our weight, ſo that 30 perſons may dine upon one root. Its taſte is however not near to good as the potatoes, and being of a hard digeſtion and very dry, they are not much look'd after by *Injames of Byra.*

the

1662. the *Dutch*, but the natives are very fond of them.

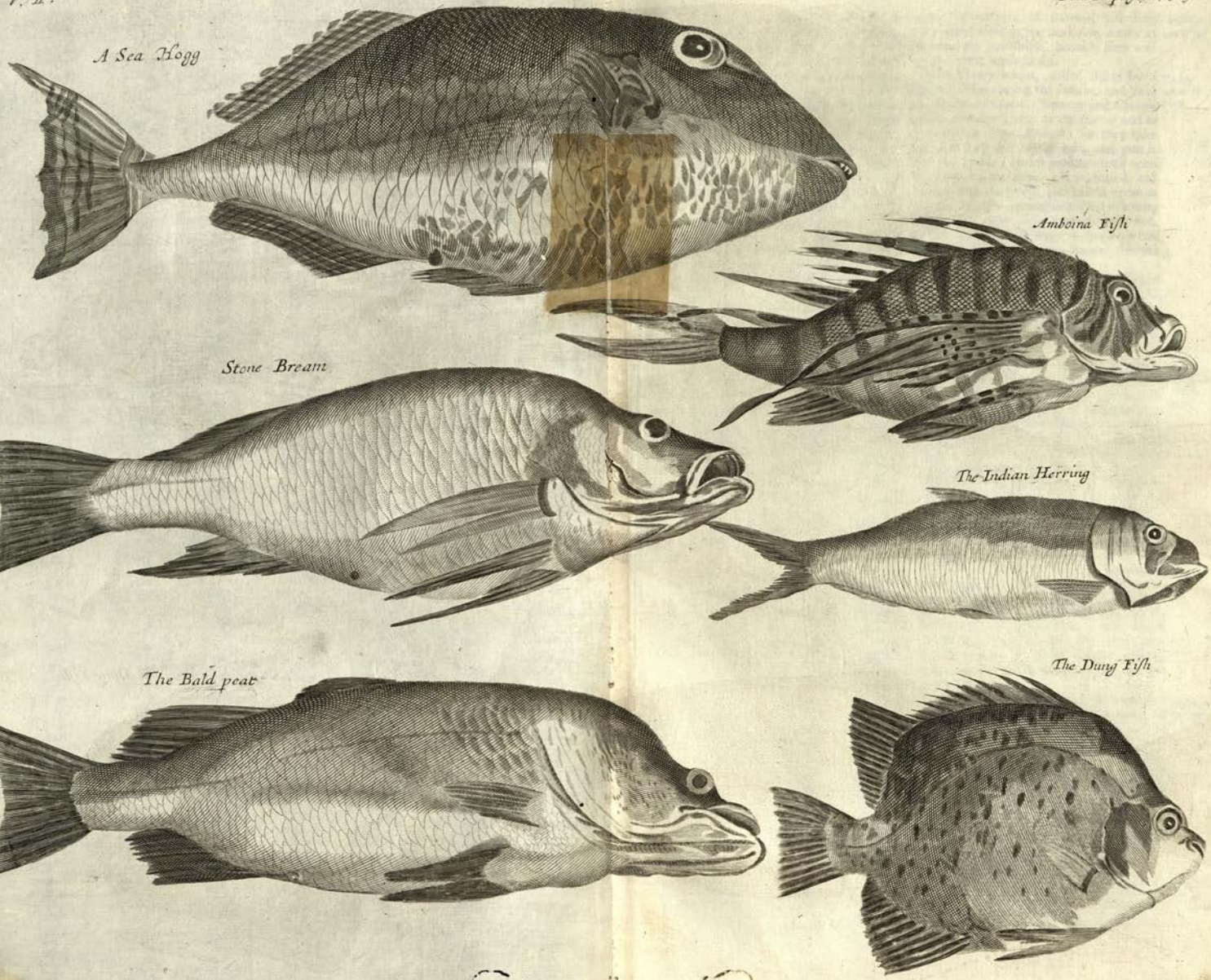
Blue plumbs. The tree which bears a kind of blue plumbs, ſpreads its branches very loftily, not unlike the mulberry-tree, except that its leaves are of a different ſhape. You ſee this tree frequently at one and the ſame time laden with flowers and fruit, both ripe and unripe: The wood is very tough, ſo that you may venture to climb up by the ſmalleſt branches. The flowers are of an agreeable ſcent, eſpecially in the morning before the dew is gone. This fruit is not regarded at *Batavia*, becauſe the markets are over-ſtock'd with them by the country people, who bring them in vaſt quantities thither out of the mountains; tho' for the reſt it is of an agreeble taſte, ſomewhat like the dates. They are rarely to be met with here in the gardens. This plumb comes forth out of certain buds, conſiſting of five white leaves each, and grows on the twigs like our oval plumbs. It is green at firſt, but turns to a dark red, but the pulp is white, within which are three ſtones. The *Malayans* and *Javaneſe* call theſe plumbs *Boa Soa*, or *Sau*, the *Chineſe Theely*, and the *Portugueſe Fruite de Manilha*, i. e. *Fruit of Manilha*. At *Batavia* I never ſaw but one tree, bearing at the ſame time flowers and ripe plumbs.

Oranges. *Java* produces divers ſorts of oranges, among which three are prefer'd before the reſt, *viz.* the common ones, and thoſe of *Japan* and *China*. The trees are much of the ſame heighth, but different in their leaves; thoſe of *Japan* have broader leaves than the ordinary ones, and theſe again broader than thoſe of *China*. They all are of a different taſte, yet very agreeable. The *Javaneſe* oranges are the biggeſt and moſt juicy, but ſomewhat inclining to a ſour taſte; among the ordinary ones, ſome are exceeding ſweet, others quite crab-like. The *China* oranges have a pleaſant taſte, betwixt ſweet and ſour, being prefer'd here before the reſt, having a very thin rind. They are preſerved with ſugar, like the *Portugueſe* figs, and thus tranſported all over the *Indies*.

Wild Jamboes. Tho' this fruit called the wild *Jamboe* by our people, and *Jamboe* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, has not the leaſt reſemblance to the *Jamboe* we have given a deſcription of before, in outward appearance, becauſe that grows upon high trees, with a moſt delightful bloſſom; whereas this grows upon a low tree not unlike our mulberries, without any bloſſom, but is produced out of certain green buds, not unlike the figs; yet are they the ſame in taſte, and divers other qualities. Some of them are extremely well taſted, and quench the thirſt. Some are dark red, others white, mix'd with red, and that on the ſame tree, where they grow in cluſters in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they cover the very leaves and twigs, as if they had been ſpread over with a ſcarlet cloth. They are of the bigneſs of a ſugar-pear. In *Amboyna* they grow in ſuch plenty, that you may ſee the ground under the trees covered with them, every one being free to gather them; one reaſon whereof is, that they being uſed there as we do our acorns, for the fattening of hogs, which the *Moors* and *Mahometans* abominate, they are not much regarded. 1662.

Tobacco. The weed call'd *Tobako* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſe*, after the *Portugueſe*, grows in all parts of the *Indies*; the *Chineſe* call it *Hun*. Tobacco being frequently uſed by the inhabitants, is conſequently in great requeſt, and carefully look'd after; that of *Ternate* being eſteem'd the beſt, is moſt generally made uſe of at *Batavia*. They have a way of tying ſeveral leaves, weighing about two pounds together, with ſmall twiſted canes, each parcel of the beſt being commonly ſold for ſix-pence; but you may buy alſo very good tobacco at *Batavia*, for two pence. In *Amboyna* each family commonly plants as much tobacco in their garden as they have occaſion for, not troubling themſelves with any other plantations. About *Batavia* the plantations of tobacco are chiefly managed by the *Chineſe* and *Javaneſe*, and this weed grows here and thrives extremely well, provided it be planted in a rich ſoil, when it will grow up to the heighth of eight foot, with leaves of 18 inches long and eight broad. The *Indians* don't take tobacco through pipes, but have a way of rowling one or more leaves (according as they are big) together, and lighting the ſame at one end, ſuck in the ſmoke as we do with our pipes. The women commonly take of the worſt ſort, and rowl up their leaves in a piece of dry'd *Pyſang*.

Fula Mogori. Among all the flowers of the *Indies*, that call'd *Fula Mogori* or *Mugri*, i. e. *the Flower Mogori*, by the *Portugueſe*, *Kombans Malati* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Badiboa* by the *Chineſe*, is more eſteemed by the inhabitants, which they plant with ſingular care upon long and well dunged beds, with little walks betwixt them: The ſtalk on which this flower grows, ſeldom exceeds two foot in heighth, and grows like briars: The leaves are ſmooth like the quince-pear tree leaves, the flowers exceeding white, conſiſting of four leaves, which ſeldom open, and imitate in their odoriferous ſcent our white-lillies, but are no bigger than the bloſſom of an apple-tree. The *Javaneſe* of both ſexes wear theſe flowers upon ſtrings on their


A Sea Hogg
Amboina Fish
Stone Bream
The Indian Herring
The Bald peat
The Dung Fish

1662. their feſtival days. I remember that at a certain turnament on horſeback at *Japara*, I ſaw the *Javaneſe* thus adorn'd with theſe flowers, ſome of which had theſe ſtrings tied ſeveral times round above their ears, with the two ends hanging down before upon their breaſts. They alſo diſtil a water out of theſe flowers, which they eſteem a great cordial in fainting-fits eſpecially, much beyond our roſe-water, it being reckoned equal with orange-flower water. They preſcribe it in burning-fevers, and head-achs, proceeding from a hot cauſe. The *Javaneſe* alſo waſh their faces with this water, to make them ſmooth. The leaves bruiſed are a good remedy againſt the rheum or defluxions of the eyes: Theſe flowers grow in vaſt plenty all the year round, and are ſold in the ſtreets by the ſlaves.

The tree called the melancholy-tree, has got its denomination from its opening its flowers not till after ſun-ſet, which continues no longer than the night time. Hence the *Portugueſe* have given it the name of *Arvore da Noyte*, i. e. *the Night-tree*; at *Goa* they call it *Pareavtako*, at *Malacca Singadi*, in the kingdom of *Dekan Pul*, the *Arabians Guart*, the *Perſians* and *Turks Gul*, and the *Malabars Mogli*, i. e. *trees*, for its excellency's ſake; for which reaſon the ſame *Malabars* call the water diſtill'd from the flowers *Mogli-water:* There is another kind of this tree, which begins to bloſſom in the morning, and is bereaved of its leaves by night: Theſe trees grow for the moſt part about *Cochin* and *Malacca*.

Arvore da Noyte *or the melancholy-tree.*

Boenga Mera. The plant called *Boenga Mera* by the *Malayans*, *Kombang Merak* by the *Javaneſe*, and *Konkuſiou* by the *Chineſe*, has very fine green leaves, growing on ſmall ſtalks, cloſe together. The flowers, which are not unlike our gilliflowers, are high red, but yellowiſh at the extremities; they no ſooner open, but drop of, leaving ſmall huſks behind them, which contain a kind of peaſe, but are not eatable.

Katſian. Among ſeveral other ſorts of beans which grow and are eaten at *Batavia*, thoſe called *Katſian Goedi* by the *Malayans*, and *Katſian* only by the *Javaneſe*, but by the *Chineſe Lak Goetuin*, exceed the reſt. They grow in the fields all about *Batavia*, eſpecially in thoſe belonging to the *Chineſe:* The ſtalks and huſks of theſe beans are pale green, and ſomewhat woolly, but the leaves are ſmooth, and reſemble thoſe of our *French* beans, being interſperſed with many veins. The bloſſoms are white, and ſprout forth out of green knobs or buds. Theſe beans grow almoſt all the year round, and conſequently are no ſmall advantage to the inhabitants of *Batavia*, affording very good food to the labouring men; as likewiſe for our ſhips, becauſe they will keep a great while at ſea. 1662.

Turkey wheat or Maiz. The *Turkey* wheat, called *Maiz* by a general name among the *Indians*, and *Jangon* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſe* and *Chineſe*, grows in many places in the *Indies*, and in good plenty about *Batavia*; for they take the corn freſh out of the ears, and put it into the ground, which produces freſh corn in three months time. It is boiled and roaſted with the chaff, and look'd upon as a great dainty; ſome of this corn is white, ſome red. The *Indies* produce alſo rice, ginger, cotton, and ſugar in many places, figs, quince-pears, apples, lemons, beſides many other fruits.

Thus much concerning the trees, fruits and plants of the *Indies*, and of *Java* and *Batavia* in particular; we will now proceed to give ſome account of the living creatures of the *Indies*, and begin with the fiſhes.

The ſea-porpoiſe or hog-fiſh is about 15 or 16 inches long, and and about ſeven in breadth. It has a very thick ſkin, and ſuch cloſe and hard ſcales, that ſcarce any inſtrument will pierce them, but when boil'd the ſcales come off with eaſe, and the ſkin is very ſoft. Their fleſh is very white reſembling the breaſt of a boiled capon; the mouth is but ſmall in proportion of the reſt of the body, but is armed with two rows of white gliſtering teeth, one above, the other below. Upon the back, which is brown, you ſee a ſharp fin of half a finger's length, which the fiſh can erect at pleaſure, and ſuch another is below near the navel; the other fins are not ſo ſtrong, of a pale blue colour. The belly is white, and gliſtering like ſilver, but the ſides are mix'd with yellow, which by degrees, towards the back, turns into an aſh colour. It has large brown ſhining eyes, and when boil'd is of a very pleaſant taſte. *The ſea-porpoiſe or hog-fiſh, ſea-hog.*

Amboyneſe fiſh. The *Amboyneſe* fiſh has got its name becauſe it is found chiefly in the rivers of *Amboyna*, but being very ſcarce, and of a very good taſte, is look'd upon as a dainty here. It is about a ſpan in length, ſomething like our perch both in ſhape and taſte. Its colour is inclining to brown, with blue ſtreaks under the head, the fins below the mouth are likewiſe blue, but thoſe on the ſides are green and ſpeckled. It is both a very wholeſome and toothſome fiſh, eſpecially with good ſauce.

The ſtone-bream. The ſtone-bream is a moſt excellent fiſh, ſome of which are four foot long; they reſemble our breams, (which has begot them their name) but are much big-

1662. ger. Their eyes are very large, with a large red mouth, as are alſo the fins and extremity of the tail. They are catched at ſea with a hook, being not eaſily to be taken with the net, and are eaten either broil'd or boil'd. There is another kind, but not ſo good as the former, the fleſh of which ſhrinks when they are cut, from whence ſome call them ſhrinkers.

The bald-pate. The fiſh called baldpate has got its name from its head and neck, being without ſcales, whereas the reſt of the body is covered with them. It is of a greyiſh colour, its mouth, which is very wide, being ſpotted with red. The eyes are large, yellow and ſtarting out of the head: It is one of the beſt ſorts of fiſh that can be eaten, of a very agreeable taſte: It is taken both in the ſea and rivers.

Among the great variety of fiſh found in the *Indies*, moſt of which turn immedidiately after they are catch'd; there are however a few that will take ſalt like our herrings; ſuch is the ſea-bleak, a fiſh much of the bigneſs of a herring, but not ſo long and ſomething broader: It is green on the back, but white on the belly, with a forked tail: The head is of a very odd ſhape, with a wide mouth and large eyes. They are catch'd in prodigious quantities, becauſe they ſwim in vaſt ſhoals like the herrings, eſpecially on the coaſt of *Malabar*, where they dung their rice-fields with them. They are of a tolerable good taſte, but not ſo good as our herrings.

The ſea-bleak.

The thurd fiſh. This fiſh is called thurd fiſh, becauſe it delights in naſty places, tho' otherwiſe it is of no ill taſte, but is not regarded. It is very flat, about a ſpan in length, and near of the ſame breadth. The belly is blue, and the body is full of brown ſpots.

The yellow-tail. The fiſh called yellow-tail is in ſhape and bigneſs like a bream, with very ſharp prominent teeth in the fore part of the mouth. The back all along to the tail is inclining to a yellow, and the tail very yellow, whence it has got its name. The belly is blue, inclining to a brown towards the forepart. It has red fins, and is catch'd with hooks at ſea near the rocks: It is both a wholſome and toothſome fiſh.

The Kaelt *fiſh.* The *Kaelt* fiſh, as our people call it, is a kind of pike with a large piked mouth full of teeth, and large bright eyes. The belly and tail is of a purple colour, but the back brown: It is very thick and plump, about a foot and a half long, ſwims very ſwiftly, and of a good taſte, but ſomewhat hard.

Ravens fiſh. The raven fiſh, has got its name from its mouth, like a bill under the head. It is about a ſpan in length, red on the back and tail, but inclining to yellow on the belly, and has two yellow ſtreaks on each ſide, which vaniſh by degrees. It is a very firm fiſh, and very wholeſome to eat, and is taken in ſalt waters. 1662.

The king's fiſh. The king's-fiſh has obtain'd his title from its excellent taſte, being one of the beſt and moſt wholeſome fiſhes of the *Indies*. Some are five foot long, and have long forked tails. The back and ſides are full of brown ſpots, but the belly is white. They can open their mouths very wide, and are very greedy after carrion.

Eel. The rivers and ſtanding pools afford alſo abundance of eels; they are generally black on the back, which turns pale towards the belly, and are full of blackiſh ſpots. It is the general opinion here, that they are a kind of water-ſerpents. There is another ſort of a ruddy colour with yellow ſtreaks, having a ſharp head with very ſmall eyes; ſome of them are a foot and a half long. They are eaten by none but the natives.

The ſea-eel. There is another kind of ſea-eels, or rather water-ſerpents in the *Indies*, of about three foot long, of a brown colour, chequered with black ſpots like the ſkin of a ſerpent. The forepart of the body is ſlender, but is as thick again towards the tail. It has a long head and mouth with ſharp teeth, but ſo ſmall as ſcarce to be diſcerned. It delights in rocky places, and ſerves the natives for a dainty. This fiſh has one peculiar quality, *viz.* That thoſe who kill or exenterate it, are commonly ſeized with a trembling, and ſometimes with fainting, which however continues not long, which ſeems to intimate that this creature contains ſomething of poiſon, which exerts its vigour at the time of its expiration.

The ſea-cock. The ſea-cock is a fiſh of a very odd ſhape, more like a ſea-monſter than a fiſh. Some are about two foot long, very broad and thick; a great part whereof is nothing but head. On the back it has two long fins, but one longer than the other, and below three other very long fins; a forked tail of a brown colour, but is yellow on the belly. The ſkin is gliſtering like ſilver, and the fins on both ſides are red: It is catch'd in ſalt-water.

The white fiſh. The white-fiſh has a thick ſhort head, a brown back, and blue belly inclining to yellow; it is of a tolerable good taſte, and catch'd in prodigious quantities in the ſea near the ſhoar with nets, but is generally not much regarded.

The grunting fiſh. The grunting fiſh has got its name from a certain grumbing noiſe it makes when it is taken; croſs the back run along both ſides two brown and one yellow ſtreak; it is very plump, with little ſcales, not a-

bove

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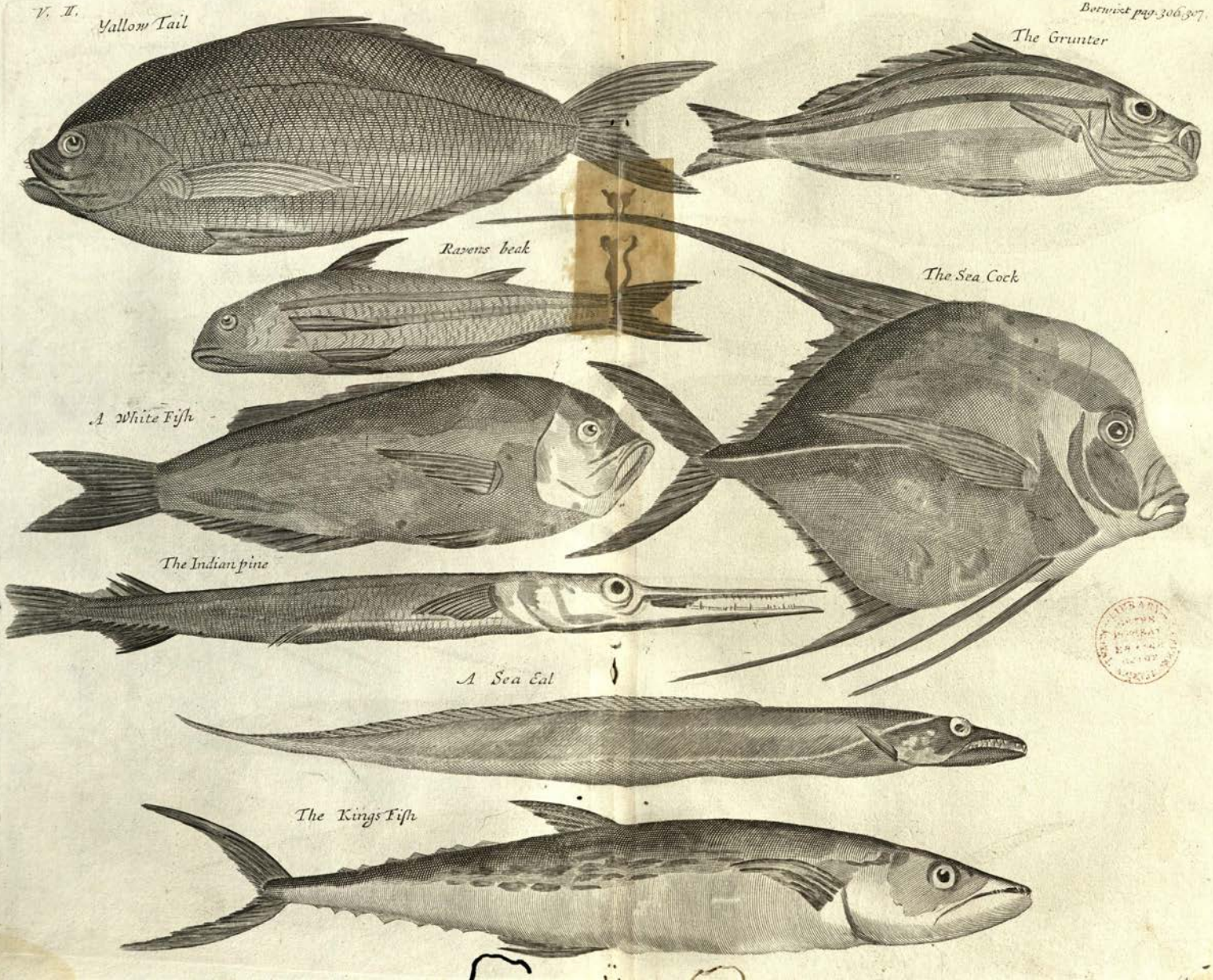

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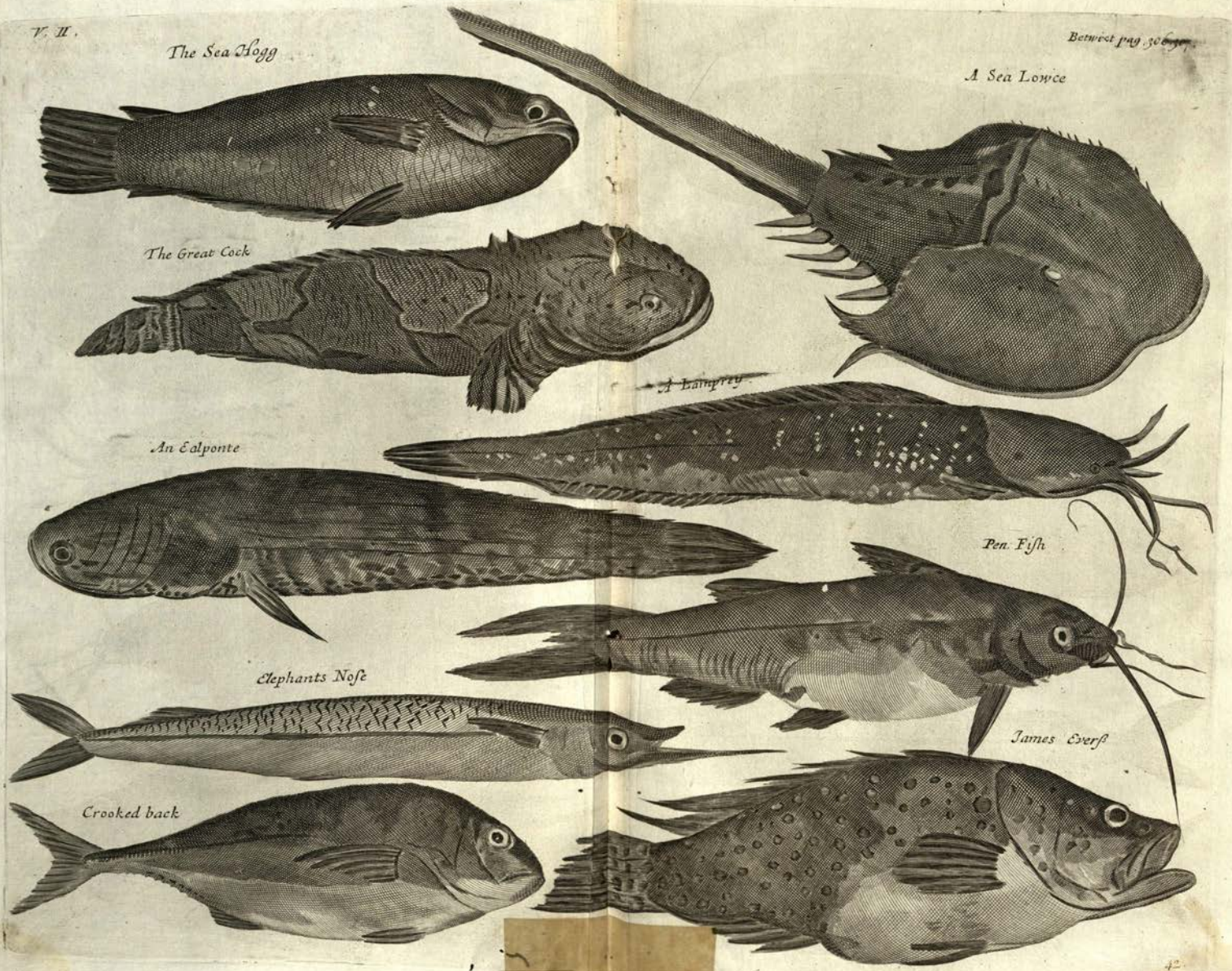

1662. bove a ſpan in length; the head not unlike a pope. It is of an agreeable taſte, and eaten like as we do our popes or ſmall perches.

The ſea-hog. The ſea-hog or ſea-porpoiſe called *Pixoporkas*, in the ſame ſenſe by the *Portugueſe*, is of a different kind from the former, this being not above a ſpan in length, inclining to a green with blackiſh ſcales, the fins and tail of the ſame colour, but the eyes are yellow: It is a freſh-water fiſh, very plump and fat and well taſted.

Another kind of grunting fiſh. There is alſo another kind of grunting-fiſh, ſo call'd for the ſame reaſon with the former; it is almoſt round, with a ſmooth ſkin, but full of knobs and ſpots; it is of a browniſh colour ſtreaked with black. The head is very thick, ſhort, and full of knobs, with a large mouth and red eyes. The tail is alſo very round and ſhort; on each ſide of the body is a red fin, and the fiſh is of a tolerable good taſte.

The ſea-louſe. The ſea-louſe is a ſtrange kind of ſhell-fiſh, of above a foot in length. It appears like a round lump, with a large tail, with many legs on both ſides. Its colour is gray inclining to green. It is catched near *Batavia*, but is ſeldom eaten, unleſs it be by the *Javaneſe* and *Chineſe*.

The lamprey. The *Lamprey* is a kind of an eelpoute, above a foot long, with a ſmooth ſkin, and fat like an eel, but of a different ſhape. It is brown on the belly, with yellow ſpots on the back, and has purple coloured fins under the belly. The head is not unlike that of a ſnail, with horns, and its fins are venomous. It is catch'd in ponds and pools, and eats beſt ſtew'd.

Kabos. *Kabos* is a kind of an eelpoute, but bigger than the laſt; theſe being above two foot long and very fat. The ſkin is likewiſe ſmooth, without ſcales, of a browniſh colour, but the belly is ſomewhat paler, with black ſpots. The head is thick and ſhort, with the eyes in the forehead; they are well taſted.

The pen fiſh. The pen fiſh is alſo a kind of eelpoute, with a ſmooth ſkin without ſcales; of the length of a foot, the back brown, and the belly of a pale blue colour. The fins are brown, very ſharp and venomous, ſo that if the leaſt part of it remains in a wound, it will ſcarce heal; the fiſh is of a good taſte, but unwholeſome if eaten in any quantity. It is likewiſe a freſh-water fiſh, and taken in pools and ponds.

The elephant's-noſe. The fiſh called the elephant's-noſe is of an odd ſhape, its undermoſt jaw being as ſharp as a pin. The body is prettily ſpotted, with a broad ſtreak running croſs the middle. It is a very thick fiſh, which is taken in the ſea, and in bigneſs and taſte is not unlike our large ſmelts.

The fiſh called *Jacob Evertſon*, is above ten foot long, weighing ſometimes 400 pound. It is blue on the belly, and brown on the body, with many dark red ſpots near the head and tail. It has a large white mouth, with a ſhort brown tail, and many fins turning up towards the back. 1662. Jacob Evertſon.

The crooked-back. The fiſh crooked-back has got its name from its ſhape: It has a ſmooth ſkin without ſcales, a white belly, and yellow tail and fins. It is in great requeſt all over the *Indies*, by reaſon of its agreeable taſte; ſome are four foot long.

The horn fiſh. The horn fiſh is about a ſpan in length or ſomething more, with a large head, but a little mouth; half of the body being taken up with the head. The ſkin is very bright, the back bluiſh, the belly white, but the fins and tail yellow. The body repreſents it ſelf in various colours, according to its ſeveral turnings.

Kneſſen. The fiſh called *Kneſſen*, is a baſtard carp, about a ſpan long, and pretty broad with thick ſcales. It is a well taſted freſh-water fiſh.

The flounder. Their flounders are in ſhape and bigneſs like ours, except that they have teeth, wherewith they take hold of all they light on; they alſo are as well taſted as the *Dutch* flounders; they have here alſo turbuts and ſoals, little different from ours both in ſhape and taſte.

The Klip fiſh. The *Klip* fiſh is a kind of fiſh with a ſmooth ſkin without ſcales, flat, broad, and of the bigneſs of our plaiſe: It is brown on the back, ſpotted with white, but very white towards the belly, with many ſtreaks of various colours. The mouth and eyes are like thoſe of the bream, and it is a well taſted fiſh.

The cod fiſh. The cod fiſh here is of the ſame ſize and colour with ours, except that it has very ſharp fins on the back and the under part of the mouth jets out beyond the uppermoſt.

The horn fiſh. The horn fiſh has got its name from the horn upon his head, and two more underneath, which being very brittle are alſo very poiſonous, and if part thereof remain in a wound, will ſcarce admit of a cure; and if you happen only to be wounded by it, it will exulcerate immediately.

The flat fiſh. The flat fiſh is about a foot long, with a ſmooth ſkin without ſcales, and a white mouth: It gliſters all over like ſilver; on the back it has a ſmall fin, and one more on each ſide. Underneath the belly, it has only one fin which is inſtead of the tail. It is a freſh-water fiſh, of a very good taſte, but full of ſmall bones, and therefore not much regarded.

1662. The red-fiſh is a kind of a bream, of a dark red colour, as are likewiſe the fins; however the belly is blue, and has two yellow fins; it is very thick of body, and the head is ſharp at the end, with a large mouth and yellow eyes, ſome are four foot long.

The red fiſh.

The bitter fiſh. The bitter fiſh is of the ſhape and bigneſs of a carp, with large ſcales and red fins, and two black ſtreaks round the tail. It is a fine well taſted fiſh, but being full of ſmall bones, is not much in requeſt.

The parrot fiſh. The parrot fiſh has got its name from its mouth, which turns like the bill of a parrot. It is a foot long, and ſometimes bigger. It is of a greeniſh colour, marbled or checquered towards the head with yellow. Both the fins and eyes are of a blue colour; the laſt very large and ſprightly, and ſurrounded with a yellow circle. It has very large ſcales, and two rows of very hard teeth, wherewith they often bite off the hooks. This fiſh is very greedy after muſcles and oyſters, which it cracks to pieces to come at the fiſh. It is a very firm fiſh, and of a good taſte.

Short noſe. The ſhort noſe is a fiſh like our haddock, having a round body; it is yellow on the belly, and the fins are of the ſame colour. The mouth is juſt under the noſe, which is very ſhort; it is a well taſted fiſh.

The bone fiſh. The bone fiſh is of the bigneſs and ſhape of our carps, but flatter, and has another head: It has large ſcales, and a forked tail; its taſte is very good, but being full of ſmall bones, is not much regarded.

The ſand ſmelt. The ſand ſmelt reſembles in colour and bigneſs a ſmall whiting, and is round of body, and inclining to a yellow on the belly: It is a ſea fiſh, and of an excellent taſte.

The pock fiſh. The pock fiſh is generally above a foot long, with a ſmooth ſkin, without ſcales; but being very bright, it varies in colour according to the various poſition of its body, appearing ſometimes blue, then green, and ſoon after of a purple, or ſome other colour. It is a long fiſh, but not broad, not unlike a great ſmelt, with a forked tail, and teeth in its mouth. Tho' it is a well taſted fiſh, yet being full of ſmall bones, is not eaten, except by the natives.

The Chineſe fiſh. The *Chineſe* fiſh is round, and about a ſpan long; the head is like an eel, with ſmall eyes, and a long tail. It is green on the back, but white on the belly. It is a freſh water fiſh, and well taſted, but thoſe catch'd in ponds are accounted unwholeſome.

The pit fiſh. The pit fiſh is no bigger than a large ſmelt, with a round body, full of green and yellow ſpots, and without ſcales. The eyes, which they can draw in or out, are ſtarting out of the head. On the back they have ſharp pointed fins; they delight in muddy places, notwithſtanding which they are well taſted; they are very nimble, and will leap a great way. 1662.

The mullet. The mullet is a very fine fiſh, which being catch'd in particular places only, is dry'd in the ſun, and tranſported all over the *Indies*. It is white of colour, chequered with blue and purple; it ſwims with great ſwiftneſs, and is ſo nimble, that it will not only leap over the net, but even over the fiſher-boat. Theſe fiſhes are of a dainty taſte whilſt in ſeaſon, but at certain times they are peſtered with worms, at which time they are neither toothſome nor wholeſome.

The ſea ſnipe. Nothing more common than to give names to fiſhes in foreign countries from what they moſt reſemble; whence it is, that the ſea ſnipe has got its name from tis mouth, which is like the bill of a ſnipe. Some of them are five foot long, with a head like that of a hog, and large bright eyes: On the back are large and ſharp fins, reaching from the head to the tail, and full of ſpots.

The korets. Some korets are ſix or ſeven foot long, have large yellowiſh eyes, and a forked yellow and greyiſh tail, with yellow fins; under the belly, which is blue, inclining to green, and under the tail, are divers fins. They are very bright, and ſhine like ſilver, when they are catch'd at ſea with hooks: They are very well taſted and not unwholeſome, being ſometimes a great refreſhment to thoſe ſhips that come to theſe parts.

The ſea devil. This kind of fiſh has deſervedly got the name of ſea devil, by reaſon of its ugly ſhape; having the eyes on one ſide, and the mouth in the concavity below the head. Its tail is like that of a roach, with two teats on each ſide, pointed towards the end. The ſkin on the head is full of brown ſpots; ſome are near ſeven or eight foot long, but afford very courſe food.

The ſtip fiſh. The ſtip fiſh has a ſkin full of ſpots, is well taſted, and taken generally with hooks near the iſle of St. *Vincent*.

The ſea pidgeon. The ſea pidgeon has got its name from the reſemblance of its head to that of a pidgeon; and of its breaſts protuberating like thoſe creatures. This fiſh is without ſcales, but not without divers ſpots. It is but rarely catch'd, and none of the beſt taſted.

The ſea hedge-hog. The ſea hedge-hog is juſtly ſo called from its ſharp fins about the head and mouth, which is round, and has very large eyes. They can't ſwim very ſwiftly, and conſequently would ſoon fall a prey to other fiſh, were it not that nature has arm'd them with theſe pointed fins againſt any attempt.

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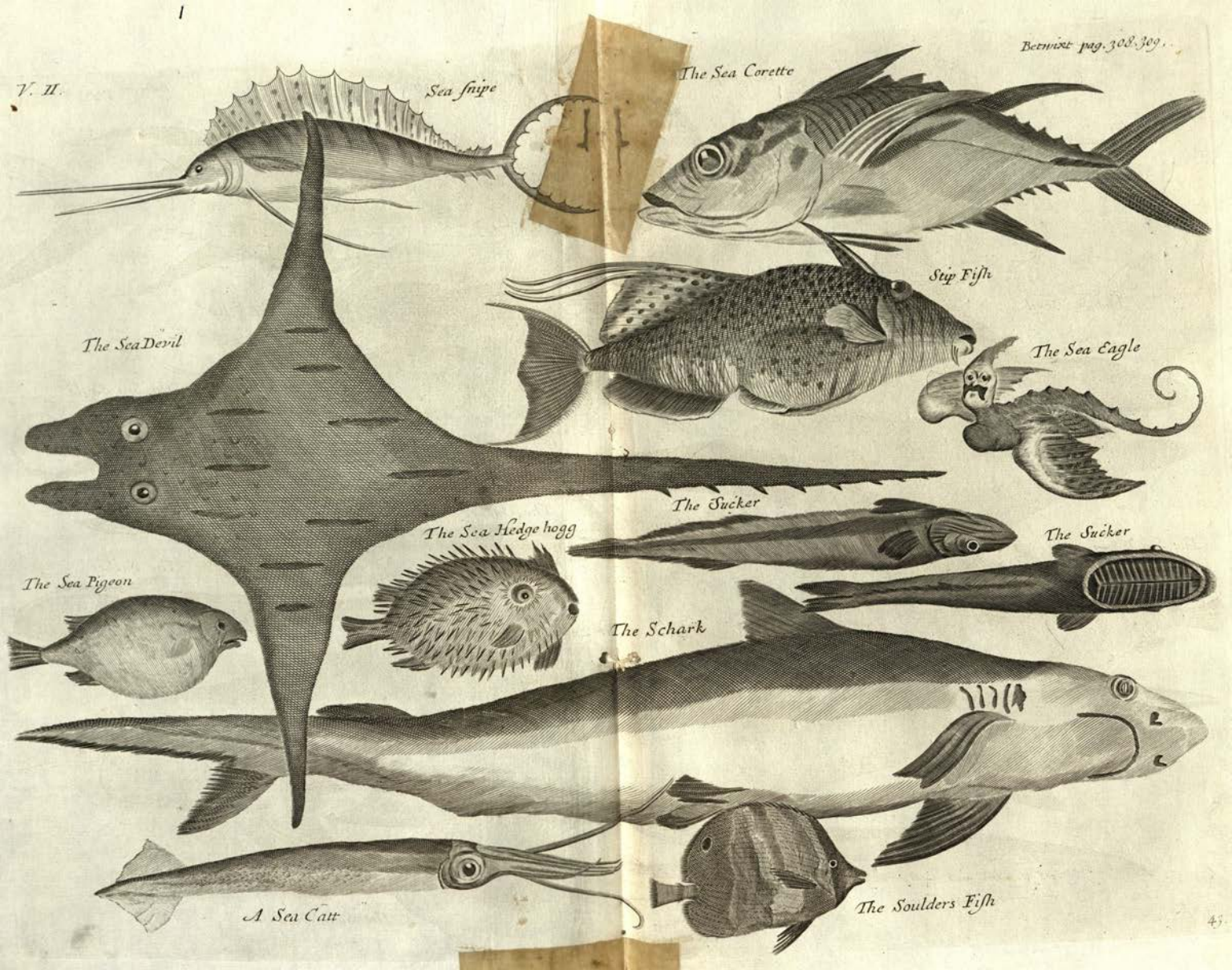


1662. The ſuckers are repreſented at length in the cut, tho' there are ſome much bigger.

The ſuckers. They are blue, with bright yellow eyes, a ſmooth ſkin without ſcales: They have no teeth, but broad lips, wherewith they will ſuck, and adhere ſo cloſe to other fiſh, that they will rather be kill'd than let go their hold. They will ſtick ſo cloſe to the ſhark, that they are often catch'd with them. They are eaten ſometimes for want of better food, but are but of an indifferent taſte.

The ſhark. Some ſharks are eight, ten, or fourteen foot long: Their ſkin is rough and ſharp, and they have a double row of teeth, and ſome three or four rows, which are covered with the gums. Their eyes lie forward near the mouth. It is a very pernicious fiſh, which oftentimes bites off an arm or a leg of thoſe that divert themſelves with ſwimming. The ſharks bring forth their young ones alive, which follow the ſhe-ſhark wherever ſhe goes, and in bad weather creep into her belly, and come out again after the ſtorm is over. It is obſervable that certain fiſhes of a foot long always ſwim after the ſhark, which are plainly to be ſeen in ſtill weather.

The ſea cat. The ſea cat, (the draught whereof you ſee in the cut) is a very odd creature, both for its colour and ſhape. The eyes are exceeding large in proportion to the body, the back is of a purple colour, and the belly blue, with divers purple ſpots. The tail is in compariſon of the reſt of the body, vaſtly large, and pale red, wherewith it ſwims, it being deſtitute of fins. However, juſt on the front of the head, it has ſeven fins, which ſtand out ſtrait forward like thoſe of the ſhrimps. It affords very good food, eſpecially if dry'd in the ſun.

Souldier-fiſh. The klip-fiſh, or ſoldier-fiſh, is a kind of bream, but ſometimes grows not above to the length of a ſpan: It is flat and of a pale colour: On the back it has ſharp fins like a perch; a ſharp tail, and yellow eyes. It is one of the beſt fiſh in the *Indies*, of a very delicious taſte.

The ſea eagle. The ſea eagle is an odd kind of fiſh: It has a tail like a roach, with large fins like wings, a thick head, and taſtes like a roach.

The ſea cat. The ſea cat is a round fiſh of a ſpan in length, of a very odd ſhape; the hindermoſt part of the body being an oval lump, on which hangs the head. It has long and large eyes, a ſmooth ſkin, inclining to blue, but brown upon the belly. The entrails of this fiſh contain a certain gum, out of which the *Chineſe* make their ink. They dry this fiſh in the ſun, as the *Dutch* do the plaiſe; and they are in great requeſt among the *Indians*, tho' they are of no eaſy digeſtion.

1662. The leaping fiſh is ſo called, becauſe they leap and play continually upon the ſurface of the water. They are of the bigneſs of a herring, and are without fins on the back, from the head to the tail. They have a knotty head, and the body of a greyiſh colour, with black ſpots; but toward the belly they begin to be white. They look very fiercely before they begin to leap. They are ſea fiſhes, and of a very good taſte, eſpecially broiled.

The leaping fiſh.

Pampus. The fiſh *Pampus* is above a foot long, and about a ſpan in breadth; for the reſt in colour and ſhape, not unlike our plaiſe, with a ſmooth ſkin: The eyes ſtand on both ſides, and the mouth ſtrait forward. It is a well taſted fiſh, eſpecially if dry'd and eaten as the *Dutch* do their plaiſe.

Peyxe Kok. *Peyxe Kok*, i. e. the *Fiſh Kok*, ſo called by the *Portugueſe*, becauſe when taken it makes a noiſe or ſound like *Kok*. It is taken near the iſle of *St. Vincent*, and is but an indifferent fiſh.

The blowers. The blowers are huge fiſhes which appear now and then in the open ſea. They have got this name from their drawing in of the water, and ſpouting it out again with great force into the air.

The white fiſh. The white fiſh is about the bigneſs of a whiting, with a round hanging belly, a ſtrait back, and turn'd up mouth: Its tail is forked, it has one large fin upon the back, and abundance of ſmall ones betwixt the belly and the tail. It is full of ſtreaks all over the body, and on the mouth it has two long teats: It is of a very good taſte.

Five-finger-fiſh. The five-finger-fiſh has got its name from five black ſpots on each ſide, reſembling the prints of fingers. Its length is about a foot and a half, with a ſmall head, large mouth, and brown pointed fins towards the tail. It is of a ſhining blue colour mix'd with purple, without ſcales. It is of a pretty good taſte, and taken in the ſea all over the *Indies*.

Karappa, or round-fiſh. Karappa, or round-fiſh, is not unlike a whiting, of a very good taſte: It has but a ſmall head and tail, but a pretty bulky belly. Below it has ſome ſome fins not unlike thoſe of an eel.

Flying-fiſh. Some of the flying-fiſh are near as big as corette, of a blueiſh colour on the back, but inclining to a brown towards the tail. They have large eyes, and large yellowiſh fins, and reſemble in ſhape our ſmelts: They are of an agreeable taſte, but not eaſy to be catch'd, except when they fly againſt the ſails, which they frequently do, and ſo fall upon the ſhips deck.

The fork-tail. The fork-tail is a long and round fiſh, with a very long forked tail, whence it has got its name. Its head is not unlike

1662. that of a herring, with a long teat on the top of it, and two more below near the mouth, like thoſe of the ſhrimps, but larger; they keep them cloſe to the body when they are ſwimming. They are of the bigneſs of a mackrel, but of no extraordinary good taſte.

Soals. Some ſoals here are a foot long, of the ſame colour as ours, and as well-taſted; but their heads are ſtrangely ſhaped, the mouth turning quite to one ſide, as well as their eyes.

Bonites. The bonites are not unlike the corettes, but with leſſer fins and blue ſtreaks, which vaniſh by degrees towards the tail. The back is of a dark brown, and the belly white, the eyes blue, ſurrounded with a yellow circle. Some are a foot and a half long, and very bright when firſt taken, which is done without much difficulty, becauſe they follow the ſhips, and are very greedy after a bait. They eat beſt if they are ſalted a little before they are broil'd.

The ſword-fiſh. The ſword-fiſh has a very odd head, not unlike that of an owl, with a very wide mouth: The ſkin is hard, the back grey, the belly white without any ſcales. On each ſide of the ſword, which is above five foot long, are 27 teeth: Their whole length, including the ſword, is generally 25 foot long, and ſo thick, that ſcarce two men can graſp them. Near the eyes they have two noſtrils, through which they draw the water in and out.

Siap Siap. The fiſh called *Siap Siap* by the *Javaneſe*, is a river fiſh in great requeſt among the *Javaneſe*, and is taken in conſiderable quantity near *Batavia*.

The pyed-fiſh. The pyed-fiſh has got its name from its colour; its tail and fins being brown, ſpotted with pale blue ſpots: It is about a foot long, and pretty thick, without ſcales. The eyes, which are yellow, are ſurrounded by a blue circle; underneath the throat hangs a crop extending it ſelf to the tail: It has a little mouth, and on each ſide a yellow fin. It is in great eſteem among the inhabitants, and well taſted, but contains a certain venomous matter, which muſt be carefully taken out when it is gutted.

Five-eyes. The five-eyes have got their name from five black eyes, encloſed in yellow circles, which are in the fins near the tail. They are ſmooth and yellow without ſcales, pretty thick with a ſmall head and ſharp noſe, which turns over the mouth, near which they have two red fins; they are catch'd in the rivers and are well-taſted.

Sea-bats. The ſea-bat has got its name from its reſemblance to a bat: It has two yellowiſh wings ſtreak'd with three blue ſtreaks; a long tail, thick head and large mouth. By its taſte it ſeems to be a kind of thornback.

The gudgeons of *Java* are of the length of a finger, but ſcarce an inch thick. They are ſpeckled with pale blue, and other colours without ſcales; they have ſmall forked tails, are catch'd in the rivers and are exceeding well taſted. There is another kind of them taken in the ſea, in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they ſell a whole canoe full for eight or ten pence, and fatten their ducks and geeſe with them. 1662. *The gudgeon.*

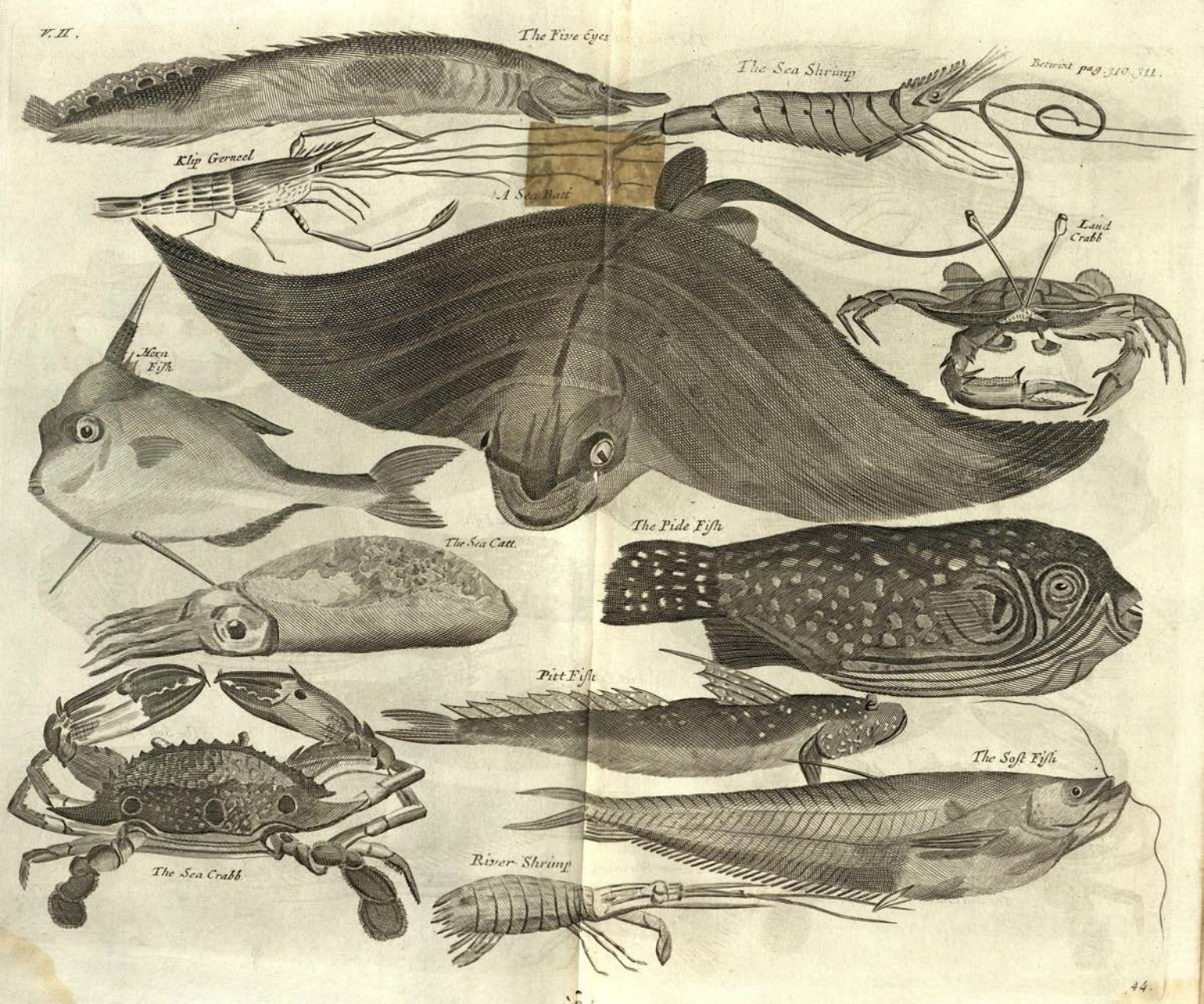
Carps. The *Indian* carps are taken in the rivers, being not in the leaſt different from ours either in ſhape or taſte.

The ſea-monſter. The ſea-monſter is an odd kind of fiſh, having a knobby ſtar of eight tacks upon the head, and upon that a certain excreſcence reſembling a biſhop's mitre: From the ſides of the head iſſue two fins of the ſame length with the body of the monſter. It has a very dreadful wide mouth, and very broad tail, wherewith it guides it ſelf in ſwimming.

Shrimps and creafiſhes. They have divers ſorts of ſhrimps and creafiſhes in the *Indies*; and of the latter ſort, a certain kind which have teeth like a ſaw on the back; ſome of them are of that bigneſs as to weigh ſix pounds, of a delicious taſte, and very wholſome, being accounted good for ſuch as are troubled with the aſthma, or ſpit-blood. The ſea-ſhrimps are a ſalt-water fiſh, the biggeſt of which are near a ſpan in length, and have ſhells like ours, of a ſallow colour with a red fork'd tail. Out of the head come forth divers fins, on which hang two ſmall thin horns. They are very well taſted, and five or ſix are ſufficient for one man's meal. The river-ſhrimps are about the bigneſs of our ſea-ſhrimps, of a blue colour, with a ſmall head and thick body. Out of the head come two long fins, as fine as a thread. Their ſhell is not ſo hard as the former, neither are they ſo well-taſted. The rivers here afford alſo abundance of creafiſhes, which are taken in holes among the oyſters. They are better taſted than our lobſters.

The ſea-ſtar. The ſea-ſtar is an odd ſhaped fiſh with five branches or tacks like a ſtar: They are of a pale red colour, an inch thick, covered with a knobby ſkin, underneath which are many ſmall bones: They have a hole in the middle, through which they draw their ſuſtenance: They are never to be ſeen at ſea, except in calm weather, and are taken and kept rather for curioſity's ſake than any other uſe.

Sea-crabs or lobſters. The ſea-crabs are of about the bigneſs of a ſpan, of a moſt curious colour, the ſhell being ſpecked with yellow ſpots; beſides which they have three purple ſpots encloſed within white rings. Their claws are yellowiſh towards the body, afterwards white,


The Five Eyes
The Sea Shrimp
Betwixt pag 310. 311.
Klip Gerneel
A Sea Batt
Land Crabb
Horn Fish
The Sea Catt.
The Pide Fish
Pitt Fish
The Soft Fish
The Sea Crabb.
River Shrimp

1662. white, and at the extremities of a high purple colour; their eyes are fixt upon certain ſmall tacks an inch breadth without the head. There is alſo a kind of blue-crabs, ſome of which are a foot and a half long: They are of a purple colour ſpotted with white; the claws are blue, and of a purple colour towards the body; their eyes are fixt upon ſmall tacks like the former, and ſtand a fingers length without the head. They are a ſalt-water fiſh, and very well-taſted.

Lobſters. There is another kind of lobſters not quite ſo big as the former, which run very ſwiftly: Their eyes ſtand likewiſe about two inches breadth without the head, eſpecially whilſt they are running, but otherwiſe can draw them back, and lay them cloſe under two fins. Their bodies are marbled with divers colours, the claws of a purple colour; behind they have two ſmall round and blue ſhells edged with yellow. Some are of a conſiderable bigneſs, and of a very good taſte. There is another ſort of ſea-crabs, of the ſame bigneſs as the blue-lobſters, but eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from them by their colour, which is inclining to green, with red claws, and by their taſte, which is exceeding delicious, theſe being the beſt ſort throughout the *Indies*. Their eyes ſtand likewiſe an inch's breadth without the head. Some ſea-crabs here are of a prodigious bigneſs, and are, as well as all other ſhell-fiſh, beſt in the encreaſe of the moon. Some crabs here caſt their ſhells, and during a certain ſeaſon of the year abide under ground till they grow again. The *Indian* oyſters are prefer'd before thoſe of *Europe*.

Muſcles and oyſters. The muſcles of the *Indies* are like ours, but ſomewhat bigger; the ſhell is brown both in and outſide. There is another ſort of muſcles called tail muſcles by our people; theſe are of a greeniſh colour; they have on that end where they open, two ſharp horns, and on the other end, a pale yellow tail, wherewith they can faſten themſelves in the mud. They are of the ſame taſte, and uſed like ours, as well as thoſe we commonly call St. *James*'s muſcles. Of oyſters they have alſo ſeveral ſorts, the biggeſt adhere to the rocks, ſome to the roots and tacks of the trees; they are all of a very good taſte; and are either ſtew'd with ſpices, or eaten raw with lemon-juice and pepper.

Purple-ſnails. Abundance of purple-ſnails are found in the iſlands over againſt *Batavia*: The ſcallop or ſhell is of a yellow colour, of the bigneſs of a good citron, with curious windings at one end. Within this ſhell is the *ſnail*, which is round, plump and yellow, ſtreak'd with black. They are boil'd and eaten by the *Chineſe*, who have a way of poliſhing the ſhells, and pick out of the middle of the ſnail a certain purple colour'd ſubſtance, which they uſe in colouring and making of red ink. There is alſo another kind with green ſhells, ſtreak'd with black, white within, and of the bigneſs of a child's head: The ſnail is of the ſame colour, and is not ill taſted. Another ſort has a ſhell pale-red, marbled with white, and curiouſly twiſted, of the bigneſs of an orange: The ſnail is of the ſame colour, and is eaten as we do our perewinkles, but is of a hard digeſtion. 1662.

Quallen. The *Quallen* are a certain product of the ſea, of a mucilaginous ſubſtance, without head or tail, or entrails; they commonly are of the bigneſs of a trencher, and ſometimes leſs. They have purple edges all round them, wherewith they ſwim. In the midſt is a certain white ſpot, (which is ſometimes blueiſh) wherein perhaps their victuals are contained. If they are forced aſhore, they are diſſolved. The *Chineſe* have a way of diſtilling a certain *Arack* or ſtrong-water out of them, which is exceſſive hot, ſharp and unwholeſome, cauſing exulcerations in the body. For if this ſubſtance happen to adhere to the bare ſkin of a man in ſwimming or otherwiſe, it burns with violence, and raiſes bliſters immediately.

The Dorades. The *Dorades*, by ſome called ſea-breams, are a kind of dolphins. They have long and ſharp fins on the back, and a very long tail; underneath the belly they have three fins, the laſt of which extends as far as the tail. Some are 4 or 5 foot long, and rather broad than thick. They eat tolerably well, if ſalted before they are dreſs'd, but are of a hard digeſtion: They are ſometimes taken with the hook, being not eaſily catched with the harpiron, by reaſon of their nimbleneſs, which is ſuch, that they will leap ſometimes five or ſix foot high above the water, after the flying-fiſh.

Scates or thornbacks. The *Indies* afford exceſſive large thornbacks, ſome of which are as big in circumference as a moderate table, and will ſuffice to dine forty people. They have vaſt long tails, but are of the ſame colour with ours, and of the ſame taſte, but are hard of digeſtion, but the young ones are much better. Their fins, which are very large, are of a purple colour. All fiſh with ſcales caſt their ſpawn; but thoſe without ſcales bring forth their young ones alive.

Indian *and* Javaneſe *birds and four leg'd beaſts.*

The bird Emeu. In the iſles of *Sumatra*, *Banda*, and the other adjacent *Molucca* iſlands, is to be found

1662. found a certain bird, called *Emeu* or *Eme* by the inhabitants, and *Caſuaris* by the *Dutch*. He walks conſtantly with his head ſtraight upright, when he is above five foot high, and about three in length from the breaſt to the tail. The head is in proportion of the body, but ſmall, very ſmooth, and of a dark blue colour. Before, on the neck, hang two red teats or bags. The eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the ear-holes, and almoſt at the extremities of the bill two noſtrils; and from the midſt of the bill to the crown of the head, grows a hard yellow ſubſtance, like a cockle-ſhell, eſpecially in the males. They have very long and groſs legs, covered with a yellowiſh rind, their feet are thick, knobby, and without ſpurs, inſtead of which, they have on the forepart three long horny claws, in which they differ from the oſtriches, whoſe feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with feathers, or rather with plumes of a dark red mix'd with black. Thoſe upon the breaſt and thighs, grow two and two together, but thoſe on the tail are much longer and ſtronger. Underneath the feathers, which grow on both ſides, are hidden certain pens, which ſerve them in running, for theſe birds are ſcarce able to raiſe themſelves from the ground. They are exceeding greedy, devouring every thing 1662.

they meet with, even to iron and burning coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any alteration; nay, they ſometimes throw out what they have eat, not till a year after, without the leaſt ſign of any digeſtion: For the reſt they live upon herbage. Their ſtrength conſiſts in their legs and feet; and run ſo faſt that no man can overtake them, and when exaſperated, kick with their feet backwards and ſideways like a horſe. They lay greeniſh eggs upon the ground among the ſhrubs, ſcarce ſo big as our hen-eggs, ſpeckled with dark green ſpots; the yolks thereof are eaten by the inhabitants. They have neither tongue nor tail.

Among the ſeveral ſorts of flitter-mice or bats, that which by ſome is called a flying-cat, may well challenge a place; its head, tail, nay the whole body and bulk reſembing to a cat. It differs from the bats in this, that whereas they hang on certain tacks, this hangs on its claws, and hides its ſelf within its wings: The hair brown red, except on the back, where it is black. Betwixt the fore and hindermoſt legs grows two ſkins, a little hairy on the outſide, which ſerves them for wings. There is alſo a ſort of flying-apes, theſe have very ſharp teeth and claws, and very lively eyes. *Flying-cat.*

1662. In ſome parts of the *Indies* you meet with a certain bird call'd the hunter's-bird. The breaſt and whole body is black, but the tail grayiſh; the head is dark yellow, but without feathers; below the neck hangs a bag, not unlike thoſe of our turkeys: The bill is diſtinguiſh'd by certain twiſted rings, by which they diſcern their age, every year producing one like our oxes horns. On the top of the bill grows a horny ſubſtance; they are look'd upon as a rarity, and ſold at a dear rate.

The hunter's bird.

Dronte or Dodaers. In the iſle of *Mauritius* you meet with a certain bird call'd *Dronte* by the inhabitants, and *Dodaers* by the *Dutch*. In bigneſs it is betwixt an oſtrich and a large turkey, and has alſo ſome reſemblance to them in his feathers and tail. His head is very large, not unlike that of a cuckow, but covered all over with a ſkin. The eyes are large and black, the neck crooked and very thick: The bill is very long, thick and pale blue, except towards the extremities, the uppermoſt whereof is blackiſh, and the undermoſt yellowiſh, but both ſharp and bent. He is very thick and round of body, covered with ſoft grey feathers, like thoſe of the oſtrich; the belly and hindermoſt part are ſo thick as to touch almoſt the ground, which is the reaſon he is eaſily catch'd. On both ſides he has certain pens inſtead of wings, of a pale yellow colour, and inſtead of the tail five curl'd plumes of the ſame colour: His legs are ſhort and thick, with four large claws. The meat, eſpecially that of the breaſt, is fat and toothſome enough, and three or four of theſe creatures afford a meal for 100 perſons. In his ſtomach is ſometimes found a certain porous hard ſtone. 1662.

Parraquets. The parraquets are of a green colour, of the bigneſs of a ſterling; their bills are yellow, the neck red mix'd with green, and the wings yellow at the extremities: They are found in vaſt numbers in the woods, and are eaſily tamed and taught to ſpeak. There are divers ſorts of them of different colours.

The martins. The martins here are as big as our magpies, of a black colour with a yellow bill, and a yellow tuft upon the head. The midſt of the wings is white, the feet yellow, with large crooked claws. The *Javaneſe* are great admirers of this bird, and teach him to whiſtle and ſpeak, which he does as diſtinctly as a man, but with ſomewhat a rough voice. There is another ſort of them not ſo big as theſe; they are found

1662. all over the *Indies*, and feed upon rice and other fruits of the earth.

Crows. The *Indian* crows are pale blue, in ſhape betwixt a heron and ſtork. The head and neck is ſomewhat of a darker colour, with a curl'd tail and ſharp bill. They live moſt in wilderneſſes, and fly (as they ſay) ſometimes as far as *Europe*, under a certain leader, who flies ſometimes before and ſometimes behind.

The bird Rubus. The bird *Rubus* is of the bigneſs of a ſtarling, with a blue bill and legs, the back and tail red, and white and black wings. The head is green, and in his tail he has two large feathers, like the *Paradiſe* bird.

Bats. In divers parts of the *Indies* are very large *bats*, exceeding in bigneſs our cats. In the iſle of *Java* are ſome of the ordinary ſort, no bigger than a pidgeon; they live in the woods, and are accounted a dainty by the *Javaneſe*. In the night-time they will get ſometimes into the chambers, if the windows be left open, and draw blood from ſuch as are aſleep there.

Gwira. There are two ſorts of the bird called *Gwira*, they are both white, mix'd with ſome brown feathers. One ſort has a red belly, and the other a blue tail, with one very long feather in it.

Poreo. The *Poero* is a long, but ſlender bird, of a ſpan in length, including the bill and tail. The bill is ſomewhat crooked, and the tail like that of the bird *Gwira*. His feathers are blueiſh, mixt with yellow, and his feet very ſmall. He feeds upon piſmires.

Cormorants. In *Java* you meet often with cormorants, not unlike our geeſe, except that they are much bigger; underneath the bill hangs a large bag, which they can extend and draw together at pleaſure, and in it keep ſuch fiſh as they have ſwallow'd. Their feet are like thoſe of the ſwan, and their bills are crooked towards the extremities. They are ſo greedy after prey, that they ruſh out from among the flags with ſuch violence, that they are eaſily taken by that means. They ſwallow oyſters with the ſhells, and keep them in their bags till they open, when they ſpew them out again and pick out the oyſter. They are frequently found in the iſle of *Din Ding*, and ſoon diſcovered by their noiſe.

Ducks. All over the *Indies* you meet with ducks in great numbers, reſembling ours both in bigneſs and taſte. They are generally dark yellow, with a black bill and legs, large bellies, and tufts on their heads. But whereas the *Weſt-India* ducks have hanging bellies, theſe carry them more upright. By reaſon of the exceſſive heat they are not eaſily brought to ſit upon their eggs, which are generally laid under hens, or fomented in horſedung or ovens. Their meat is very wholeſome, provided they are well fed. 1662.

Wide-bill. The wide-bill has got his name from his bill, which reaches up on both ſides to the eyes: He is ſcarce of the bigneſs of a pidgeon, of a pale black colour, with black wings, and underneath the eyes and bill white. They are brought to market in great quantities at *Batavia*, their meat being well taſted.

The ſtrand bird or ox-eye. The ſtrand bird is a kind of ſnipe of the bigneſs of our wood-cocks. Their feathers are green mixed with black, they are ſold in great numbers at *Batavia*, and in taſte are not unlike our wood-ſnipes.

Turtles. The *Indian* turtles are not altogether ſo big as ours, and of a yellowiſh colour mix'd with grey: They have a black feather in each wing, and the tail is black and white; under the neck they are ſomewhat brighter, and the breaſt almoſt red. They are taken in great quantities in the rice-fields, and are fat and well-taſted.

Geeſe. The *Indian* geeſe are much finer and larger than the *European* geeſe, reſembling rather our ſwans, their necks being exceſſive long, of a yellowiſh colour, but their bills black. Along the back, upon the wings and tail they have dark grey feathers mix'd with ſome light ones, but on the belly they are white. They have not ſo ſhrill a voice as our geeſe, but differ not in the leaſt from them either in ſhape or taſte, their feet being likewiſe red. They have both wild and tame ones.

Birds of prey. In divers places of the *Indies* are great quantities of birds of prey, as eagles, hawks, kites, and ſuch like, which do prodigious miſchief both among the wild and tame fowl, and are of ſuch ſtrength, that they carry ſometimes a young pig away and devour it in the woods or among the rocks. There is a certain bird of prey here, which you ſee moving in the air without moving its wings; and another called *Jin* by the *Chineſe*, exceeding all the reſt in nimbleneſs: It is greeniſh on the back, but white on the belly. The eyes are quick and red, and the bill yellow, bent like a hook at the end. Their feet are likewiſe yellow, arm'd with long and very ſharp claws.

Kokoy. The *Kokoy* is a kind of a heron, but much exceeding ours in beauty, being yellow before and green in the hindermoſt part. On the head he has a delicious plume, ſpreading all over the neck. The young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones are tough and taſte much after fiſh.

Kolibry. *Kolibry* is the leaſt of all the birds, being no bigger than a horſe-fly; it has a very ſharp bill, wherewith it ſucks its ſuſtenance out of the flowers, though ſome are

1662. of opinion it feeds upon the dew. It has all the colours of the rain-bow, and its wings are not unlike thoſe of the pidgeons or ducks: It builds a neſt to the ſouth under the branches of orange, limon, or cotton-trees, to defend itſelf againſt the injuries of the north winds: Its eggs are no bigger than peas. There is another which ſings exceeding fine, but is not ſo well colour'd; it weighs not above 24 grains, and is catch'd by throwing hot any thing elſe upon it.

Birds like quails or throſtles. In the woods of *Java* you ſee vaſt numbers of birds not unlike our quails or throſtles, but of the bigneſs of our wild pidgeons; their bills are however ſomewhat longer than thoſe of our quails, and their noiſe is very different. They are of ſo cold a conſtitution, that if expoſed on the cold ground, they are in danger of periſhing by cold; for which reaſon they hide themſelves, cover'd with their wings in the hollowneſs of trees, immediately after ſun-ſet, and at ſun-riſing come forth again and begin to chirp with a great deal of chearfulneſs.

Quails. The *Indian* quails reſemble thoſe of *Europe*, are brown on the back and blue on the belly: they have a yellow bill and four claws, *viz.* three before, and one behind; they don't make any noiſe, but are very good meat.

Rice-birds. The rice-bird is of the bigneſs of one of our pullets, but ſomething longer leg'd, with brown feathers on the body, a red head, and very large claws; they live among the rice, whence they have got their name, and eat very deliciouſly roaſted.

Pheaſants. In many parts of the *Indies* are alſo pheaſants with long and pointed tails; ſome are white on the breaſt and about the eyes.

Butterflies. They have prodigious numbers of butterflies of various colours; they have long bills, which they can ſtretch out when they ſuck the juice of the flowers, or draw back at pleaſure. Some are of a moſt delicious colour, intermix'd with blue, white and red, beyond what can be expreſs'd. They are generally of the bigneſs of the palm of the hand, when their wings are ſpread; ſome have larger wings than others, and have two ſmall feathers on their heads.

Wood-pidgeons. The *Indian* wood-pidgeons are of the bigneſs of our tame pidgeons, with brown ſpots on their backs; a white belly, purple colour'd breaſt, and red feet; they reſemble entirely our turtle-doves, or common pidgeons; live generally in the woods or in the rice-fields, and are a moſt delicious food; when they are tamed they will breed in our houſes.

The Lory. The *Lory* bird is a bird as big as a parrot, but of a much finer colour, with a lofty round breaſt, cover'd with yellow feathers. The wings are green, the head black and ſhining, with a yellow bill. The *Indians* give ſometimes 30 crowns for ſuch a bird, becauſe they will learn and ſpeak ſeveral languages, and are very tame: There is another with large and long tails, ſometimes three quarters of a yard long, theſe are blue on the back, and yellow under the belly, and commonly call'd *Kakkataws* or *Indian* ravens. Another kind there is, which is white all over, except a yellow tuft on the head, which they ſet upright, when they are vexed. They have alſo ſome reſemblance both in ſhape and bigneſs to our magpies or blackbirds; theſe imitate a man's voice much more diſtinctly than the parrots: They are of a blueiſh colour, mix'd with dark blue ſpots and ſtreaks, they have a yellow tuft on the head, which is black, and as ſmooth as velvet. 1662.

The Yelambers. The *Yelambers* are as big as our larks, with a thick bill and red feet; their feathers are yellow, chequered with grey, they are catch'd in prodigious numbers, and ſold in the markets of *Batavia*, being look'd upon as a dainty.

Rice-ſparrows. The rice-ſparrows are no bigger than our ordinary ſparrows, and of the ſame colour, except that their bills are ſomewhat thick, with a few black feathers near the tail, and ſome white ones underneath on the belly; their feet are blue. They are found in ſuch prodigious quantities, that the inhabitants are ſcarce able to preſerve the rice from being devour'd by them.

Parrokets. Theſe birds properly called parrokets, are no bigger than our larks, but have a very fine green head and wings; the back underneath the wings is of a high red colour, the breaſt light green, and the tail of a moſt agreeable colour: They are found in the woods in great numbers, feed upon rice and fruits, but will not ſpeak, being kept only for their feather's ſake.

Pullets. The *Indian* pullets are generally white, with long red tails, and their feet almoſt cover'd with feathers, and a bright red comb on the head. They are not much bigger than our largeſt tame pidgeons, but very well taſted. They were firſt tranſported to *Batavia* from *Siam*. They have alſo a kind of tame fowl with black feathers, legs and fleſh, which however is not ill taſted, and accounted very wholſome: Another kind there is that have hair inſtead of feathers, others have their feathers turn'd towards the head, in lieu of declining backwards.

Herons. About *Batavia* and many other parts of the *Indies* abundance of herons are to be ſeen in the low grounds; they are in bigneſs

1662. neſs the ſame with our herons, with long gray feathers and black wings; they are generally ſeen near the water-ſide, where they are looking for their prey, but build their neſts in trees; the meat is tough, and taſtes much after fiſh.

The jumpers. The jumpers have got their name from their continual motion from branch to branch: They are of the ſame bigneſs with our blackbirds, and will whiſtle like them; they have a black head, wings and tail, but are white on the breaſt and belly; I have ſeen them kept at *Batavia* with a chain to one leg for diverſion ſake, and they feed them with boil'd rice. They are eaſy to be tamed.

Stock doves. The ſtock-doves are in ſhape and bigneſs like our pidgeons, but of a much finer colour; the neck and breaſt is green, the reſt of the body purple colour'd, and the tail and wings blue with a white edge. They are catch'd in great numbers in the woods near *Batavia*, and eat very well roaſted.

The goldfinch or linnet. The goldfinches here are very agreeable for their fine colour'd feathers, being for the reſt no longer than our linnets or goldfinches; their bill is pale red, the head white, the back and wings blue, the belly red, and the tail dark blue. They are taken in prodigious quantities near *Batavia*, and ſometimes kept in cages: They feed upon rice.

corpions. At *Batavia* you ſee often large ſcorpions of a quarter of a yard long; but thoſe of a leſſer ſize are ſo frequent, that you can ſcarce move a ſtool, bench, cheſt, looking-glaſs or picture, without being in danger of being ſtung by them, unleſs you be very careful to avoid them. The ſmall ones are about a fingers length, compoſed of many joints, of the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill. They are yellow, ſpeckled with brown ſtreaks; before they have two claws, with two ſharp pinchers; their tail is long, and lies turn'd upon the back, at the end of which is the ſting, wherewith they poiſon ſuch as they touch. They have eight long legs, not unlike thoſe of a creafiſh. The ſting of a ſcorpion is accounted mortal, unleſs prevented in a little time; tho' ſome are of opinion that the ſcorpions in the *Indies* are not ſo venomous as thoſe of *Italy* and *Spain*. A ſcorpion bruiſed to death, or ſtifled in oil, and apply'd to the wound, draws out the poiſon. They ſay that a radiſh ſliced and laid upon a ſcorpion, kills him in a minute: They have alſo another ſtory, *viz.* that the ſcorpion is ſometimes ſo peſter'd with the piſmires, that he ſtings himſelf to death in the head with his tail, and ſo becomes a prey to the piſmires.

The thouſand-legs are about five or ſix inches long, of the thickneſs of a man's finger, of a ruddy colour, and compoſed of many joints and bones. They have two claws or pinchers, wherewith they wound as dangerouſly as the ſcorpions; occaſioning ſuch violent pain, as is almoſt unſpeakable: The cure is perform'd by ſtifling them in oils like as with the ſcorpions, and they are generally found like them, in holes, and behind old cheſts or benches. 1662. *Thouſand-legs.*

Both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* produce ſnakes of divers ſizes and colours: Among others they have a certain ſort in the iſle of *Java*, not exceeding a foot in length, which are frequently met with in the fields among the graſs: They have others with large ſhining ſcales on the back, and their eyes ſo bright, that in a ſun-ſhiny day you ſee them at a great diſtance; others are ſo full of ſpots, that they are terrible to behold. Beſides theſe, they have another kind of ſnakes much leſſer than the field ſnakes; theſe dwell in houſes, and feed upon flies, ants and other inſects. They will ſtick ſo cloſe to a wall or roof, as if they were immoveable, but no ſooner perceive their prey, but they ſhoot down all on a ſudden to catch it. The tail of a ſnake ſeparated from the body, will grow to it again. Theſe ſnakes are not in the leaſt pernicious, and will paſs over the bare faces of perſons ſleeping in their chambers, without doing the leaſt harm.

Snakes. In the woods of *Java*, as likewiſe in the fens and pools is found a certain ſort of ſnakes, or rather a kind of crocodile call'd *Legoaen* by the *Indians*; it reſembles altogether a crocodile, except that it is leſs, being not above five or ſix foot long, whereas the crocodiles are from 15 to 20 foot: The *Javaneſe* however affirm, that thoſe in the mountains are much larger. They have a knobby green ſkin, but the meat is white, like that of our rabbets, and very well taſted. They have a long head, wide mouth, and a tail as long as the whole body; each leg has four paws arm'd with ſharp and long claws.

The flying-ſnake or drake. In the woods of *Java* are certain flying-ſnakes, or rather drakes, they have four legs, a long tail, and their ſkin ſpeckled with many ſpots; their wings are not unlike thoſe of the bat, which they move in flying, but otherwiſe keep them almoſt unperceived cloſe to the body. They fly nimbly, but can't hold it long, ſo that they fly from tree to tree at about 20 or 30 paces diſtance. On the outſide of the throat are two bladders, which being extended when they fly, ſerve them inſtead of a ſail; they feed upon flies and other inſects: The *Javaneſe* don't in the leaſt ac-

1662. count them poiſonous, but handle them juſt like the common ſnakes, without the leaſt danger.

Frogs. The frogs here are about the ſame bigneſs with ours; of a dark yellow colour, with brown ſpots: They are ſold daily in the markets of *Batavia*, the *Chineſe* accounting them a dainty, but eat only the hindermoſt parts. There is another ſort of frogs in *Java* near as big as a rabbet, but are not eaten. They make a noiſe like the bellowing of an ox.

Fireflies. The fire-flies have got their name, becauſe they appear in the dark ſhining like a light, and are catch'd by means of a fire or candle, through which they will fly till they are taken. They are about an inch broad and long, and ſometimes bigger: The head, which is brown, has two ſmall horns; the neck is red, but their hard wings brown, underneath which they have two ſofter wings, which they make uſe of in flying, and then it is you diſcover that ſhining ſubſtance, which is contained in a black bladder on their backs, which they hide with their wings whilſt they are not a flying. In the rainy ſeaſon they dwell in prodigious numbers among the trees, and draw their chief ſuſtenance from the bloſſom. There are divers ſorts of them.

Horſe-flies. The horſe-flies here are a moſt pernicious inſect, which ſting moſt furiouſly. They are about two inches broad and long, of a brown colour, with a yellow ſtreak along the body. They build their neſts very curiouſly on the roof or rafters, as the waſps do on the ſprigs of trees: In theſe they lay their eggs and hatch their young ones. They feed upon fruits, and emit a moſt nauſeous ſcent after they are kill'd.

Kakkerlakken, *or* Kakalakkas. The *Kakkerlakken* are ſo called by a corrupted name from the *Portugueſe* word *Kakalakkas*, becauſe their eggs are both in colour and ſmoothneſs like to the *Lacca*. They are much of the ſame bigneſs with the horſe-flies, of a brown colour, with two long horns on the head. They both run and fly very nimbly, and are very pernicious, there being no cheſt or trunk ſo ſtrong, but they will gnaw through it. They are alſo to be found in ſhips, tho' newly built, in their way from *Europe*, eſpecially at the time of their paſſing under the line; when the lice die, theſe begin to appear; and in their return, as ſoon as they are paſs'd the line again, and the lice appear, theſe begin to vaniſh by degrees. They are very pernicious to paper, linen, and woollen cloaths.

Jakalat. The *Jakalat* is a miſchievous inſect, but only in the lower parts of the houſes, its delight being in moiſt grounds.

About *Batavia* you find a kind of locuſts of a finger's length, but no thicker than a pen or gooſe-quill, diſtinguiſh'd by divers joints. They walk upon ſix feet, and have two ſmall horns. The locuſts here are however of divers kinds; ſome are yellow on the belly, with brown wings, and two horns on the head; they can leap a great way, and fly together in great numbers. There is another ſort of the ſame ſhape, but green, and of a finger's length. Theſe come ſometimes in ſuch prodigious ſwarms, that they darken the ſky as they paſs by, and devour all in thoſe parts where they ſettle, ſo that the inhabitants are often obliged to change their habitations for want of ſuſtenance, as it has happened frequently in *China* and the iſle of *Tajowak*. 1662. *Locuſts.*

A kind of Spaniſh *flies.* The bliſter-drawers are ſo called, becauſe when they ſting they raiſe bliſters. They are of divers ſorts, different both in colour and bigneſs, but commonly of the length and breadth of a finger. They have very large eyes, and delight in marſhy places. They are moſt frequent at *Batavia* in *October* and *November*.

Hornets. There is here a kind of hornets that have a certain claw like a pincher on the head, wherewith they pinch to that degree, that they will not let go their hold unleſs you cut off their heads. They are of divers ſorts, bigneſs and ſhape, ſome being above five inches long, of a dark brown colour; they have double wings, the uppermoſt are hard, the undermoſt ſoft; the laſt they make uſe of in flying, the others being only for the defence of the undermoſt ones. They feed upon herbs, and the fruits of certain trees, which they know how to chooſe among all the reſt.

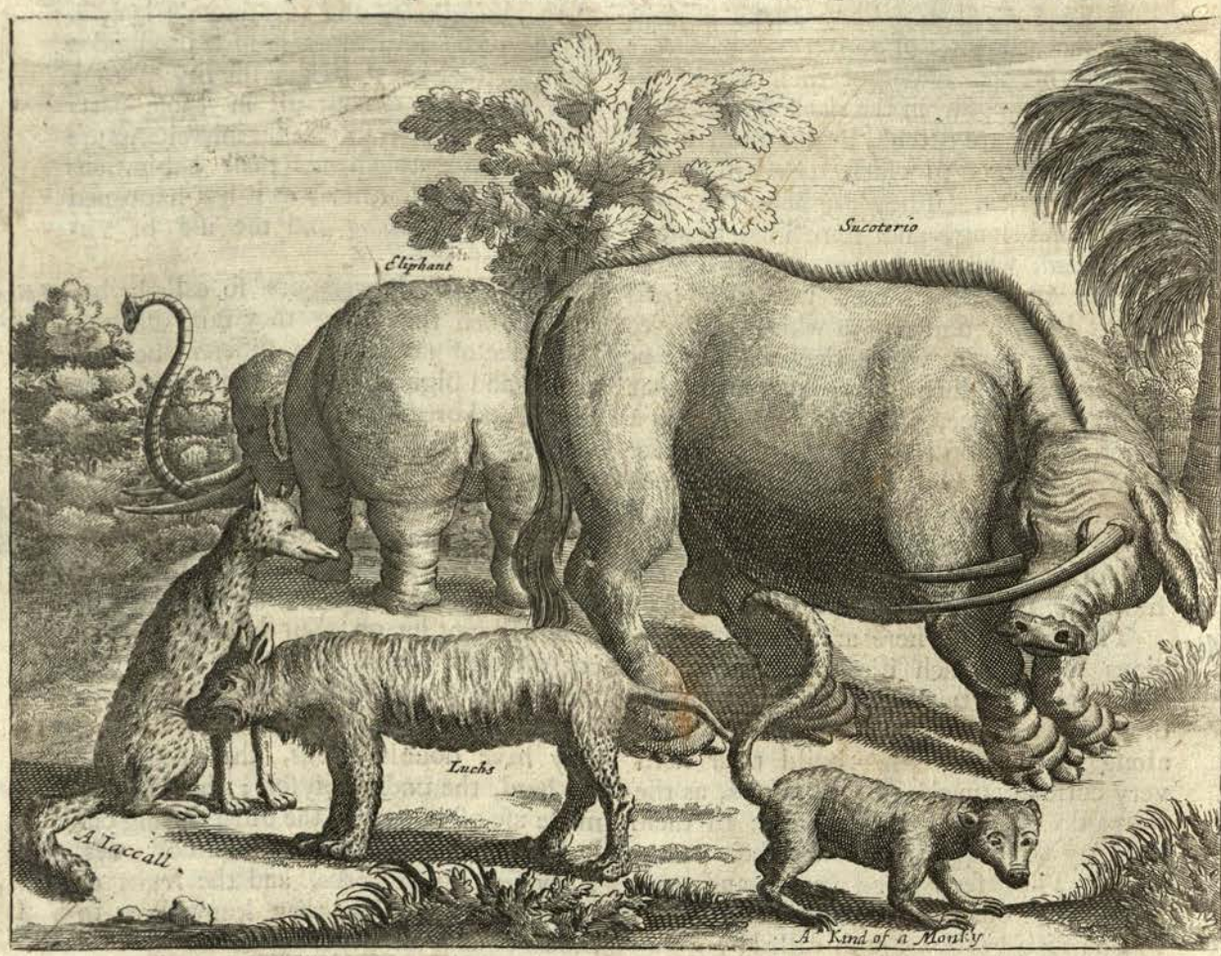
Ants or piſmires. Of ants or piſmires there are in *Java* and throughout all the *Indies* prodigious quantities of divers ſorts; ſome of them are above a finger in length, of a ruddy colour, inclining to black, ſome with, others without wings. They are very pernicious to the fruits of the earth; and even in the houſes ſcarce any thing can be preſerved againſt them without a great deal of care. It is obſervable, that an ant meeting another with ſomething in her mouth, will give way to her, if ſhe be not loaden her ſelf.

Catterpillars. The gardens about *Batavia* are extremely peſtered with catterpillars; they are about 5 Inches long, with long brown horns ſtanding upright on their heads. The head and whole body is yellowiſh, but the wings inclining to a green ſpotted with yellow. They feed upon herbs and leaves like the locuſts.

Schrankels *or Knobs.* This inſect has got its name from the knotty compoſition of its body, which, as well as

1662. as the feet is of a pale-green colour. It has two fore legs covered with a hard ſhell like a crab or creafiſh. It ſeems to be a kind of locuſt, and feeds upon greens, but can neither fly nor run very faſt. There is another kind with a monſtrous head and neck, and a thick body, on the hindermoſt part of which are two ſmall pins like thorns. The two fore-feet are encloſed in a hard ſhell and of a very odd ſhape; it has two wings, but can ſcarce fly, by reaſon of the weight of its body. 1662.

Spiders. There are many ſorts of ſpiders in the *Indies*, and of a very different bigneſs; ſome are above four inches long, and have very thick legs; others have eight feet, a thick ſpeckled body, and round head with brown eyes. Theſe have two teeth bent like hooks, wherewith they bite fiercely. I have ſeen toothpicks made of theſe teeth.



The lynx. The lynx is a fierce creature, of the bigneſs of a large dog, and in ſhape ſeems to participate both of that and a cat. He is of a brown colour chequer'd with red, with black ſtreaks; his tail is very ſhort, and the ears very black; he lives upon prey, and is extremely nimble.

Sucotyro *or* Sucotario. The *Sukotyro*, as the *Chineſe* call it, is a very odd ſhaped beaſt; it is of the bigneſs of a large ox, with a ſnout like a hog, two long rough ears, and a thick buſhy tail. The eyes are placed upright in the head, quite different from other beaſts: On the ſide of the head, next to the eyes ſtand two long horns, or rather teeth, not quite ſo thick as thoſe of the elephant: It feeds upon herbage, and is but ſeldom taken. Of the jackal we have given a deſcription before.

Oxen with bunches. On the *Cape of Good-Hope*, but eſpecially in the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, are certain oxen with bunches upon their necks and ſhoulders, which being nothing but fat, is melted and uſed by the inhabitants like butter; but theſe oxen have not ſo great a quantity of ſuet about their kidneys as ours. The cows of this kind frequently bear two or three calves at a time.

The Macaſſar-fox. The macaſſar-fox has got his name from the iſle of *Macaſſar*, where he is moſt found. He has an exceſſive long buſhy tail, which ſtands upright, flat feet, long claws, and ſhort ears, juſt as he is repreſented in the cut.

Apes and monkeys. There are divers ſorts of apes and monkeys diſtinguiſh'd by peculiar names. Some are very ſmall, others middle ſized, and others as big as a boy of eight years of age; ſuch a one I ſaw my ſelf once at *Batavia*. In many parts of the *Indies*, where the inhabitants think it a crime to kill any living creature, they multiply to a prodigious degree, and are very tame:

They

1662. They live for the moſt part in woods, and feed upon fruits. Some are green with a long beard and large eye-brow, like an ancient man: Some, call'd *Cicatic* by the *Indians*, have long buſhy tails, for which reaſon they are reckon'd by ſome among the fox kind. There is another ſort call'd *Saragoſe*, with long tails, which they carry ſtraight upright. Another ſort are called death's heads by the *Dutch*, from their pale faces. The *Suri* monkeys are in bigneſs and ſhape not unlike a ſquirrel, but of a yellow colour; they have ſhort and round ears, large eyes, and a large buſhy tail, wherewith they can cover the whole body: They can leap at a great diſtance from tree to tree, and guide themſelves with the tail ſo exactly, that they ſeem to fly. There is a certain ſort of monkeys or apes that are not in the leaſt miſchievous; they are no bigger than a rat, but have a long tail, which they carry upright. They have a green, ſoft and woolly hair, ſomewhat inclining to a grey about the eyes, and a little white on the feet. They have ſhort ears, a ſharp mouth and brown noſe, the feet being like thoſe of an ape; but theſe are very ſcarce. Thoſe call'd *Sangwyns* are likewiſe of the bigneſs of a rat, and very nimble; their face, hands and ears are black, and the reſt of the body of a cheſnut colour, except that they have ſome dark yellow hair along the back; they have very long tails, feed upon fruits, and are very diverting. 1662.

The piſmire-eater or ants-bear. The piſmire-eater or ants-bear, is ſo call'd, becauſe he feeds chiefly upon ants: There are three ſeveral ſorts of them; the firſt is of the bigneſs of a young hog, the ſecond ſomewhat leſſer, and the third like a cat, but longer. They are all of a ruddy colour like a fox, with a long ſharp mouth, ſmall ears, and a head like that of a pig.

Stags. Abundance of deer or ſtags are found in the foreſts of the *Indies*, they are eaſily to be tamed here, ſo that they will feed among the cattle. They are generally red, ſpeckled with white, and much of the ſame bigneſs as ours. They have large ears, long legs, and are white underneath the belly. The horns of the male are wrought towards the head, and brown and very hard towards the extremities. Their fleſh is very well taſted. With the deer-ſkins a great traffick uſed to be carried on in the iſle of *Tayowan*, whilſt the *Dutch* were maſters of it; for they uſed to take many thouſands of them only for the ſkin's ſake, which were ſold to the *Japoneſe*; and ſcarce to preſerve any part of their

1662. their flesh, except the tongue, which is accounted a dainty here.

The iron-pig or porcupine. About *Batavia*, and in the woods of *Java* are abundance of iron-pigs or porcupines. They grunt like hogs, and are covered with certain painted pens or pegs like iron, whence they got their name: They are of different sizes, some of the bigness of a good large dog, but somewhat longer, and more short leg'd. They are generally brown, with a grey tuft on the head, and a mouth like a hare, with two great teeth both below and above, like a horse, the two fore-feet like those of a deer, and the hindmost like a bear. The pens or pegs are very sharp, a foot long, and checquered with black and white. When they are at rest, they lay them close to the body, but if they are vexed, they can, by contracting themselves, cast them forth with such strength, that they kill man or beast: Thus some years ago, a dead lion was found at the *Cape of Good-Hope* with a porcupine's pen sticking in his body, wherewith he had doubtless been killed. In the winter they retire into holes, where they remain without either eating or drinking. They feed upon herbs and roots, and cast their pens as other creatures do their hair. In the stomachs of some of these animals grows a certain stone, which by reason of its sudorifick quality is accounted very good in pestilential fevers; just as the stone found in the *Vesica Bilearis* or gall-bladder of the wild boars, is reputed the most sovereign remedy in that distemper called *Morderi* by the *Javanese*, and as much dreaded among them as the plague in *Europe*, because it commonly kills in a few hours time.

Tame and wild boars. There are several sorts of hogs in the *Indies*, some with, but the most without any hair; hogs flesh is accounted wholsomer and better than beef or mutton, and is by the *Chinese* prescribed even for sick persons. The wild boars feed upon what roots or fruits they can meet with; and I remember that I saw a considerable number of them swim cross the water in the isle of *Dingding* near *Malacca*, to look after provisions. In the gall-bladder of the *Indian* wild boars, grows a certain porous stone, called thence *Piedra da Puerco*, i. e. hog's stone by the *Portuguese*; it is sudorifick, and expedient in malignant distempers; they steep it in wine for twelve hours, and give the infusion to the patients; or they give the quantity of 25 grains poudered in wine. Women with child must be cautious of it, because it makes them miscarry, it being a general opinion among the *Malayan* women, that they can procure their monthly times, with only holding this stone in their hands. 1662.

Sheep. The *Javanese* sheep are much of the same bigness as ours, some being white, others pyed white and red, with short legs and little or no wool. Their meat is not so good as the *European* mutton, pork being much prefer'd before it here. The sheep have sometimes teats hanging below their throats like some of our hogs, others have such long ears that you may tie them together underneath the throat. Others have tails of 20, 30 or 40 pounds, being one lump of fat, which eats best boil'd. Some have a plain hair like our goats, others a curled wool like our sheep, and are milked like cows.

He and she goats. The goats here are not near so big as the sheep, nor is their flesh so well tasted, tho' the kids in some parts of the *Indies* afford excellent good meat. Some are white, some pyed, and have generally long hair. Others have very long ears, and horns standing upright on the head. In some places they bear three or four young ones at a time: They make cheese of their milk.

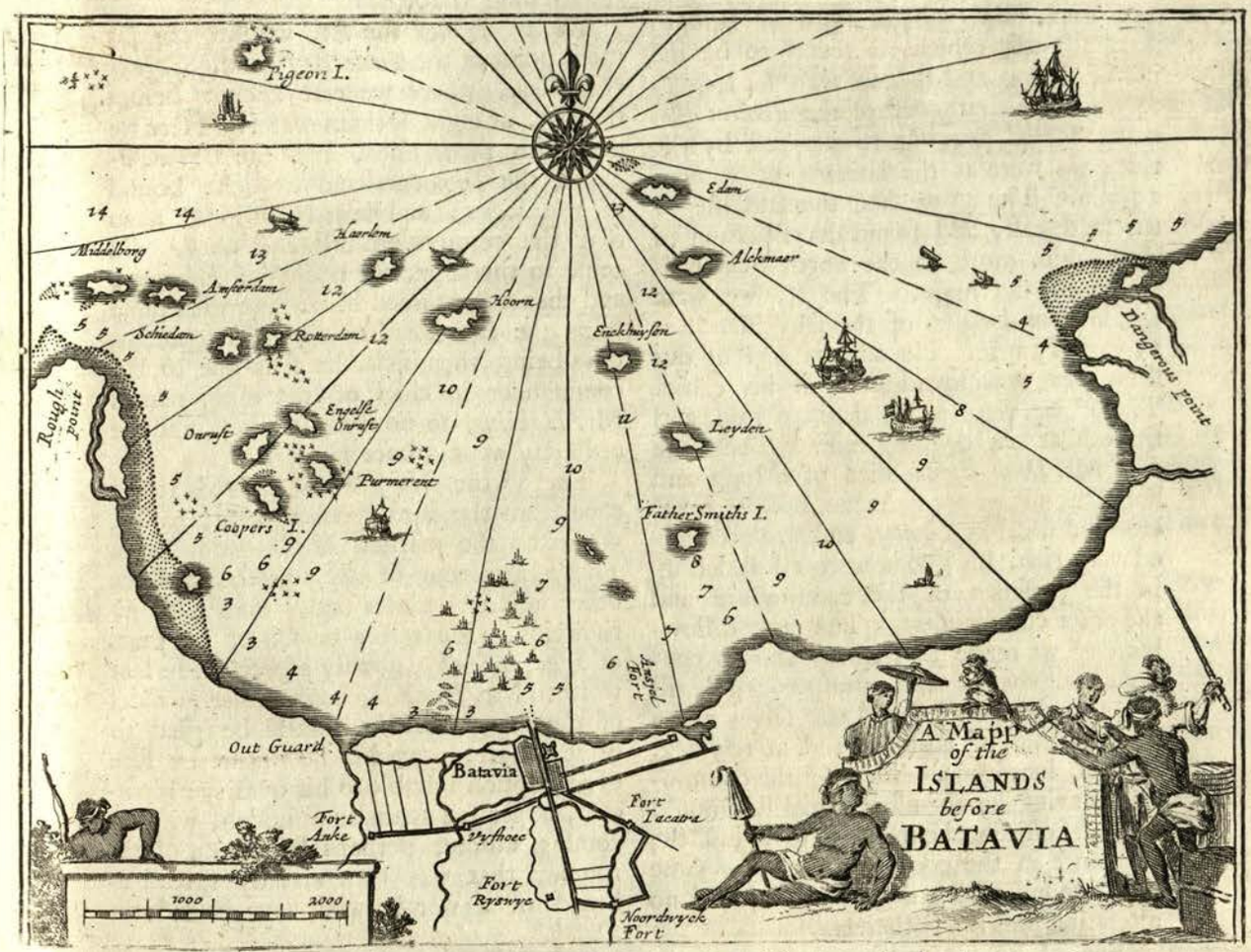
Bouffles. The Bouffles are bulkier and stronger than an ordinary ox; they have no hair, their flesh is very good, but not so juicy nor so digestible as beef, for which reason it is most used among the slaves, and other labouring people. Their horns lie close to the head; some of them are black, and, when polish'd, are very useful for several things to be made out of them. The tame bouffles are used in the sugar-mills, plough and cart: They guide them by means of a chain drawn through their nostrils: Their milk is accounted very wholsome. The wild bouffles that live in the forests are very fierce, and not easy to be taken.

Oxen and cows. Many places of the *Indies* afford oxen and cows, the flesh whereof, as well as the milk and butter, are very good; some are red, others white, others pyed, and of several other colours. Some have horns standing upright on the head, others crooked horns like ours; and others long ears hanging downwards: However, the beef is much better in some places than in others. It is generally eaten fresh, because it will scarce take salt well in this hot climate, and is not to be kept above three or four days. They bring a certain kind of oxen from *Suratte* to *Batavia*, not much bigger than a large dog; they look very fierce, notwithstanding which they are used in small carts to draw children, or any other odd thing.

Horses. The horses here are of different sorts and colours, some black, others of a chest-

1662. nut colour, and others white and grey. The *Javaneſe* horſes are not very tall, but thick and well-ſet, like the *Norwegian* or *Weſtphalian* horſes, very ſtrong and hardy, but are not near ſo high-ſpirited as the *Perſian* horſes that are tranſported from *Suratte* to *Batavia*, and excel all the reſt in ſwiftneſs, courage and beauty. The *Indians* carry on their wars for the moſt part with foot ſoldiers, and preſerve their horſes for the draught and travelling. 1662.

Thus much of the iſle of *Java* and the city of *Batavia:* We will now proceed to give an account of our return into *Holland.*



The author's return into Holland.

Every thing being got ready for our voyage, we weigh'd anchor in the road of *Batavia*, the 17th of *December* 1670, and with the land-wind, paſs'd betwixt the iſles to the ſouth of *Batavia*, ſituate betwixt the *Ruigenhoeck* or *Rough-Point*, and *Karowan*, moſt of which have borrow'd their names from ſome places or other in the *United Provinces*; as the *Coopers-Iſle*, the *Schiedam*, *Amſterdam*, *Middleburgh*, *Purmerent*, *Rotterdam*, the *Pigeon-Iſland*, the *Harlem*, *Hoorn*, *Enckhuyſen*, *Edam*, *Alcmar*, *&c.* we came the ſame evening to an anchor near the iſle call'd the *Men-eaters Iſland*, near which the ſhip called the *South-Pole* ſtruck upon the ſands, but got off again. Here a general review being taken of all the perſons on board the ſhips, ſuch as were found to be indebted to the company, were ſent back to continue in the ſervice 'till they had diſcharged their debts.

Then we ſet ſail again, and had the 19th the point of *Bantam* to the weſt of us, and *Pulo Paly* to the north; but being becalm'd were forced to come to an anchor at 15 fathom water. The 20th, having received ſome refreſhments by the *Golden-Lion* from *Bantam*, we ſet ſail again, but the calm obliged us to come to an anchor again at 15 fathom. The 21ſt we continued our voyage, and had the 23d the point of *Java*, called *Krakketou* to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, at 23 fathom water. The commodore having, by the uſual ſignal of the white flag, ſummon'd all the commanders of ſhips aboard him, to know whether they were provided with what was neceſſary for ſo long a voyage; the *Golden-Lion* was ſent back, and we had the north point of the *Princes Iſle*, weſt to the north; and the 25th the ſouth-point about four leagues from us.

1662. About noon the commodore went aboard and took a view of all the ſhips under his command, and in the afternoon ſet ſail again: We met with ſeveral fierce but ſhort travadoes or ſtorms, at 7 deg. and 41 min. ſouthern latitude. The 31ſt we had another moſt violent travado at 9 deg. 54 min. but continued not long.

Iſle of Mony. The firſt of *January* one of our ſhips crew died, and we got ſight of land to the ſouth-eaſt, which we found to be the iſle of *Mony*, and that we were 64 leagues to the ſouth-ſouth-weſt of the *Princes Iſle*, being forced thus far to the eaſt by the tide; we were at the latitude of 10 deg. 29 min. The 2d we had the ſaid iſle to the ſouth-eaſt, and found its ſituation to be 52 min. more to the north than it is placed in the maps. The 3d, we were within four leagues of the ſaid iſland, at 11 deg. 15 min. Hereabouts one of our ſhips crew was found dead in his cabin. The 6th we were at 13 deg. 40 min. and the 9th at 14 deg. 17 min. The ſame day Mr. *Dirk Indiik* died of a long and lingering diſtemper: As he had been factor and fiſcal at *Suratte*, and was accounted very rich, his goods were all ſealed up in the preſence of the commodore and the other commanders. The next following day we made 32 leagues, and ſo continued our voyage with a proſperous gale till the 19th, when we found our ſelves at 20 deg. 54 min. of latitude, and at 105 deg. 14 min. longitude. The 26th the commodore having by the uſual ſignal ſummon'd the chief officers aboard him, to adjuſt the difference in the compaſſes, and the ſame being found only 1 degree 33 minutes, no alteration was made therein.

The 2d of *February* we were at the heighth of 29 deg. overtaken by a moſt furious tempeſt, with thunder and lightening from the weſt, and had frequent travadoes till the 4th, and for many days after had very changeable weather, ſometimes good, ſometimes bad. The 26th with break of day we found 112 fathom depth, but ſaw no land: About noon we found our ſelves at 35 deg. 17 min. ſteering our courſe weſtward, the weather being very fair, we ſaw divers whale-fiſh ſporting in the water, and ſome ſea-birds, which together with the colour of the water, was a ſufficient ſign that we were not very far from land. The next day we found ſeven fathom water without ſeeing the land.

They diſcover land. The 28th very early in the morning we diſcovered land to the north-north-weſt of us, at 45 fathom depth, and the next day after ſun-riſing at 38, being then within three leagues of the ſhore, which appeared hilly and white. About noon we were at 34 deg. 36 min. the weather cold and fair. The firſt of *March* we found our ſelves at 35 deg. and ſteering our courſe to the ſouth-eaſt in ſight of the land, which was very hilly to the north-eaſt, found 65 fathom depth at night, in ſight of a mountainous ſhore. The 4th we ſtill ſaw land at 48 fathom water, and in the evening at 20. 1662.

Arrive at the Cape of Good-Hope. The 6th before ſun-ſet, we ſaw the famous point of the *Table-Bay* of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where we caſt anchor before the fort, at eight fathom water. Here we met with three ſhips, *viz.* the *Crown'd-Peace*, the *Damiata*, and a yacht bound for the *Indies*; and heard the good news that the commodore *Yſbrand Gotſke* did come to the cape, the laſt 2d of *February*, and thence continued his voyage with three ſhips the 24th for *Holland*. Our commodore being then ſick, he ſent one to the commander in chief of the cape, named Mr. *Hakkius*, to notify his arrival, and the next day went aſhore himſelf.

The marquis de Mondeverguin *arrives at the Cape.* The 8th the *Mary Yacht* arrived at the cape from the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, having on board the marquis *de Mondeverguin*, a *French* governor of *Madagaſcar*, and the other adjacent places under the *French* juriſdiction. He was a perſon of 70 years of age, and of a goodly aſpect. He ſent word to Mr. *Hakkius*, commander in chief of the cape, that he ſhould be glad to come aſhore, provided he might be ſure of a reception ſuitable to his quality: However, he ſet ſail again on a ſudden, without coming aſhore, perhaps by reaſon of the rumour that was then already ſpread abroad of a war betwixt *France* and the *Dutch*.

The ſame evening the ſhip called the *Spanbroeck* came into that road from *Ceylon*, with advice, that the *Cingaleſe* had taken up arms under their king *Radya*, and we were in the mean while not idle to provide our ſelves with what neceſſaries we could get for the proſecution of our voyage, till the 17th of *March*, when the commodore ſummoning all the officers aboard him, told them, that he intended to ſet ſail the next ſunday, *viz.* the 22d of *March*, without ſtaying for the two ſhips we left behind, and a war betwixt us and the *French* being then much talk'd of, he ordered every body to be upon his guard, and to prepare for a vigorous defence in caſe of an atrack.

The 20th was ſpent in letting the ſeamen go aſhore in their turn.

The 21ſt the goods of the before-mention'd Mr. *Indyck*, deceaſed were expoſed to publick ſale, and 13 diamonds, beſides four more of an extraordinary bigneſs,

1662. with ſome bezoar-ſtones, being found concealed in a private pocket in his breeches, the ſame were ſealed up, ſeized by the commodore as contraband goods, for the uſe of the company.

They leave the Cape of Good Hope. The 22[d] after dinner, the commodore having given the ſignal to ſail, to the five ſhips, the *Peace*, the *Arms of Veer*, the *Count of Breda*, *South-Pole* and *Spanbroeck*, they weighed their anchors, and after ſunſet were about two leagues and an half from the *Table-Bay*.

The 23[d], a conſultation being held aboard the commodore about regulating the compaſs, and the ſame being fix'd to 3 deg. to the weſt we found our ſelves that evening at 33 deg. and about 18 leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the *Table-Mountain*.

Sail to St. Helens *iſle.* From hence we ſteer'd our courſe to the iſle of St. *Helens*, of which we got ſight the 12th of *April*, at 16 deg. 44 min. without any remarkable accident.

The 13th with ſun-riſing we were within five or ſix leagues of the ſaid iſle, when the commodore ſummoned again all the officers aboard him, in order to conſult what courſe they ſhould take towards the *Aſcenſion* iſland.

The 24th we were at 4 deg. 32 min. and the 27th at 16 min. of ſouthern latitude, ſteering our courſe north-weſt to the weſt with an eaſterly wind and briſk gale.

They paſs the line. The next following day we were at 15 min. of northern latitude; and the 29th at 2 deg. 38 min. having been much peſtered with ſudden ſtorms and travadoes.

The 14th of *May* the *Breda* gave a ſignal as if they had ſeen land, but it proved only a refraction of the ſun-beams through the clouds. The ſea hereabouts ſeem'd in the night-time all on fire, a thing uſual in hot weather.

See the Braſil *voyage.* The 24th, at 25 deg. 29 min. we found our ſelves in the *Kroos* or *Croſs-Sea*, (ſo called from a kind of water-creſſes or ducks-meat that floats in prodigious quantity upon the ſurface of the water) and the 25th finding theſe ſort of herbage encreaſe, we judged our ſelves to be more eaſtward than we intended.

The 30th at 26 deg. 15 min. our conſtable *Mans Timmer* died, and we were ſtill much peſtered with theſe *Creſſes*, which continued the 1[ſt] and 2[d] of *June*.

We continued the ſame courſe till the 13th, when it being agreed to fix the compaſs 4 deg. more to the weſt, we took our courſe north to the eaſt, towards the *Dutch* coaſt.

The 15th being a foggy day, we diſcharged every hour a muſquet, as a ſignal to the ſhips to prevent their being ſeparated from one another.

About midnight the commodore ſent for me, and in the preſence of the maſter of the ſhip, *Henry Span*, the firſt chirurgeon, and the miniſter, told me, that finding himſelf very ill, he was reſolved to make his laſt will, which he did accordingly, recommending his affairs, and what he had of the companies in his hands, to our care. 1662.

About ſix in the morning he ſent for me again, with an intention to make ſome alterations in his teſtament, but before the clerk could finiſh it, he expired, without ſigning of it. We took care to ſummon immediately the council of war, where every thing being ſettled for the proſecution of our voyage, we diſcovered land the 29th to the north-eaſt at 115 fathom water. *The commodore dies.*

The iſle of Fulo. The 30th we found our ſelves over againſt the iſle of *Fulo*, and underſtood by one of their fiſher-boats, that the peace continued betwixt *France*, *England* and *Holland*, and that 14 days before, 11 ſtout ſhips paſs'd that way.

Having provided our ſelves with ſome cods, which we bought or exchanged at the rate of two pence a piece, we gave the ſignal by a cannon ſhot, to our convoy, which we expected to meet us hereabouts.

The firſt of *July* meeting a boat betwixt *Fulo* and *Hitland*, we charged the maſter thereof with the body of our deceaſed commodore, in order to his burial in *Hitland*: He had ſix crowns given him for his pains and charges, with a promiſe of ſix more, after we had received certain advice, that he had well diſcharged his truſt. About noon our two convoys, the *Middleburgh* and *Leyden* came up with us, and after the uſual ſalute, brought us freſh orders from the company.

The 2[d] and 3[d] of *July*, ſeveral of our ſeamen, and among the reſt, the quarter-maſter died of the dropſy, an uſual diſtemper to thoſe that return from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and many more falling ſick daily for want of proviſions; the reſt were hardly put to it, eſpecially in our ſhip, which being leaky, four men were continually employed at the pump.

The 5th we advanced bravely with a very cold wind and air.

The 6th it was fair weather, and we had 18 fathom water.

The 7th it proved cold and rainy, at 16 fathom: The ſame evening the ſhip called the *Arms Vanter Veer* left us, and ſoon got out of ſight.

The 8th of *July* we got ſight of the *Dutch* coaſt, and the ſhip *Spanbroeck* having taken its courſe towards the *Spaniards-Gate*, we were forced to lie by till four in the

1662. the afternoon, when with turning of the tide, we made the *Texel*, where we came to an anchor the ſame night.

They arrive in the Texel.

The 9th Mr. *Silvius*, Mr. *Bekker*, and Mr. *Schagen* came aboard us, three directors of the company; who having given the neceſſary orders for the unloading of our veſſels, and taken the diamonds belonging to the company into their cuſtody, diſcharged the ſhips crew from their ſervice; and I embark'd in a boat for *Enkhuyſen*, and arrived at *Amſterdam* the 11th. Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* happening to paſs at the ſame time through *Amſterdam* in his way over *Zealand* to *Cleves*, he ſent for me; and I having ſhew'd him my obſervations and draughts of *Braſil* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, he engaged me to meet him the next day again at dinner, at the houſe of Dr. *William Piſo*, where I took my leave of the ſaid earl, he being juſt upon his departure. 1662.

Some days after I appeared in the aſſembly of the directors of the company, unto whom having given a ſatisfactory account of all my tranſactions, they return'd me thanks; and as a mark of their ſatisfaction, beſtow'd upon me another factor's place; ſo that accordingly I undertook my third voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the ſhip called the *Arrow*, before the expiration of the year.

Nieuhoff *gives an account to the company.*

The third ſea and land voyage of Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF *aboard the* Arrow *to the iſles of* Majotte, *upon the* African *coaſt of* Moſambique, *extracted from his own journals, and brought over and deliver'd by capt.* Reiner Klacſon *to his brother* Henry Nieuhoff.

MR. *John Nieuhoff* having embarked aboard the *Arrow*, they paſs'd by the *French* coaſt the 18th of *December*, and the 1ſt of *Jan.* 1672, at 29 deg. by the *Canary* iſles, about three leagues off of *Teneriff*, where they met with the *Lion* bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*. They continued their voyage with a proſperous gale, without any remarkable accident, and paſſing the 4th of *Feb.* the line, and the 16th the high iſlands of *John Chriſtian de Akonga* at 36 deg. 36 min. ſouthern lat. arriv'd the 8th of *April* within ſight of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, at 33 deg. 30 min. lat. and caſt anchor in the *Table-Bay* the ſame night. Here they met with ſeventeen veſſels, thirteen of which were bound from the *Eaſt-Indies* for *Holland*, and accordingly ſet ſail the twenty forth. The ſhip the *Arrow* had aboard her a large chaloop or boat, which being taken to pieces before they left *Amſterdam*, was now ſet together again, for its more convenient paſſage along the ſhore of *Sofala*, *Moſambique* and the iſland of *Majotte*.

They come to the Cape of Good-Hope.

In this chaloop (unto which they gave the name of the *Bow*) they embark'd, and in company of the *Arrow* and another ſmall veſſel called the *Goldfinch*, bound for the iſle of *St. Maurice*, having aboard Mr. *Huigens*, governor of that iſle, ſet ſail the 30th of *April*. The 6th of *June* being at 36 deg. 3 min. latitude, the *Goldfinch* ſteer'd her courſe towards *St. Maurice*, leaving the *Bow* and *Arrow* to proſecute their voyage towards the iſle of *Madagaſcar*, which they got firſt ſight of the 20th. They kept along the coaſt which was high and rocky, and near a large point of land found 20 fathom water at a league diſtance from the ſhore, and near it a long ſand-bank. They were then at 24 deg. and being, by reaſon of the land wind, obliged to advance ſometimes nearer the ſhore, ſometimes to keep off at ſea; they at laſt caſt anchor at 30 fathom, whereas three leagues from the ſhore, they could find no bottom. The *Bow* afterwards follow'd the *Arrow*, but kept cloſer to the ſhore.

They leave the Cape *of* Good-Hope.

The twenty ſecond they diſcover'd a ſmall iſle not above half a league from the ſhore, where the *Arrow* caſt her anchor at 17 fathom; they went a fiſhing, and brought back along with them two canoes belonging to the inhabitants, loaden with coco-nuts and water-limons. The *Bow* being ſailed before, and come to an anchor in the bay of *St. Auſtin* near a ſmall iſle, the *Arrow* followed her thither, and found at the mouth of the river two white points of land jetting out into the ſea.

1672. *They land at* Madagaſcar.

The inhabitants brought ſome fruits aboard us, and Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went aſhore the next day, to ſee whether they could traffick with them, but could only exchange a few ſlaves with them; however Mr. *Nieuhoff* catch'd abundance of fiſh at the mouth of the river.

The ſecond of *July* the *Bow* ſail'd within the mouth of the river to refit, having received ſome damage; they endeavour'd to catch ſome *Tortoiſes* but could not take any: About noon the captain of the *Madagaſcarians* came aboard us to exchange ſome ſlaves; and the ſeventh the *Bow* in which was Mr. *Nieuhoff*, and the *Arrow* ſeparated, the firſt ſome leagues to the north, but were to meet again at the iſland of *Majotte*.

The 14th the *Bow* after 17 leagues ſail was at 16 deg. 56 min. latitude within ſight of the continent of *Moſambique*, and at 3 leagues diſtance from the ſhore, found 100 fathom water near a ſand-bank: The next day they came within 1½ league off of the iſle of *Paimibris*.

The 18th at 16 deg. 15 min. they ſaw white downs, and in the evening caſt anchor near a ſand-bank at 18 fathom, whereas at the ſtern of the ſhip there were at leaſt 60 fathoms. The 20th they paſſed by a large bay, cover'd with a great ſand-bank, which at low water has ſix fathom water. The 22d they paſs'd betwixt the ſouthern iſlands of *Moſambique*, named *St. James* and *St. Joris*, where coming to an anchor at nine fathom, they met here with a ſtout *Portugueſe* ſhip at anchor behind the fort, having aboard the governor of *Goa* lately come from *Portugal* with three leſſer veſſels. The *Arrow* coming likewiſe afterwards to an anchor here, divers *Portugueſe* officers came aboard us, to buy certain commodities, and about the ſame time three other *Portugueſe* ſhips, one of which had the governor of *Moſambique* aboard her, arrived here from *Sofala*. It prov'd a very tempeſtuous day.

The firſt of *Auguſt* the *Bow* and *Arrow* ſet ſail again, ſteering their courſe eaſtward to the iſles of *Madagaſcar* and *Maſyeleyn*. The 10th they got ſight of the ſhore of *Madagaſcar* at 15 deg. 53 min. and about half a league from a round mountain caſt anchor at ten fathom water. The *Bow* entred the river, and diſcovered two boats with maſts, and divers canoes, but could not come up with them. As the wind hereabout turns every 24 hours thro' all the points of the compaſs, ſo it is eaſy ſailing along this coaſt. The 12th Mr. *Nieuhoff* in the *Bow* ſail'd towards the iſles of *Makandari* and *Magelagie*, taking a *Madagaſcarian* ſlave along with him.

The 15th the *Bow* and *Arrow* met again, but had not been able to traffick much: They ſaw nine boats with four ſquare ſails paſs in ſight of them, and in a ſmall river met with another boat, that furniſh'd them with eight pullets, and told them, that farther to the north they might meet with freſh proviſions enough. So they ſet ſail again, and after five days came to a large bay, where they caſt anchor at ſeven fathom. Here they were told, that it was a plentiful coaſt, and that *Magelagie* and the iſlands of *Makandari* were farther to the eaſt. The 22d they came within a league of an Iſland, where they caſt anchor at 11 fathom. The 24th Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſail'd in the *Bow* up the river *Magelagie* and returning the 26th reported, that this was the river upon which *Magelagie* ſtood, a populous and plentiful place; that he had ſeen there an *Engliſh* ſhip, that had bought ſlaves there to be carried to *Barbadoes*, beſides ſeveral other *Mooriſh* veſſels trading in ſlaves. Hereupon Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went thither, and return'd the 30th: About two leagues into the country you ſee a high ridge of land. The 31st Mr. *Nieuhoff* carried certain commodities aſhore, but could not agree about the exchange, the inhabitants offering very little, and holding their ſlaves at ſixteen crowns a piece: however the ſecond of *September* Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went aſhore with ſome cloves, for which the king had offered ſome money before, but return'd unſucceſsful, and the *Madagaſcarians* (a very malicious generation) having beſides this ſpoil'd the ponds where we uſed to fetch our freſh water, they ſet ſail again for the river *Marigando*, where they caſt anchor the ninth on the eaſt-ſide of the cape, and met with good freſh water on the weſt-ſide of the bay. Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* had the good fortune to exchange ſome of their commodities with the king of the place, and brought back 22 ſlaves, 13 cows, ſome ſheep and other proviſions, of which they ſtood in great want. The 22d it being reſolved to ſail 36 or 40 leagues farther to the *North*; Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſail'd before with the *Bow* to diſcover the lands and rocks, and came into the *Young Man's Bay*, where there is 10, 12 and 15 fathom water. Hence continuing their voyage, they came the 27th about noon to the point or cape of *Parmira* near one of the five iſlands at 13 deg. 13 min. The 29th they were near the cape of *Konquiſo*, where they ſaw ſome fiſher boats. The middlemoſt of theſe iſlands is a high, ſteep and unacceſſible rock, which may be diſcovered a great way at ſea. Some of the fiſhermen having ſhew'd them where their king kept his court, Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſet ſail thither in the *Bow*, leaving the

1672. *Arrow* in the bay, and in company with the ſhips mate, and ſome few ſeamen went aſhore, in hopes to exchange ſome of his commodities; but on the 7th the *Arrow* was much ſurprized to ſee the *Bow* making towards them, and with two cannon ſhot to give the ſignal of diſtreſs. They ſent out their boat to meet them, which returning with the maſter of the *Bow*, gave an account, that Mr. *Nieuhoff* being gone aſhore with ſome of the company in the bay of *Antegoa*, or *Ant Ofy Sambo*, by ſome ſtyled the *Murtherers Bay*, to traffick, was not returned, and that therefore the *Bow*, after a ſtay of three whole days, had weighed her anchors, and ſet ſail again without them. It was concluded on all hands, that the *Bow* ought to return thither, but Mr. *Hugo* alledging that having at firſt no more than ſix months proviſions, they would be in great danger of being ſtarved, if they tarried any longer here, he inſiſted upon returning to the cape firſt, which they did accordingly, and ſet ſail the ſame afternoon at 25 and 30, and again at 20 and 25 fathom water. In the evening they paſs'd near a great ſand-bank ſouth to the weſt, and north to the eaſt, of the biggeſt of the three iſlands near the cape of *Koaquiſo*, about three leagues from the ſaid iſle, and the northern point and the great iſle of *Nauſhy*.

This was the end of Mr. *John Nieuhoff*, who had ſpent ſo many years in viewing the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies*, and conſequently deſerved a better fortune. What *Hugo* alledged, concerning their ſcarcity of proviſions, was indeed true enough; but on the other hand, it is unqueſtionable, they needed not to have beſtow'd much time in looking after him. The *Bow* and *Arrow* proſecuted their voyage, and on the 8th found themſelves at 12 deg. 40 min. latitude, having the weſt cape of *St. Sebaſtian* ſix leagues to the north-eaſt. The next following day they came in ſight of a ſmall iſle full of trees, about three leagues from the cape of *St. Sebaſtian*, near which place being toſs'd to and fro by tempeſts and contrary winds, they were reduced to that extremity, that they were forced to live upon a ſpoonful of rice 24 hours: So that after having endured a great deal of miſery, and loſt many of their men, both the *Bow* and *Arrow* return'd to the *Cape of Good-Hope* the 17th of *December*, where Mr. *Hugo* met but with an indifferent reception, and the maſter of the *Bow* was caſhier'd for having not tarried longer near the place where Mr. *Nieuhoff* went aſhore. The firſt of *Jan.* 1673, the *Bow* and *Arrow* being provided with ſufficient proviſions, ſet ſail again, the firſt for the bay where they had left Mr. *Nieuhoff*, the ſecond for the iſle of *St. Maurice*, whither ſhe was to carry Mr. *Hugo*. After their parting at ſea, no news was heard of the *Bow* for a long time after, till at laſt it was diſcovered that the ſhips crew mutinied and ſold the veſſel to the *French* at *Moſambique*; ſo that it remains uncertain, whether any of them had any intelligence concerning Mr. *Nieuhoff*. At the requeſt of his brother, Mr. *Henry Nieuhoff*, the directors of the chamber of *Amſterdam* diſpatch'd, the 2d of *May* 1676, the yacht called the *Voerhout* from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the place where Mr. *Nieuhoff* went aſhore; which returning to the ſaid cape the 20th of *September* with 250 ſlaves, brought no farther account than that they had ſeen the king of the place, and that he had declared to them, that he knew nothing of the matter; ſo that it is very probable that Mr. *Nieuhoff* and his company were at their firſt landing maſſacred by the barbarous inhabitants. 1672.

THE

THE TRUE

TRAVELS, ADVENTURES

AND

OBSERVATIONS

OF

Captain *JOHN SMITH*,

INTO

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA and *AMERICA*,

From *Anno Dom.* 1593, to 1629.

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM Earl of *PEMBROKE*,

Lord Steward of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Houſhold;

ROBERT Earl of *LINDSEY*,

Great Chamberlain of ENGLAND;

HENRY Lord *HUNSDON*,

Viſcount ROCHFORD, Earl of DOVER;

AND

All your HONOURABLE FRIENDS and WELL-WILLERS.

MY LORDS,

SIR *Robert Cotton*, that moſt learned treaſurer of antiquity, having by peruſal of my general hiſtory, and others, found that I had likewiſe undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requeſted me to fix the whole courſe of my paſſages in a book by it ſelf; whoſe noble deſire I could not but in part ſatisfy; the rather, becauſe they have acted my fatal tragedies upon the ſtage, and rack'd my relations at their pleaſure. To prevent therefore all future miſpriſions, I have compiled this true diſcourſe. Envy hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that ſuch ſhould know how little I eſteem them, I have writ this, more for the ſatisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well diſpoſed readers. To ſpeak only of my ſelf were intolerable ingratitude; becauſe, having had ſo many co-partners with me, I cannot make a monument for my ſelf, and leave them unburied in the fields, whoſe lives begot me the title of a ſoldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, ſo ſhall they be partakers with me in this tomb.

For my *Sea-Grammar* (cauſed to be printed by my worthy friend Sir *Samuel Salton-ſtall*) hath found ſuch good entertainment abroad, that I have been importuned by many noble perſons, to let this alſo paſs the preſs. Many of the moſt eminent warriours, and others, what their ſwords did, their pens writ: Though I be never ſo much their inferior, yet I hold it no great error to follow good examples; nor repine at them will do the like.

And now, *My moſt Honourable good Lords*, I know not to whom I may better preſent it, than to your lordſhips, whoſe friendſhips, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all; and becauſe you are acquainted both with my endeavours and writings, I doubt not, but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the reſt, and patronize it under the ſhadow of your moſt noble virtues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have ſhelter againſt all ſtorms that dare threaten.

5

Your Honours to be commanded,

JOHN SMITH.

THE TRUE

TRAVELS, ADVENTURES AND OBSERVATIONS OF Captain *JOHN SMITH.*

CHAP. I.

His Birth; Apprenticeſhip; going into France; *his beginning with ten ſhillings and three pence; his ſervice in the* Netherlands; *his bad paſſage into* Scotland; *his return to* Willoughby, *and how he lived in the woods.*

HE was born in *Willoughby* in *Lincolnſhire*, and a ſcholar in the two free-ſchools of *Alford* and *Louth*. His father anciently deſcended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Crudley* in *Lancaſhire*; his mother from the *Rickands* at *Great-Heck* in *Yorkſhire*. His parents dying when he was about thirteen years of age, left him a competent means, which he not being capable to manage, little regarded, his mind being even then ſet upon brave adventures, ſold his ſatchel, books, and all he had, intending ſecretly to get to ſea, but that his father's death ſtay'd him. But now the guardians of his eſtate more regarding it than him, he had liberty enough, though no means, to get beyond the ſea. About the age of fifteen years, he was bound an apprentice to Mr. *Thomas Sendall* of *Lyn*, the greateſt merchant of all thoſe parts; but becauſe he would not preſently ſend him to ſea, he never ſaw his maſter in eight years after. At laſt he found means to attend Mr. *Peregrine Berty* into *France*, ſecond ſon to the right honourable *Peregrine*, that generous lord *Willoughby*, and famous ſoldier; where coming to his brother *Robert*, then at *Orleans*, now Earl of *Lindſey*, and lord great chamberlain of *England*, being then but little youths under tutorage: His ſervice being needleſs, within a month or ſix weeks they ſent him back again to his friends, who when he came from *London*, they liberally gave him (but out of his own eſtate) ten ſhillings to be rid of him; ſuch oft is the ſhare of fatherleſs children: But thoſe two honourable brethren gave him ſufficient to return for *England*. But it was the leaſt thought of his determination, for now being freely at liberty in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Mr. *David Hume*, who making ſome uſe of his purſe, gave him letters to his friends in *Scotland* to prefer him to king *James*. Arriving at *Roan*, he better bethinks himſelf, ſeeing his money near ſpent, down the river he went to *Haver de Grace*, where he firſt began to learn the life of a ſoldier. Peace being concluded in *France*, he went with captain *Joſeph Duxbury* into the *Low-Countries*, under whoſe colours having ſerved three or four years, he took his journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his letters. At *Ancuſan* he imbark'd himſelf for *Lethe*, but as much danger, as ſhipwreck and ſickneſs could endure, he had

had at the holy isle in *Northumberland* near *Berwick*. Being recovered, into *Scotland* he went to deliver his letters. After much kind usage among those honest *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Brotmouth*, but neither money nor means to make him a courtier, he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincolnshire*; where within a short time, being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight, he retired himself into a little woody pasture, a good way from any town, invironed with many hundred acres of other woods: Here by a fair brook he built a pavillion of boughs, where only in his clothes he lay. His study was *Machiavil*'s *Art of War*, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than any thing else; what he wanted his man brought him. The country wondering at such an hermit, his friends persuaded one *Seignior Theodora Polaloga*, rider to *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, an excellent horseman, and a noble *Italian* gentleman, to insinuate into his woodish acquaintance, whose language and good discourse, and exercise of riding drew him to stay with him at *Tattersall*. Long these pleasures could not content him, but he returned again to the *Low-Countries*.

CHAP. II.

The notable villany of four French *gallants, and his revenge*; Smith *thrown overboard*; *Captain* La Roche *of* St. Malo *relieves him.*

THus when *France* and the *Netherlands* had taught him to ride a horse, and use his arms, with such rudiments of war, as his tender years in those martial schools could attain unto; he was desirous to see more of the world, and try his fortune against the *Turks*, both repenting and lamenting to have seen so many christians slaughter one another. Opportunity casting him into the company of four *French* gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great lord, the rest his gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-persuaded him to go with them into *France*, to the duchess of *Mercœur*, from whom they should not only have means, but also letters of favour to her noble duke, then general for the emperor *Rodulphus* in *Hungary*; which he did, with such ill weather as winter affordeth; in the dark night they arrived in the broad shallow inlet of *St. Valleries sur Soame* in *Picardy*: His *French* lord knowing he had good apparel, and better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the master of the ship, to set his and their own trunks ashore, leaving *Smith* aboard till the boat could return, which was the next day after, towards evening: The reason he alledged was, the sea went so high he could come no sooner, and that his lord was gone to *Amiens*, where they would stay his coming; which treacherous villany, when divers other soldiers and passengers understood, they had like to have slain the master, and had they known how, would have run away with the ship.

A notable villany of four French *gallants.*

A carralue is in value a penny.

Coming on shore he had but one caralue, was forced to sell his cloak to pay for his passage. One of the soldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compassionating his injury, assured him that this great lord *Dupreau* was only the son of a lawyer of *Mortagne* in base *Britany*, and his attendants *Cursell*, *La Nelie* and *Monferrat*, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himself; but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends, but in the interim supplied his wants: Thus travelling by *Diepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pount-demer* in *Normandy*, they came to *Caen* in base *Normandy*; where both this noble *Curzianvere*, and the great prior of the great abby of *St. Stephen* (where is the ruinous tomb of *William the Conqueror*) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortagne*, where he found *Dupreau* and the rest, but to small purpose; for Mr. *Curzianvere* was a banished man, and durst not be seen but to his friends; yet the bruit of their cozenage occasioned the lady *Collumber*, the baron *Larshan*, the lord *Shasghe*, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himself so long as he would: But such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poor estate, and his restless spirit, that could never find content to receive such noble favours, as he could neither deserve nor requite: But wandering from port to port to find some man of war, spent that he had, and in a forest, near dead with grief and cold, a rich farmer found him by a fair fountain under a tree: This kind peasant relieved him again to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed thorow a great grove of trees, between *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britany*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himself: His piercing injuries had so small patience,

Here he incountrel one of th thieves.

as without any word they both drew, and in a ſhort time *Curſell* fell to the ground, where, from an old ruinated tower, the inhabitants ſeeing them, were ſatisfied, when they heard *Curſell* confeſs what had formerly paſſed; and that how, in the dividing that they had ſtolen from him, they fell by the ears amongſt themſelves, that were actors in it; but for his part, he excuſed himſelf to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be ſo rid of him, directing his courſe to an honourable lord, the earl of *Ployer*, who during the war in *France*, with his two brethren, viſcount *Poomory*, and Baron *de Mercy*, who had been brought up in *England*; by him he was better refurniſhed than ever. When they had ſhewed him *St. Malo* mount, *St. Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their own fair caſtle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britany* (and their *Britiſh Cornwaile*) taking his leave, he took his way to *Raynes*, the *Britains* chief city, and ſo to *Nants*, *Poyters*, *Rochel* and *Bourdeaux*. The rumour of the ſtrength of *Bayon* in *Biſky*, cauſed him to ſee it; and from thence took his way from *Leſkar* in *Bicarne* and *Paw* in the kingdom of *Navarre* to *Tolouza* in *Gaſcoigne*, *Bezers* and *Carcaſſone*, *Narbone*, *Montpelier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the countrey of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marſeilles* in *Provence*, there imbarking himſelf for *Italy*; the ſhip was inforced to *Tolonne*, and putting again to ſea, ill weather ſo grew upon them, that they anchored cloſe about the ſhore, under the little iſle of *St. Mary*, againſt *Nice* in *Savoy*. Here the inhuman provincials, with a rabble of pilgrims of divers nations going to *Rome*, hourly curſed him, not only for a hugonot, but his nation they ſwore were all pirates, and ſo vilely railed on his dread ſoveraign queen *Elizabeth*, and that they never ſhould have fair weather ſo long as he was aboard them; their diſputations grew to that paſſion, that they threw him over-board, yet God brought him to that little iſle, where was no inhabitants, but a few kine and goats. The next morning he eſpied two ſhips more riding by them, put in by the ſtorm, that fetched him aboard, well refreſhed him, and ſo kindly uſed him, that he was well contented to try the reſt of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former diſcourſe, what for pity, and the love of the honourable earl of *Ployer*, this noble *Britain* his neighbour, captain *La Roche* of *St. Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well reſpected friend. With the next fair wind, there ſailed along by the coaſt of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and croſſing the *Gulf of Tunis*, paſſed by cape *Bona* to the iſle of *Lampadoſa*, leaving the coaſt of *Barbary* till they came at cape *Roſuta*, and ſo along the *African* ſhore for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. They delivering their fraught, they went to *Scandaroone*, rather to view what ſhips were in the road, than any thing elſe; keeping their coarſe by *Cypres* and the coaſt of *Aſia*, ſailing by *Rhodes*, the *Archipelagus*, *Candia* and the coaſt of *Græcia*, and the iſle of *Zefolonia*. They lay to and again a few days, betwixt the iſle of *Corfu*, and the cape of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, in the entrance of the *Adriatick* ſea.

The nobleneſs of the earl of Ployer.

An inhuman act of the provincials in caſting him over-board.

Capt. La Roche *relieves him.*

CHAP. III.

A deſperate ſea-fight in the Streights; *his paſſage to* Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

A deſperate ſea-fight.

BEtwixt the two capes they met with an *Argoſie* of *Venice*; it ſeemed the captain deſired to ſpeak with them, whoſe untoward anſwer was ſuch, as ſlew them a man; whereupon the *Britaine* preſently gave them the broad-ſide, then his ſtern, and his other broad-ſide alſo, and continued the chaſe, with his chaſe-pieces, till he gave them ſo many broad-ſides one after another, that the *Argoſies* ſails and tackling was ſo torn, ſhe ſtood to her defence, and made ſhot for ſhot; twice in one hour and a half the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themſelves; but clapping her aboard again, the *Argoſie* fired him, which with much danger to them both was preſently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaine*'s rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himſelf again, ſhot her ſo oft betwixt wind and water, ſhe was ready to ſink, then they yielded; the *Britaine* loſt fifteen men, ſhe twenty, beſides divers were hurt, the reſt went to work on all hands; ſome to ſtop the leaks, others to guard the priſoners that were chained, the reſt to rifle her. The ſilks, velvets, cloth of gold and tiſſue, piaſters, chicqueens and ſultanies, which is gold and ſilver, they unloaded in four and twenty hours, was wonderful, whereof having ſufficient, and tired with toil, they caſt her off with her company, with as much

much good merchandize as would have freighted ſuch another *Britaine*, that was but two hundred tuns, ſhe four or five hundred.

To repair his defects he ſtood for the coaſt of *Calabria*; but hearing there was ſix or ſeven galleys at *Meſſina*, he departed thence for *Malta*; but the wind coming fair, he kept his courſe along the coaſt of the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, by *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, till he came to the road of *Antibo* in *Peamon*, where the ſet *Smith* on ſhore with five hundred chicqueens, and a little box God ſent him, worth near as much more. Here he left this noble *Britaine*, and embarked himſelf for *Leghorn*, being glad to have ſuch opportunity and means to better his experience by the view of *Italy*; and having paſſed *Tuſkany* and the countrey of *Siena*, where he found his dear Friends, the two honourable brethren, the lord *Willoughby* and his brother cruelly wounded in a deſperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour. Then to *Viterbo* and many other cities he came to *Rome*, where it was his chance to ſee pope *Clement* VIII. with many cardinals, creep up the holy-ſtairs, which they ſay, are thoſe our ſaviour Chriſt went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where blood falling from his head, being prick'd with his crown of Thorns, the drops are marked with nails of ſteel, upon them none dare go but in that manner, ſaying ſo many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-Noſters*, as is their devotion, and to kiſs the nails of ſteel: But on each ſide is a pair of ſuch like ſtairs, upon which you may go, ſtand, or kneel, but divided from the holy-ſtairs by two walls: Right againſt them is a chapel, where hangs a great ſilver lamp, which burneth continually, yet they ſay the oil neither increaſeth nor diminiſheth. A little diſtant is the ancient church of *St. John de Lateran*, where he ſaw him ſay maſs, which commonly he doth upon ſome *Friday* once a month. Having ſaluted father *Parſons*, that famous *Engliſh* jeſuit, and ſatisfied himſelf with the rarities of *Rome*, he went down the river *Tiber* to *Civita Vecchia*, where he embark'd himſelf, to ſatisfy his eye with the fair city of *Naples*, and her kingdom's nobility; returning by *Capua*, *Rome*, and *Siena*, he paſſed by that admired city of *Florence*, the cities and countreys of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua* and *Venice*, whoſe gulf he paſſed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatick-Sea* for *Ragouza*, ſpending ſome time to ſee that barren, broken coaſt of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Iſtria*, travelling the main of poor *Sclavonia* by *Lubbiano*, 'till he came to *Grates* in *Styria*, the ſeat of *Ferdinando*, archduke of *Auſtria*, now Emperor of *Almania*, where he met an *Engliſhman* and an *Iriſh* jeſuit, who acquainted him with many brave gentlemen of good quality, eſpecially with the lord *Eberſbaught*, with whom, trying ſuch concluſions, as he projected to undertake, preferred him to baron *Kiſell*, general of the artillery, and he to a worthy colonol, the earl of *Meldrich*, with whom, going to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, under whoſe regiment, in what ſervice, and how he ſpent his time, this enſuing diſcourſe will declare.

The popes holy-ſtairs, brought from Jeruſalem, *whereon (they ſay) Chriſt went up to* Pontius Pilate.

CHAP. IV.

The ſiege of Olumpagh; *an excellent ſtratagem by* Smith; *another not much worſe.*

The ſiege of Olumpagh.

AFter the loſs of *Caniza*, the *Turks* with twenty thouſand beſieged the ſtrong town of *Olumpagh* ſo ſtraitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of ſuccour, till *John Smith*, this *Engliſh* gentleman, acquainted baron *Kiſell*, generall of the archdukes artillery, he had taught the governor, his worthy friend, ſuch a rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his anſwer, would they bring him but to ſome place where he might make the flame of a torch ſeen to the town; *Kiſell* inflamed with this ſtrange invention, *Smith* made it ſo plain, that forthwith he gave him guides, who in the dark night brought him to a mountain, where he ſhewed three torches equidiſtant from the other, which plainly appearing to the town, the governor preſently apprehended, and anſwered again with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the others being and intent; *Smith*, though diſtant ſeven miles, ſignified to him theſe Words: *On* Thurſday *at night I will charge on the eaſt, at the alarm ſalley you*; *Ebersbaught* anſwered, *he would*, and thus it was done: Firſt he writ his meſſage as brief, you ſee, as could be, then divided the alphabet into two parts thus,

A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

m. n. o. p. q. r. ſ. t. v. w. x. y. z.
2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.

The

An extellent ſtratagem.

The firſt part from *A.* to *l* is ſignified by ſhewing and hiding one link, ſo oft as there is letters from *A* to that letter you mean; the other part from *m* to *z*, is mentioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is ſignified by ſhewing of three lights, ever ſtaying your light at that letter you mean, till the other may write it in a paper, and anſwer by his ſignal, which is one light, it is done, beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from *A* to *m*; by this means alſo the other returned his anſwer, whereby each did underſtand other. The guides all this time having well viewed the camp, returned to *Kiſell*; who doubting of his power, being but ten thouſand, was animated by the guides, how the *Turks* were ſo divided by the river in two parts, they could not eaſily ſecond each other. To which *Smith* added this concluſion; that two or three thouſand pieces of match faſtened to divers ſmall lines of an hundred fathom in length, being armed with powder, might all be fired and ſtretch'd at an inſtant before the alarum, upon the plain of *Hyſnaburg*, ſupported by two ſtaves, at each lines end, in that manner would ſeem like ſo many muſketeers; which was put in practice, and being diſcovered by the *Turks*, they prepared to encounter theſe falſe fires, thinking there had been ſome great army; whilſt *Kiſell* with his ten thouſand being enter'd the *Turks* quarters, who ran up and down as men amazed, it was not long ere *Eberſhaught* was pell-mell with them in their trenches; in which diſtracted confuſion, a third part of the *Turks* that beſieged that ſide towards *Knouſbruck*, were ſlain, many of the reſt drowned, but all fled. The other part of the army was ſo buſied to reſiſt the falſe fires that *Kiſell* before the morning put two thouſand good ſoldiers in the town, and with ſmall loſs was retired; the garriſon was well relieved with what they found in the *Turks* quarters, which cauſed the *Turks* to raiſe their ſiege and return to *Caniza*; and *Kiſell* with much honour was received at *Kerment*, and occaſioned the author a good reward and preferment, to be captain of two hundred and fifty horſemen, under the conduct of colonel *Voldo* earl of *Meldritch*.

Another ſtratagem.

CHAP. V.

The ſiege of Stoll-weiſſenburg; *the effects of* Smith's *fire-work*; *a worthy exploit of earl* Roſworme; *earl* Meldritch *takes the baſhaw priſoner.*

A General rumour of a general peace, now ſpread it ſelf over all the face of thoſe tormented countries; but the *Turk* intended no ſuch matter, but levied ſoldiers from all parts he could. The emperor alſo, by the aſſiſtance of the chriſtian princes, provided three armies, the one led by the archduke *Matthias*, the emperor's brother, and his lieutenant duke *Merceur* to defend *Low-Hungary*; the ſecond by *Ferdinando* the archduke of *Styria*, and the duke of *Mantua* his lieutenant to regain *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, governor of *High-Hungary*, to join with *Georgio Buſca* to make an abſolute conqueſt of *Tranſilvania*.

The ſiege of Alba-Regalis.

Duke *Merceur* with an army of thirty thouſand, whereof near ten thouſand were *French*, beſieged *Stoll-weiſſenburg*, otherwiſe called *Alba Regalis*, a place ſo ſtrong by art and nature, that it was thought impregnable. At his firſt coming, the *Turks* ſallied upon the *German* quarter, ſlew near five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next night in like manner they did near as much to the *Bemers* and *Hungarians*; of which fortune ſtill preſuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as careleſs, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken priſoners. In this encounter monſieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* colonel, received ſeven or eight cruel wounds, yet followed the enemy to the ports, he came off alive, but within three or four days died.

The effect of good fire-works.

Earl *Meldritch*, by the information of three or four chriſtians (eſcaped out of the town) upon every alarm, where there were greateſt aſſemblies and throng of people, cauſed captain *Smith* to put in practice his fiery dragons he had demonſtrated unto him, and the earl *Van Sulch* at *Comora*, which he thus performed: Having prepared forty or fifty round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand gun-powder, then covered them with pitch, mingled with brimſtone and turpentine, and quartering as many muſket-bullets, that hung together, but only at the center of the diviſion, ſtuck them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them again with the ſame mixture; over that a ſtrong ſearcloth, then over all, a good thickneſs of towze-match, well tempered with oil of linſeed, camphire and powder of brimſtone: Theſe he fitly placed in ſlings, graduated ſo near as they

they could to the places of theſe aſſemblies. At mid-night upon the alarm, it was a fearful ſight to ſee the ſhort flaming courſe of their flight in the air, but preſently after their fall, the lamentable noiſe of the miſerable ſlaughtered *Turks* was moſt wonderful to hear: Beſides, they had fired that ſuburb at the port of *Buda* in two or three places, which ſo troubled the *Turks* to quench, that had there been any means to have aſſaulted them, they could hardly have reſiſted the fire and their enemies. The earl *Roſworme*, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to find means to ſurprize the ſegeth and ſuburb of the city, ſtrongly defended by a muddy lake, which was thought unpaſſable.

A worthy exploit of earl Roſworme.

The duke having planted his ordnance, battered the other ſide, whilſt *Roſworme* in the dark night, with every man a bundle of ſedge and bavins ſtill thrown before them, ſo laded up the lake, as they ſurpriſed that unregarded ſuburb before they were diſcovered: Upon which unexpected alarm, the *Turks* fled into the city; and the other ſuburb not knowing the matter, got into the city alſo, leaving their ſuburb for the duke, who, with no great reſiſtance took it, with many pieces of ordnance; the city being of no ſuch ſtrength as the ſuburbs, with their own ordnance was ſo battered, that it was taken by force, with ſuch a mercileſs execution, as was moſt pitiful to behold. The *Baſhaw* notwithſtanding, drew together a party of five hundred before his own palace, where he intended to die; but ſeeing moſt of his men ſlain before him, by the valiant captain, earl *Meldritch*, who took him priſoner with his own hands; and with the hazard of himſelf ſaved him from the fury of other troops, that did pull down his palace, and would have rent him in pieces, had he not been thus preſerved. The duke thought his victory much honoured with ſuch a priſoner; took order he ſhould be uſed like a prince, and with all expedition gave charge preſently to repair the breaches, and the ruins of this famous city, that had been in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks* near threeſcore years.

Earl Meldritch *takes the Baſhaw priſoner.*

CHAP. VI.

A brave encounter of the Turks *army with the chriſtians; duke* Merceur *overthroweth* Aſſan Baſhaw; *he divides the chriſtian army; his nobleneſs and death.*

MAhomet the great *Turk*, during the ſiege, had raiſed an army of ſixty thouſand men to have relieved it; but hearing it was loſt, he ſent *Aſſan* baſhaw, general of his army, the baſhaw of *Buda*, baſhaw *Amaroz*, to ſee if it were poſſible to regain it: The duke underſtanding there could be no great experience in ſuch a new levied army as *Aſſan* had, having put a ſtrong garriſon into it, and with the brave colonel *Roſworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine-Grave*, *Vahan* and many others, with twenty thouſand good ſoldiers, ſet forward to meet the *Turk* in the plains of *Girk*. Thoſe two armies encountred as they marched, where began a hot and bloody ſkirmiſh betwixt them, regiment againſt regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them: Here earl *Meldritch* was ſo inviron-ed among thoſe half circular regiments of *Turks*, they ſuppoſed him their priſoner, and his regiment loſt; but his two moſt couragious friends, *Vaban* and *Culnits*, made ſuch a paſſage amongſt them, that it was a terror to ſee how horſe and man lay ſprawling and tumbling, ſome one way, ſome another on the ground. The earl there at that time made his valour ſhine more bright than his armour, which ſeemed then painted with *Turkiſh* blood; he ſlew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made his paſſage to his friends, but near half his regiment was ſlain. Captain *Smith* had his horſe ſlain under him, and himſelf ſore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horſes that wanted maſters. The *Turk* thinking the victory ſure againſt the duke, whoſe army, by the ſiege and the garriſon he had left behind him, was much weaken'd, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and leſt the duke ſhould return to *Alba Regalis*, he ſent that night twenty thouſand to beſiege the city, aſſuring them, he would keep the duke or any other from relieving them. Two or three days they lay each by other, entrenching themſelves; the *Turks* daring the duke daily to a ſet battle, who at length drew out his army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culnits* and *Meldritch*, who upon their firſt encounter, charged with that reſolute and valiant courage, as diſordered not only the foremoſt ſquadrons of the *Turks*, but enforced all the whole army to retire to the camp, with the loſs of five or ſix thouſand, with the baſhaw of *Buda*, and four or five zanzacks, with divers other great commanders, two hundred priſoners, and nine pieces of

A brave encounter of the Turks *army with the chriſtians.*

Duke Merceur *overthroweth* Aſſan Baſſa.

of ordnance. At that inſtant appeared, as it were another army coming out of a valley over a plain hill, that cauſed the duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his trenches, which gave time to *Aſſan*, to reorder his diſordered ſquadrons: Here they lay nine or ten days, and more ſupplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a ſet battle; but the ſoldiers on both parties, by reaſon of their great wants, and approach of winter, grew ſo diſcontented, that they were ready of themſelves to break up the leager; the baſhaw retiring himſelf to *Buda*, had ſome of the rear troops cut off. *Amaroz* baſhaw hearing of this, found ſuch bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the town ſo ſtrongly repaired with ſo brave a garriſon, raiſed his ſiege, and retired to *Zigetum*.

The duke underſtanding that the archduke *Ferdinando* had ſo reſolutely beſieged *Caniza*, as what by the loſs of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any relief, doubted not, but it would become again the chriſtians. To the furtherance whereof, the duke divided his army into three parts. The earl of *Roſworme* went with ſeven thouſand to *Caniza*; the earl of *Meldritch* with ſix thouſand he ſent to aſſiſt *Georgio Buſca* againſt the *Tranſilvanians*, the reſt went with himſelf to the garriſons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*; having thus worthily behaved himſelf, he arrived at *Vienna*, where the archdukes and the nobility with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very picture they eſteemed would make them fortunate, which thouſands kept as curiouſly as a precious relique. To requite this honour, preparing himſelf to return into *France*, to raiſe new forces againſt the next year, with the two archdukes, *Matthias* and *Maximilian*, and divers others of the nobility, was with great magnificence conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feaſted, (how it chanced is not known,) but the next morning he was found dead, and his brother-in-law died two days after; whoſe hearts, after this great triumph, with much ſorrow were carried into *France*.

Duke Merceur *divideth his army.*

Duke Merceur *and his Brother in-law die ſuddenly.*

CHAP. VII.

The unhappy ſiege of Caniza; *earl* Meldritch *ſerveth prince* Sigiſmundus; *prince* Moyſes *beſiegeth* Regall; Smith's *three ſingle combats*; *his patent from* Sigiſmundus, *and reward.*

The unhappy ſiege of Caniza.

THE worthy lord *Roſworme* had not a worſe journey to the miſerable ſiege of *Caniza*, (where by the extremity of an extraordinary continuing tempeſt of hail, wind, froſt and ſnow, the chriſtians were forced to leave their tents and artillery, and what they had, it being ſo cold, that three or four hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thouſand loſt in that miſerable flight in the ſnowy tempeſt, though they did know no enemy at all to follow them,) than the noble earl of *Meldritch* had to *Tranſilvania*, where hearing of the death of *Michael*, and the brave duke *Merceur*, and knowing the policy of *Buſca*, and the prince his royalty, being now beyond all belief of men, in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of *Tranſilvania*, perſuaded his troops, in ſo honeſt a cauſe, to aſſiſt the prince againſt the *Turk*, rather than *Buſca* againſt the prince.

Earl Meldritch *ſerveth prince* Sigiſmundus.

The ſoldiers being worn out with thoſe hard pays and travels, upon hope to have free liberty to make booty upon what they could get poſſeſſion of from the *Turks*, were eaſily perſuaded to follow him whitherſoever. Now this noble earl was a *Tranſilvanian* born, and his fathers countrey yet inhabited by the *Turks*; for *Tranſilvania* was yet in three diviſions, though the prince had the hearts both of country and people; yet the frontiers had a garriſon amongſt the unpaſſable mountains, ſome for the emperor, ſome for the prince, and ſome for the *Turk*: To regain which ſmall eſtate, he deſired leave of the prince to try his fortunes, and to make uſe of that experience, the time of twenty years had taught him in the emperor's ſervice, promiſing to ſpend the reſt of his days, for his countrey's defence in his excellency's ſervice. The prince glad of ſo brave a commander, and ſo many expert and ancient ſoldiers made him camp-maſter of his army, gave him all neceſſary relief for his troops, and what freedom they deſired to plunder the *Turks*.

Earl Meldritch *maketh incurſions to diſcover* Regall.

The earl having made many incurſions into the land of *Zarkam*, among thoſe rocky mountains, where were ſome *Turks*, ſome *Tartars*, but moſt banditoes, renegadoes, and ſuch like, which ſometimes he forced into the plains of *Regall*, where is a city, not only of men and fortifications, ſtrong of it ſelf, but ſo environed with mountains, that made the paſſages ſo difficult,

cult, that in all theſe wars no attempt had been made upon it to any purpoſe: Having ſatisfied himſelf with the ſituation, and the moſt convenient paſſages to bring his army unto it. The earth no ſooner put on her green habit, than the earl overſpread her with his armed troops. To poſſeſs himſelf firſt of the moſt convenient paſſage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountains; he ſent colonel *Veltus* with his regiment, diſperſed in companies to lie in *Ambuſcado*, as he had directed them, and in the morning to drive all the cattle they could find before a fort in that paſſage, whom he ſuppoſed would ſally, ſeeing but ſome ſmall party to recover their prey; which took ſuch good ſucceſs, that the garriſon was cut off by the ambuſcado, and *Veltus* ſeized on the ſkonces, which were abandoned. *Meldritch* glad of ſo fortunate a beginning, it was ſix days ere he could with ſix thouſand pioneers make paſſage for his ordnance. The *Turks* having ſuch warning, ſtrengthened the town ſo with men and proviſion, that they made a ſcorn of ſo ſmall a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the city, which was but eight thouſand. Before they had pitched their tents, the *Turks* ſallied in ſuch abundance, as for an hour they had rather a bloody battle than a ſkirmiſh, but with the loſs of near fifteen hundred on both ſides. The *Turks* were chaſed till the cities ordnance cauſed the earl to retire. The next day *Zachel Moyſes*, general of the army, pitched alſo his tents with nine thouſand foot and horſe, and ſix and twenty pieces of ordnance; but in regard of the ſituation of this ſtrong fortreſs, they did neither fear them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a fair promontory, environed on the one ſide within half a mile with an unuſeful mountain, and on the other ſide with a fair plain, where the chriſtians encamped, but ſo commanded by their ordnance, they ſpent near a month in entrenching themſelves, and raiſing their mounts to plant their batteries; which ſlow proceedings the *Turks* oft derided, that their ordnance were at pawn, and how they grew fat for want of exerciſe, and fearing leſt they ſhould depart ere they could aſſault their city, ſent this challenge to any captain in the army.

Moyſes *beſiegeth* Regal.

That to delight the ladies, who did long to ſee ſome court-like paſtime, the lord *Turbaſhaw* did defy any captain, that had the command of a company, who durſt combate with him for his head: The matter being diſcuſſed, it was accepted, but ſo many queſtions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by lots, which fell upon captain *Smith*, before ſpoken of.

Truce being made for that time, the rampires all beſet with fair dames and men in arms, the chriſtians in batalia; *Turbaſhaw* with a noiſe of hautboys entered the field well mounted and armed; on his ſhoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, compacted of eagle's feathers, within a ridge of ſilver, richly garniſh'd with gold and precious ſtones, a *Janizary* before him, bearing his lance, on each ſide another leading his horſe; where long he ſtay'd not, ere *Smith*, with a noiſe of trumpets, only a page bearing his lance, paſſing by him with a courteous ſalute, took his ground with ſuch good ſucceſs, that at the ſound of the charge, he paſſed the *Turk* thorow the ſight of his beaver, face, head and all, that he fell dead to the ground, where alighting and unbracing his helmet, cut off his head and the *Turks* took his body; and ſo returned without any hurt at all. The head he preſented to the lord *Moyſes*, the general, who kindly acceped it, and with joy to the whole army he was generally welcomed. *Three ſingle combates.*

The death of this captain ſo ſwelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madneſs than choler, he directed a particular challenge to the conqueror, to regain his friend's head, or loſe his own, with his horſe and armour for advantage, which according to his deſire, was the next day undertaken: As before upon the ſound of the trumpets, their lances flew in pieces upon a clear paſſage, but the *Turk* was near unhorſed. Their piſtols was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the placard; but the next ſhot the *Turk* was ſo wounded in the left arm, that being not able to rule his horſe, and defend himſelf, he was thrown to the ground, and ſo bruiſed with the fall, that he loſt his head, as his friend before him, with his horſe and armour; but his body and his rich apparel were ſent back to the town.

Every day the *Turks* made ſome ſallies, but few ſkirmiſhes would they endure to any purpoſe. Our works and approaches being not yet advanced to that heighth and effect, which was of neceſſity to be performed; to delude time, *Smith* with ſo many incontradictible preſuading reaſons, obtained leave, that the ladies might know he was not ſo much enamoured of their ſervants heads, but if any *Turk* of their rank would come to the place of combat to redeem them, ſhould have his alſo upon the like conditions, if he could win it.

The challenge preſently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*. The next day both the champions entring the field as before, each diſcharging their piſtol, having no lances, but ſuch martial weapons as the defendant

appointed, no hurt was done; their battle-axes were the next, whoſe piercing bills made ſometime the one, ſometime the other to have ſcarce ſenſe to keep their ſaddles; ſpecially the chriſtian received ſuch a blow, that he loſt his battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the ſuppoſed conquering *Turk*, had a great ſhout from the rampires. The *Turk* proſecuted his advantage to the uttermoſt of his power; yet the other, what by the readineſs of his horſe, and his judgement and dexterity in ſuch a buſineſs, beyond all men's expectation, by god's aſſiſtance, not only avoided the *Turks* violence, but having drawn his faulchion, pierced the *Turk* ſo under the culets, thorow back and body, that altho' he alighted from his horſe, he ſtood not long ere he loſt his head, as the reſt had done.

CHAP. VIII.

Georgio Buſca *an* Albane, *his ingratitude to prince* Sigiſmundus; *prince* Moyſes *his lieutenant, is overthrown by* Buſca, *general for the emperor* Rodulphus; Sigiſmundus *yieldeth his country to* Rodulphus; Buſca *aſſiſteth prince* Rodol *in* Wallachia.

THIS good ſucceſs gave ſuch great encouragement to the whole army, that with a guard of ſix thouſand, three ſpare horſes, before each a *Turk*'s head upon a lance, he was conducted to the general's pavilion with his preſents. *Moyſes* received both him and them with as much reſpect as the occaſion deſerved, embracing him in his arms, gave him a fair horſe, richly furniſhed, a ſchimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats; and *Meldritch* made him ſergeant major of his regiment. But now to the ſiege, having mounted ſix and twenty pieces of ordnance, fifty or ſixty foot above the plain, made them ſo plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteen days two breaches were made, which the *Turks* as valiantly defended as men could; that day was made a darkſome night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering muſkets, and peace-making cannon, whilſt their ſlothful governor lay in a caſtle on the top of a high mountain, and like a valiant prince aſketh what's the matter, when horror and death ſtood amazed each at other, to ſee who ſhould prevail to make him victorious: *Moyſes* commanding a general aſſault upon the ſloping front of the high promontory, where the barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin*, loſt near half their regiments by logs, bags of powder, and ſuch like, tumbling down the hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithſtanding with an incredible courage, they advanced to the puſh of the pike with the defendants, that with the like courage repulſed, till the earl *Meldritch*, *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with their freſh regiments ſeconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the caſtle, from whence by a flag of truce they deſired compoſition. The earl remembering his father's death, battered it with all the ordnance in the town, and the next day took it; all he found could bear arms, he put to the ſword, and ſet their heads upon ſtakes round about the walls, in the ſame manner they had uſed the chriſtians, when they took it. *Moyſes* having repaired the rampires, and thrown down the work in his camp, he put in it a ſtrong garriſon, though the pillage he had gotten in the town was much, having been for a long time an impregnable den of thieves; yet the loſs of the army ſo intermingled the ſowre with the ſweet, as forced *Moyſes* to ſeek a further revenge, that he ſacked *Veratio*, *Salmos* and *Kupronka*, and with two thouſand priſoners, moſt women and children, came to *Eſenberg*, not far from the prince's palace, where he there encamped.

Regal *aſſaulted and taken.*

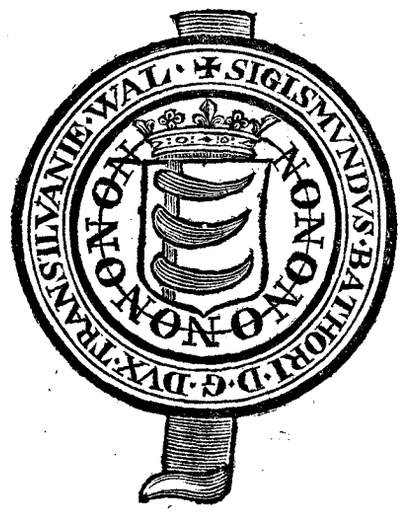
Sigiſmundus coming to view his army, was preſented with the priſoners, and ſix and thirty enſigns; where celebrating thanks to Almighty God in triumph of thoſe victories, he was made acquainted with the ſervice *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stoll-Weiſſenburgh* and *Regal*; for which, with great honour, he gave him three *Turks* heads in a ſhield for his arms, by patent, under his hand and ſeal, with an oath ever to wear them in his colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred ducats yearly for a penſion.

The patent.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI *Dei gratia, dux* Tranſilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, & Vandalorum; *comes* Anchard, Salford, Growenda; *cunctis his literis ſignificamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri ſunt, conceſſam licentiam aut facultatem* Johanni Smith, *natione* Anglo *generoſo*, 250. *militum capitaneo ſub illuſtriſſimo & graviſſimo* Henrico Volda, *comite de* Meldri, Salmariæ, & Peldoiæ *primario, ex* 1000 *equitibus &* 1500. *peditibus bello* Ungarico *conductione in provincias ſupra ſcriptas ſub authoritate noſtra: Cui ſervituti omni laude, perpetuaque memoria dignum præbuit ſe ſeerga nos, ut virum ſtrenuum pugnantem pro aris & focis decet. Quare è favore noſtro militario ipſum ordine condonavimus, & in ſigillum illius tria* Turcica *capita deſignare & deprimere conceſſimus, quæ ipſe gladio ſuo ad urbem* Regalem *in ſingulari prælio vicit, mactavit, atque decollavit in* Tranſilvaniæ *provincia: Sed fortuna cum variabilis anceps ſit, idem forte fortuito in* Wallachiæ *provincia, Anno Domini* 1602, *die menſis* Novembris 18, *cum multis aliis etiam nobilibus & aliis quibuſdam militibus captus eſt à domino* Baſcha *electo ex* Cambia *regionis* Tartariæ, *cujus ſeveritate adductus ſalutem quantam potuit quæſivit, tantumque effecit Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberaverit ſe, & ad ſuos commilitones reverterit; ex quibus ipſum liberavimus, & hæc nobis teſtimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus eſſet, jam tendet in patriam ſuam dulciſſimam: Rogamus ergo omnes noſtros chariſſimos, confinitimos, duces, principes, comites, Barones, gubernatores urbium & navium in eadem regione & cæterarum provinciarum in quibus ille reſidere conatus fuerit, ut idem permittatur capitaneus libere ſine obſtaculo omni verſari. Hæc facientes pergratum nobis feceritis. Signatum* Leſpriziæ *in* Miſnia *die menſis* Decembris 9, *Anno Domini* 1603.

Cum privilegio propriæ majeſtatis.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.



UNIVERSIS *& ſingulis, cujuſcunque joci, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præſens ſcriptum pervenerit,* Gulielmus Segar, *eques auratus aliàs dictus garterus principalis rex armorum* Anglicorum, *ſalutem.* Sciatis, *quod ego prædictus garterus, notum, teſtatumque facio, quod patentem ſupraſcriptum, cum manu propria prædicti ducis* Tranſilvaniæ *ſubſignatum, & ſigillo ſuo affixum, vidi: Et copiam veram ejuſdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) tranſcripſi, & recordavi in archivis, & regiſtris officii armorum. Datum* Londini 19 *die* Auguſti, *Anno Domini* 1625. *Annoque regni domini noſtri* CAROLI *Dei gratia* Magnæ-Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ *regis, fidei defenſoris, &c. primo.*

GULIELMUS SEGAR, Garterus,

The ſame in Engliſh.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI, by the grace of God duke of *Tranſilvania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, earl of *Anchard*, *Salford* and *Growenda*; to whom this writing may come or appear. Know that we have given leave and licence to *John Smith* an *Engliſh* Gentleman, captain of 250 ſoldiers, under the moſt generous and honourable *Henry Volda*, earl of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria* and *Peldoia*, colonel of a thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred foot, in the wars of *Hungary*, and in the provinces aforeſaid under our authority; whoſe ſervice doth deſerve all praiſe, and perpetual memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his countrey overcome his enemies: Wherefore out of our love and favour, according to the law of arms, we have ordained, and given him in his ſhield of arms, the figure and deſcription of three *Turks* heads, which with his ſword before the town of *Regal*, in ſingle combat he did over-come kill, and cut off, in the province of *Tranſilvania*. But fortune, as ſhe is very variable, ſo it chanced and happened to him in the province of *Wallachia*, in the year of our lord 1602, the 18th day of *November*, with many others, as well noble men as alſo divers other ſoldiers, were taken priſoners by the lord baſhaw of *Cambia*, a country of *Tartaria*, whoſe cruelty brought him ſuch good fortune, by the help and power of Almighty God, that he delivered himſelf, and returned again to his company and fellow ſoldiers, of whom we do diſcharge him, and this he hath in witneſs thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to return to his own ſweet countrey. We deſire therefore all our loving and kind kinſmen, dukes, princes, earls, Barons, governors of towns, cities or ſhips, in this kingdom, or any other provinces he ſhall come in, that you freely let paſs this the aforeſaid captain, without any hindrance or moleſtation, and this doing, with all kindneſs, we are always ready to do the like for you. *Sealed at* Lipſwick *in* Miſenland, *the ninth of* December, *in the year of our Lord* 1603.

With the proper privilege of his majeſty.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.

TO all and ſingular, in what place, ſtate, degree, order or condition whatſoever, to whom this preſent writing ſhall come; I *William Segar*, Kt. otherwiſe garter and principal king of arms of *England*, wiſh health. Know, that I the aforeſaid garter, do witneſs and approve, that this aforeſaid patent, I have ſeen, ſigned and ſealed, under the proper hand and ſeal manuel of the ſaid duke of *Tranſilvania*, and a true copy of the ſame, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have ſubſcribed and recorded in the regiſter and office of the heralds of arms. Dated at *London*, the nineteenth day of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1625, and in the firſt year of our ſoveraign lord *Charles*, by the grace of God, king of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, *&c.*

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAP. IX.

Sigiſmundus *ſends ambaſſadors unto the emperor; the conditions re-aſſured; he yieldeth up all to* Buſca, *and returneth to* Prague.

BUſca having all this time been raiſing new forces, was commanded from the emperor again to invade *Tranſilvania*, which being one of the fruitfulleſt and ſtrongeſt countries in thoſe parts, was now rather a deſart, or the very ſpectacle of deſolation; their fruits and fields overgrown with weeds, their churches and battered palaces, and beſt buildings, as for fear, hid with moſs and ivy; being the very bulwark and rampire of a great part of *Europe*, moſt fit by all chriſtians to have been ſupplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruin by them it moſt concerned to ſupport it. But alas, what is it, when the power of majeſty pampered in all delights of pleaſant vanity, neither knows, nor conſiders the labour of the ploughman, the hazard of the merchant, the oppreſſion of ſtateſmen, nor feels the piercing torments of broken limbs and inveterate wounds, the toilſome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme miſery that ſoldiers endure to ſecure all thoſe eſtates; and yet by the ſpight of malicious detraction, ſtarve for want of their reward and recompences,

compences; whilſt the politique courtier, commonly aims more at his own honours and ends, than his countries good, or his prince's glory, honour or ſecurity, as this worthy prince too well could teſtify. But the emperor being certified how weak and deſperate his eſtate was, ſent *Buſca* again with a great army, to try his fortune once more in *Tranſilvania*. The prince conſidering how his country and ſubjects were conſumed, the ſmall means he had any longer to defend his eſtate, both againſt the cruelty of the *Turk*, and the power of the emperor, and the ſmall care the *Polanders* had in ſupplying him, as they had promiſed, ſent to *Buſca* to have truce, till meſſengers might be ſent to the emperor for ſome better agreement, wherewith *Buſca* was contented. The ambaſſadors ſo prevailed, that the emperor re-aſſured unto them the conditions he had promiſed the prince at their confederacy for the lands in *Sileſia*, with 60000 ducats preſently in hand, and 50000 ducats yearly as a penſion. When this concluſion was known to *Moyſes*, his lieutenant, then in the field with the army, that would do any think, rather than come in ſubjection to the *Germans*, he encouraged his ſoldiers, and without any more ado, marched to encounter *Buſca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected; ſo that betwixt them, in ſix or ſeven hours, more than five or ſix thouſand, on both ſides, lay dead in the field. *Moyſes* thus overthrown, fled to the *Turks* at *Tameſware*, and his ſcattered troops, ſome one way, ſome another.

Buſca *in* Tranſilvania *overthroweth* Moyſes.

The prince underſtanding of this ſo ſudden and unexpected accident, only accompanied with an hundred of his gentry and nobility, went into the camp to *Buſca*, to let him know how ignorant he was of his lieutenant's error, that he had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to perform what was concluded by his ambaſſadors with the emperor; and ſo cauſing all his garriſons to come out of their ſtrong holds, he delivered all to *Buſca* for the emperor, and ſo went to *Prague*, where he was hourably received, and eſtabliſhed in his poſſeſſions, as his imperial majeſty had promiſed. *Buſca* aſſembling all the nobility, took their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and thus their prince being gone *Tranſilvania* became again ſubject to the emperor.

Sigiſmundus *yieldeth his countrey to* Buſca.

Now after the death of *Michael*, vavoid of *Wallachia*, the *Turk* ſent one *Jeremy* to be their vavoid or prince, whoſe inſulting tyranny cauſed the people to take arms againſt him, ſo that he was forced to flie into the confines of *Moldavia*; and *Buſca* in the behalf of the emperor, proclaimed the lord *Rodol* in his ſtead. But *Jeremy* having aſſembled an army of forty thouſand *Turks*, *Tartars* and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*. *Rodol* not yet able to raiſe ſuch a power, fled into *Tranſilvania* to *Buſca*, his ancient friend; who conſidering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his own ſecurity, to have *Wallachia* ſubject to the emperor, or at leaſt ſuch an employment for the remainders of the old regiments of *Sigiſmundus*, (of whoſe greatneſs and true affection he was very ſuſpicious) ſent them with *Rodol* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the valiant captains the earl *Meldritch*, earl *Veltus*, earl *Nederſpolt*, earl *Zarvana*, the lord *Beckleſield*, the lord *Budendorfe*, with their regiments, and divers others of great rank and quality, the greateſt friends and alliances the prince had; who with thirty thouſand, marched along by the river *Altus*, to the ſtreights of *Rebrinck*, where they entred *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza*; *Jeremy* lying at *Argiſh*, drew his army into his old camp, in the plains of *Peteſke*, and with his beſt diligence fortified it, intending to defend himſelf, till more power came to him from the *Crim-Tartar*. Many ſmall parties that came to his camp, *Rodol* cut off, and in the nights would cauſe their heads to be thrown up and down before the trenches. Seven of their porters were taken, whom *Jeremy* commanded to be flayed quick, and after hung their ſkins upon poles, and their carcaſes and heads on ſtakes by them.

Buſca *aſſiſteth* Rodol *in* Wallachia.

CHAP. X.

The battle of Rottenton; *a pretty ſtratagem of fire-works by* Smith.

Rodol not knowing how to draw the enemy to battle, raiſed his army, burning and ſpoiling all where he came, and returned again towards *Rebrink* in the night, as if he had fled upon the general rumour of the *Crim-Tartars* coming, which ſo inflamed the *Turks* of a happy victory, they urged *Jeremy* againſt his will to follow them. *Rodol* ſeeing his plot fell out as he deſired, ſo ordered the matter, that having regained the ſtreights, he put his army in order, that had been near two days purſued with continual ſkirmiſhes in his rear, which now making head againſt the enemy,

A battle betwixt Rodol *and* Jeremy.

enemy, that followed with their whole army in the beſt manner they could, was furiouſly charged with ſix thouſand *Heydukes*, *Wallachians* and *Moldavians*, led by three colonels, *Overſall*, *Dubras* and *Calab*, to entertain the time till the reſt came up; *Veltus* and *Nederſpolt* with their regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the zanzacke *Hameſbeg*, with ſix thouſand more, came with a freſh charge, which *Meldritch* and *Budendorſe*, rather like enraged lions, than men, ſo bravely encounter'd, as if in them only had conſiſted the victory; *Meldritch*'s horſe being ſlain under him, the *Turks* preſſed what they could to have taken him priſoner; but being remounted, it was thought with his own hand he ſlew the valiant zanzacke; whereupon his troops retiring, the two proud baſhaws *Aladin* and *Zizimmus*, brought up the front of the body of their battle. *Veltus* and *Nederſpolt* having breathed, and joining their troops with *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with ſuch an incredible courage, charged the left flank of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in diſorder, where *Zizimmus* the baſhaw was taken priſoner, but died preſently upon his wounds. *Jeremy* ſeeing now the main battle of *Rodol* advance, being thus conſtrained, like a valiant prince in his front of the vantgard, by his example ſo bravely encouraged his ſoldiers, that *Rodol* found no great aſſurance of the victory. Thus being joyned in this bloody maſſacre, there was ſcarce ground to ſtand upon, but upon the dead carcaſſes, which in leſs than an hour were ſo mingled, as if each regiment had ſingled out other. The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behind him a glorious name for his valour, whoſe death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that inſtant fell to *Rodol*. It was reported *Jeremy* was alſo ſlain; but it was not ſo, but fled with the remainder of his army to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thouſand dead in the field, of both armies. And thus *Rodol* was ſeated again in his ſoveraignty, and *Wallachia* became ſubject to the emperor.

Wallachia *ſubjected to the emperor.*

But long he reſted not to ſettle his new eſtate, but there came news, that certain regiments of ſtragling *Tartars*, were foraging thoſe parts towards *Moldavia*. *Meldritch* with thirteen thouſand men was ſent againſt them, but when they heard it was the *Crim-Tartar*, and his two ſons, with an army of thirty thouſand; and *Jeremy*, that had eſcaped with fourteen or fifteen thouſand, lay in ambuſh for them about *Langanaw*, he retired towards *Rottenton*, a ſtrong garriſon for *Rodol*; but they were ſo invironed with theſe helliſh numbers, they could make no great haſt for ſkirmiſhing with their ſcouts, foragers and ſmall parties that ſtill encountred them. But one night amongſt the reſt, having made a paſſage through a wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their paſſage in a thick fog; early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thouſand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horſe and cattle; the moſt of them were ſlain and taken priſoners, who told them where *Jeremy* lay in the paſſage, expecting the *Crim-Tartar* that was not far from him. *Meldritch* intending to make his paſſage by force, was adviſed of a pretty ſtratagem by the *Engliſh Smith*, which preſently he thus accompliſhed; for having accommodated two or three hundred trunks with wild-fire, upon the heads of lances, and charging the enemy in the night, gave fire to the trunks, which blazed forth ſuch flames and ſparkles, that it ſo amazed, not only their horſes, but their foot alſo; that by the means of this flaming encounter, their own horſes turned tails with ſuch fury, as by their violence overthew *Jeremy* and his army, without any loſs at all to ſpeak of to *Meldritch*. But of this victory long they triumphed not; for being within three leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar*, with near forty thouſand ſo beſet them, that they muſt either fight, or be cut in pieces flying. Here *Buſca* and the emperor had their deſire; for the ſun no ſooner diſplayed his beams, than the *Tartar* his colours; where at mid-day he ſtayed a while to ſee the paſſage of a tyrannical and treacherous impoſture, till the earth did bluſh with the blood of honeſty, that the ſun for ſhame did hide himſelf from ſo monſtrous ſight of a cowardly calamity. It was a moſt brave ſight to ſee the banners and enſigns ſtreaming in the air, the glittering of armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the foreſts of lances, and the thickneſs of ſhorter weapons, till the ſilent expedition of the bloody blaſt from the murdering ordnance, whoſe roaring voice is not ſo ſoon heard as felt by the aimed at object, made among them a moſt lamentable ſlaughter.

CHAP. XI.

The names of the Engliſh *that were ſlain in the battle of* Rottenton; *and how captain* Smith *was taken priſoner, and ſold for a ſlave.*

IN the valley of *Veriſthorne*, betwixt the river of *Altus* and the mountain of *Rottenton*, was this bloody encounter, where the moſt of the deareſt friends of the noble prince *Sigiſmundus* periſhed. *Meldritch* having ordered his eleven thouſand in the beſt manner he could, at the foot of the mountain upon his flanks, and before his front, he had pitched ſharp ſtakes, their heads hardened in the fire, and bent againſt the enemy, as three battalion of pikes, amongſt the which alſo, there was digged many ſmall holes. Amongſt thoſe ſtakes were ranged his footmen, that upon the charge were to retire, as there was occaſion. The *Tartar* having ordered his 40000 for his beſt advantage, appointed *Muſtapha* baſhaw to begin the battle, with a general ſhout, all their enſigns diſplaying, drums beating, trumpets and hautboys ſounding. *Nederſpolt* and *Movazo* with their regiments of horſe moſt valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire; the *Tartar Begolgi* with his ſquadrons, darkening the ſkies with their flights of numberleſs arrows, who was as bravely encounter'd by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*, which bloody ſlaughter continued more than an hour, till the matchleſs multitude of the *Tartars* ſo increaſed, that they retired within their ſquadrons of ſtakes, as was directed. The bloody *Tartar*, as ſcorning he ſhould ſtay ſo long for the victory, with his maſſie troops proſecuted the charge: But it was a wonder to ſee how horſe and man came to the ground among the ſtakes, whoſe diſordered troops were there ſo mangled, that the chriſtians with a loud ſhout cried *Victoria*; and with five or ſix field pieces, planted upon the riſing of the mountain, did much hurt to the enemy that ſtill continued the battle with that fury, that *Meldritch* ſeeing there was no poſſibility long to prevail, joined his ſmall troops in one body, reſolved directly to make his paſſage, or die in the concluſion; and thus in groſs gave a general charge, and for more than half an hour, made his way plain before him, till the main battle of the *Crim-Tartar*, with two regiments of *Turks* and *Janizaries* ſo overmatched them, that they were overthrown. The night approaching, the earl with ſome thirteen or fourteen hundred horſe, ſwam the river, ſome were drowned, all the reſt ſlain or taken priſoners: And thus in this bloody field, near 30000 lay, ſome headleſs, armleſs and legleſs, all cut and mangled; where breathing their laſt, they gave this knowledge to the world, that for the lives of ſo few, the *Crim-Tartar* never paid dearer. But now the countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Wallachia* (ſubjected to the emperor) and *Sigiſmundus*, that brave prince, his ſubject and penſioner, the moſt of his nobility, brave captains and ſoldiers, became a prey to the cruel devouring *Turk*; where, had the emperor been as ready to have aſſiſted him, and thoſe three armies led by three ſuch worthy captains, as *Michael*, *Buſca* and himſelf, and had thoſe three armies joined together againſt the *Turk*, let all men judge, how happy it might have been for all chriſtendom, and have either regained *Bulgaria*, or at leaſt have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where he hath taken much more from the emperor, than hath the emperor from *Tranſilvania*.

The battle of Rottenton.

Extracted out of a book intituled, the wars of Hungaria, Wallachia *and* Moldavia, *written by* Franciſco Ferneza, *a learned* Italian, *the prince's ſecretary, and tranſlated by Mr.* Purchas.

In this diſmal battle, where *Nederſpolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavel*, and many other earls, barons, colonels, captains, brave gentlemen, and ſoldiers were ſlain, give me leave to remember the names of our own countreymen, with him in thoſe exploits, that as reſolutely as the beſt in the defence of Chriſt and his goſpel, ended their days, as *Baſkerfield*, *Hardwick*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mollineux*, *Thomas Biſhop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Daviſon*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John* a *Scot*, did what men could do; and when they could do no more, left there their bodies in teſtimony of their minds; only enſign *Charlton* and ſergeant *Robinſon* eſcaped: But *Smith* among the ſlaughtered dead bodies, and many a gaſping ſoul, with toil and wounds lay groaning among the reſt, till being found by the pillagers, he was able to live, and perceiving by his armour and habit, his ranſome might be better to them than his death, they led him priſoner with many others; well they uſed him till his wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all ſold for ſlaves, like beaſts in a market-place, where every merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, cauſed other ſlaves to ſtruggle with them, to try their ſtrength. He fell to the ſhare of baſhaw *Bogal*, who ſent him forthwith to *Adrianopolis*, ſo for *Conſtantinople* to his fair miſtreſs for a ſlave. By twenty and twenty chained by the necks, they marched in file to this great city where they were delivered to their ſeveral Maſters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

The Engliſhmen *in this battle.*

CHAP. XII.

How Captain Smith *was ſent priſoner thorow the* Black *and* Diſſabacca-Sea *in* Tartaria; *the deſcription of thoſe ſeas, and his uſage.*

THIS noble gentlewoman took ſometime occaſion to ſhew him to ſome friends, or rather to ſpeak with him, becauſe ſhe could ſpeak *Italian*; would feign herſelf ſick when ſhe ſhould go to the *Bannians*, or weep over the graves, to know how *Bogal* took him priſoner; and if he were, as the baſhaw writ to her, a *Bohemian* lord conquered by his hand, as he had many others, which ere long he would preſent her, whoſe ranſomes ſhould adorn her with the glory of his conqueſts.

But when ſhe heard him proteſt he knew no ſuch matter, nor ever ſaw *Bogal*, till he bought him at *Axopolis*, and that he was an *Engliſhman*, only by his adventures made a captain in thoſe countries; to try the truth, ſhe found means to find out many who could ſpeak *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Italian*, to whom relating moſt part of theſe former paſſages ſhe thought neceſſary, which they ſo honeſtly reported to her, ſhe took (as it ſeem'd) much compaſſion on him; but having no uſe for him, leſt her mother ſhould ſell him, ſhe ſent him to her brothat the *Tymor Baſhaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the county of *Cambia*, a province in *Tartaria*.

How he was ſent into Tartaria.

Here now let us remember his paſſing in this ſpeculative courſe from *Conſtantinople* by *Sander*, *Screw*, *Panaſſa*, *Muſa*, *Laſtilla* to *Verna*, an ancient city upon the *Black-Sea*. In all which journey, having little more liberty, than his eyes judgment, ſince his captivity, he might ſee the towns with their ſhort towers, and a moſt plain, fertile and delicate countrey, eſpecially that moſt admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*, but from *Varna*, nothing but the *Black-Sea* water, till he came to the two capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where he paſſed the ſtreight of *Niger*, which (as he conjecturred) is ſome ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands, the channel is deep, but at the entrance of the ſea *Diſſabecca*, there are many great oſie ſhaulds, and many great black rocks, which the *Turks* ſaid were trees, weeds and mud thrown from the in-land countries, by the inundations and violence of the current, and caſt there by the eddy. They ſailed by many low iſles, and ſaw many more of thoſe muddy rocks, and nothing elſe but ſalt-water, till they came betwixt *Suſax* and *Curuſke*, only two white towns at the entrance of the river *Bruapo* appeared: In ſix or ſeven days ſail, he ſaw four or five ſeeming ſtrong caſtles of ſtone, with flat tops and battlements about them, but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their cuſtom) well uſed. The river was there more than half a mile broad. The caſtle was of a large circumference, fourteen or fifteen foot thick, in the foundation ſome ſix foot from the wall is a palliſado, and then a ditch of about forty foot broad, full of water. On the weſt-ſide of it, is a town all of low flat houſes, which as he conceived, could be of no great ſtrength, yet it keeps all them barbarous countreys about it in admiration and ſubjection. After he had ſtayed there three days; it was two days more before his guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* was then reſident, in a great vaſt ſtone caſtle, with many great courts about it, invironed with high ſtone walls, where were quartered their arms, when they firſt ſubjected thoſe countries, which only live to labour for thoſe tyrannical *Turks*.

The Deſcription of the Diſſabecca-Sea.

To her unkind brother, this kind lady writ ſo much for his good uſage, that he half ſuſpected as much as ſhe intended; for ſhe told him, he ſhould there but ſojourn to learn the language, and what it was to be a *Turk*, till time made her maſter of her ſelf. But the *Tymor*, her brother, diverted all this to the worſt of cruelty; for within an hour after his arrival, he cauſed his *Drubman* to ſtrip him naked, and ſhave his head and beard ſo bare as his hand, a great ring of iron, with a long ſtalk bowed like a ſickle, riveted about his neck, and a coat made of ulgries hair, guarded about with a piece of an undreſt ſkin. There were many more chriſtian ſlaves, and near an hundred *Forſados* of *Turks* and *Moors*, and he being the laſt, was ſlave of ſlaves to them all. Among theſe ſlaviſh fortunes there was no great choice, for the beſt was ſo bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their pains and labours, no more regarded than a beaſt.

Smith's *uſage in* Tartaria.

CHAP. XIII.

The Turks *diet; the ſlaves diet; the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of wars and religion,* &c.

The Tymor's *diet of* Cambia *is as the* Turks.

THE *Tymor* and his friends fed upon pillaw, which is boiled rice and garnances, with little bits of mutton or buckones, which is roaſted pieces of horſe, bull, ulgrie or any beaſts. *Samboyſes* and *Muſelbit* are great dainties, and yet but round pies, full of all ſorts of fleſh, they can get chopped with variety of herbs. Their beſt drink is coffee, of a grain they called *Coava*, boiled with water; and ſherbeck, which is only honey and water; mares milk, or the milk of any beaſt, they hold reſtorative; but all the commonalty drink pure water. Their bread is made of this *Coava*, which is a kind of black wheat, and *Cuſkus* a ſmall white ſeed, like *Millia* in *Biſkay:* But our common victuals, the entrails of horſe and ulgries; of this cut in ſmall pieces, they will fill a great cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuſkus*, and put in great bowls in the form of chaffing-diſhes, they ſit round about it on the ground; after they have raked it thorow, ſo oft as they pleaſe with their foul fiſts, the remainder was for the chriſtian ſlaves. Some of this broth they would temper with *Cuſkus* pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth, pour there a bowl full, then cover it with coals till it be baked, which ſtewed with the remainder of the broth, and ſome ſmall pieces of fleſh, was an extraordinary dainty.

The ſlaves diet.

The attire of thoſe Tartars.

The better ſort are attired like *Turks*, but the plain *Tartar* hath a black ſheeps-ſkin over his back, and two of the legs tied about his neck; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in like manner behind him: Then two more, made like a pair of baſes, ſerveth him for breeches; with a little cloſe cap to his ſkull of black felt, and they uſe exceeding much of this felt for carpets, for bedding, for coats and idols. Their houſes are much worſe than your *Iriſh*, but the in-land countries have none but carts and tents, which they ever remove from countrey to countrey, as they ſee occaſion, driving with them infinite troops of black ſheep, cattle and ulgries, eating all up before them as they go.

The Tartars *of* Nagi *and their manners.*

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither town, nor houſe, corn nor drink, but fleſh and milk. The milk they keep in great ſkins like burrachoes, which though it be never ſo ſower, it agreeth well with their ſtrong ſtomachs. They live all in *Hordias*, as do the *Crim-Tartars*, three or four hundred in a company, in great carts fifteen or ſixteen foot broad, which are covered with ſmall rods, wattled together in the form of a bird's neſt, turned upwards, and with the aſhes of bones, temper'd with oil, camels hair, and a clay they have; they loam them ſo well, that no weather can pierce them, and yet very light. Each *Hordia* hath a *Murſe*, which they obey as their king. Their gods are infinite. One or two thouſand of thoſe glittering white carts drawn with camels, deer, bulls and ulgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their camp; and the *Murſe*, with his chief alliances, are placed in the midſt. They do much hurt, when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great boats uſed upon the river *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the countrey of *Perolog*, and would do much more, were it not for the *Muſcovite* garriſons that there inhabit.

CHAP. XIV.

The Deſcription of the Crim-Tartars; *their houſes and carts, their idolatry in their lodgings.*

The deſcription of the Crim-Tartar's *Court.*

NOW you are to underſtand, *Tartary* and *Scythia* are all one, but ſo large and ſpacious, few or none could ever perfectly deſcribe it, nor all the ſeveral kinds of thoſe moſt barbarous people that inhabit it. Thoſe we call the *Crim-Tartars* border upon *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, *Lithuania*, and *Ruſſia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scythia*. The great *Tartarian* prince, that hath ſo troubled all his neighbours, they always call *Chan*, which ſignifieth emperor; but we the *Crim-Tartar*. He liveth for the moſt part in the beſt champion plains of many provinces; and his removing court is like a great city of houſes and tents drawn on carts, all

ſo orderly placed eaſt and weſt, on the right and left hand of the prince's houſe, which is always in the midſt towards the ſouth, before which none may pitch their houſes, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an army. The prince's houſes are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, ſides and roof of wickers, aſcending round to the top like a dove-coat; this they cover with white ſalt, or white earth, tempered with the powder of bones, that it may ſhine the whiter; ſometimes with black felt, curiouſly painted with vines, trees, birds and beaſts; the breadth of the carts are eighteen or twenty foot, but the houſe ſtretcheth four or five foot over each ſide, and is drawn with ten or twelve, or for more ſtate twenty camels and oxen. They have alſo great baſkets, made of ſmaller wickers, like great cheſts, with a covering of the ſame, all covered over with black felt, rubbed over with tallow and ſheeps milk, to keep out the rain, prettily bedecked with painting or feathers; in thoſe they put their houſhold ſtuff and treaſure, drawn upon other carts for that purpoſe. When they take down their houſes, they ſet the door always towards the ſouth, and their carts thirty or forty foot diſtant on each ſide, eaſt and weſt, as if they were two walls: The women alſo have moſt curious carts; every one of his wives hath a great one for herſelf, and ſo many other for her attendants, that there ſeem as many courts as he hath wives. One great *Tartar* or nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of thoſe houſes and carts, for his ſeveral offices and uſes, but ſet ſo far from each other, they will ſeem like a great village. Having taken their houſes from the carts, they place the maſter always towards the north; over whoſe head is always an image like a puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother; the women on his left-hand, and over the chief miſtreſs's head ſuch another brother, and between them a little one, which is the keeper of the houſe; at the good wife's bed's-feet is a kid's-ſkin ſtuffed with wool, and near it a puppet looking towards the maids; next the door another, with a dried cow's udder, for the women that milk the kine, becauſe only the men milk mares: Every morning thoſe images in their orders, they beſprinkle with that they drink, be it *Coſſmos*, or whatſoever, but all the white mares milk is reſerved for the prince. Then without the door, thrice to the ſouth, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire; then the like to the eaſt, in honour of the air; then to the weſt, in honour of the water; and laſtly to the north, in behalf of the dead. After the ſervant hath done this duty to the four quarters of the world, he returns into the houſe, where his fellows ſtand waiting, ready with two cups and two baſons, to give their maſter, and his wife that lay with him that night, to waſh and drink, who muſt keep him company all the day following, and all his other wives come thither to drink, where he keeps his houſe that day; and all the gifts preſented him till night, are laid up in her cheſts; and at the door a bench full of cups, and drink for any of them to make merry.

His houſes and carts.

Baſkets.

Their idolatry in their lodgings.

Coſſmos *is mares milk.*

CHAP. XV.

Their feaſts, common diet, princes eſtate, buildings, tributes, laws, ſlaves, entertainment of ambaſſadors.

Their feaſts.

FOR their feaſts they have all ſorts of beaſts, birds, fiſh, fruits and herbs they can get, but the more variety of wild ones is the beſt; to which they have excellent drink made of rice, millet and honey, like wine; they have alſo wine, but in ſummer they drink moſt *Coſſmos*, that ſtandeth ready always at the entrance of the door, and by it a fidler; when the maſter of the houſe beginneth to drink, they all cry ha, ha, and the fidler plays, then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their maſters, the women before their miſtreſſes; and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the fidler ſtayeth till they drink all round; ſometimes they will drink for the victory; and to provoke one to drink, they will pull him by the ears, and lug and draw him, to ſtretch and heat him, clapping their hands, ſtamping with their feet, and dancing before the champions, offering them cups, then draw them back again to increaſe their appetite; and thus continue till they be drunk, or their drink done, which they hold an honour and no infirmity.

Their common diet.

Though the ground be fertile, they ſow little corn, yet the gentlemen have bread and hony-wine; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good fleſh and fiſh; but the common ſort ſtamped millet, mingled with milk and water. They call

Caſſa for meat, and drink any thing; alſo any beaſt unprofitable for ſervice they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, guts, liver and all; but the moſt fleſhy parts they cut in thin ſlices, and hang it up in the ſun and wind without ſalting, where it will dry ſo hard, it will not putrefy in a long time. A ram they eſteem a great feaſt among forty or fifty, which they cut in pieces boiled or roaſted, and put it in a great bowl with ſalt and water; for other ſawce they have none; the maſter of the feaſt giveth every one a piece, which he eateth by himſelf, or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them ſo infinite in cattle, and their great number of captivated women to breed upon, makes them ſo populous. But near the chriſtian frontiers, the baſer ſort make little cottages of wood, call'd *Uluſt*, daubed over with dirt, and beaſts dung covered with ſedge; yet in ſummer they leave them, beginning their progreſs in *April*, with their wives, children and ſlaves, in their carted houſes, ſcarce convenient for four or five perſons; driving their flocks towards *Precopia*, and ſometimes into *Taurica* or *Oſow*, a town upon the river *Tanais*, which is great and ſwift, where the *Turk* hath a grrriſon; and in *October* return again to their cottages. Their clothes are the ſkins of dogs, goats and ſheep, lined with cotton cloth, made of their fineſt wooll; for of their worſt they make their felt, which they uſe in abundance, as well for ſhoes and caps, as houſes, beds and idols; alſo of the coarſe wool mingled with horſe hair, they make all their cordage. Notwithſtanding this wandering life, their princes ſit in great ſtate upon beds or carpets, and with great reverence are attended both by men and women, and richly ſerved in plate, and great ſilver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furs, lined with pluſh, or taffity, or robes of tiſſue. Theſe *Tartars* poſſeſs many large and goodly plains, wherin feed innumerable herds of horſe and cattle, as well wild as tame; which are elkes, biſons, horſes, deer, ſheep, goats, ſwine, bears and divers others.

How they become populous.

Their princes ſtate.

Ancient buildings.

In thoſe countries are the ruins of many fair monaſteries, caſtles and cities, as *Bacaſaray*, *Salutium*, *Almaſſary*, *Precopia*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capha*, and divers others by the ſea, but all kept with ſtrong garriſons for the great *Turk*, who yearly by trade or traffick, receiveth the chief commodities thoſe fertile countries afford, as bezoar, rice, furs, hides, butter, ſalt, cattle and ſlaves, yet by the ſpoils they get from the ſecure and idle chriſtians, they maintain themſelves in this pomp. Alſo their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very coſtly, yet in a conſtant cuſtom with decency.

Commodities for tribute to the Turk.

They are mahometans, as are the *Turks*, from whom alſo they have their laws, but no lawyers nor attornies, only judges, and juſtices in every village or hordia; but capital criminals, or matters of moment, are try'd before the *Chan* himſelf, or privy-councils, of whom they are always heard, and ſpeedily diſcharged; for any may have acceſs at any time to them, before whom they appear with great reverence, adoring their princes as gods, and their ſpiritual judges as ſaints; for juſtice is with ſuch integrity and expedition executed, without covetouſneſs, bribery, partiality and brawling, that in ſix months they have ſometimes ſcarce ſix cauſes to hear. About the prince's court, none but his guard wear any weapon, but abroad they go very ſtrong, becauſe there are many banditoes and thieves.

Good laws, yet no lawyers.

They uſe the *Hungarians*, *Ruſſians*, *Wallachians* and *Moldavian* ſlaves (whereof they have plenty) as beaſt to every work; and thoſe *Tartars* that ſerve the *Chan* or noblemen, have only victuals and apparel, the reſt are generally naſty and idle, naturally miſerable, and in their wars better thieves than ſoldiers.

Their ſlaves.

This *Chan* hath yearly a donative from the king of *Poland*, the dukes of *Lithuania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagayon Tartars*; their meſſengers commonly he uſeth bountifully and very nobly, but ſometimes moſt cruelly; when any of them do bring their preſents, by his houſhold officers, they are entertained in a plain field, with a moderate proportion of fleſh, bread and wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultans*, *Tuians*, *Ulans*, *Marbies*, his chief officers and councellors attend; one man only bringeth the ambaſſador to the court gate, but to the *Chan* he is led between two councellors; where ſaluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their meſſage, are admitted to eat with him, and preſented with a great ſilver cup full of mead from his own hand, but they drink it upon their knees. When they are diſpatched, he invites them again; the feaſt ended, they go back a little from the palace door, and are rewarded with ſilk veſtures, wrought with gold down to their anckles, with an horſe or two, and ſometimes a ſlave of their own nation; in thoſe robes preſently they come to him again, to give him thanks, take their leave, and ſo depart.

His entertainment of ambaſſadors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

How he levieth an army; their arms and proviſion; how he divideth the ſpoil, and his ſervice to the great Turk.

How he levieth an army.

WHEN he intends any wars, he muſt firſt have leave of the great *Turk*, whom he is bound to aſſiſt when he commandeth, receiving daily for himſelf and chief of his nobility, penſions from the *Turk*, that holds all kings but ſlaves, that pay tribute, or are ſubject to any: ſignifying his intent to all his ſubjects, within a month commonly he raiſeth his army, and every man is to furniſh himſelf for three months with victuals, which is parch'd millet, or ground to meal, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is ſaid,) hard cheeſe or curds dried and beaten to powder; a little will make much water like milk, and dried fleſh, this they put alſo up in ſacks: The *Chan* and his nobles have ſome bread and *Aquavitæ*, and quick cattle to kill when they pleaſe, wherewith very ſparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert guides, and got into the countrey he intends to invade, he ſends forth his ſcouts to bring in what priſoners they can, from whom he will wreſt the utmoſt of their knowledge fit for his purpoſe: Having adviſed with his council, what is moſt fit to be done, the nobility, according to their antiquity, doth march; then moves he with his whole army: If he find there is no enemy to oppoſe him, he adviſeth how far they ſhall invade, commanding every man (upon pain of his life) to kill all the obvious ruſticks, but not to hurt any women or children.

The manner of his wars.

Ten or fifteen thouſand, he commonly placeth, where he findeth moſt convenient for his ſtanding camp; the reſt of his army he divides in ſeveral troops, bearing ten or twelve miles ſquare before them, and ever within three or four days return to their camp, putting all to fire and ſword, but that they carry with them back to their camp; and in this ſcattering manner he will invade a countrey, and be gone with his prey, with an incredible expedition. But if he underſtand of an enemy, he will either fight in ambuſcado or flie; for he will never fight any battle if he can chuſe, but upon treble advantage; yet by his innumerable flights of arrows, I have ſeen fly from his flying troops, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was moſt dangerous, ſo good is his horſe, and ſo expert his bowmen; but if they be ſo intangled they muſt fight, there is none can be more hardy or reſolute in their defences.

How he divides the ſpoil.

Regaining his own borders, he takes the tenth of the principal captives, man, woman, child or beaſt (but his captains that take them, will accept of ſome particular perſon they beſt like for themſelves;) the reſt are divided amongſt the whole army, according to every man's deſert and quality; that they keep them, or ſell them to who will give moſt; but they will not forget to uſe all the means they can, to know their eſtates, friends and quality, and the better they find you, the worſe they will uſe you, till you do agree to pay ſuch a ranſome as they will impoſe upon you; therefore many great perſons have endured much miſery to conceal themſelves, becauſe their ranſoms are ſo intolerable; their beſt hope is of ſome chriſtian agent, that many times cometh to redeem ſlaves, either with money or man for man; thoſe agents knowing ſo well the extreme covetouſneſs of the *Tartars*, do uſe to bribe ſome jew or merchant, that feigning they will ſell them again to ſome other nation, are oft redeemed for a very ſmall ranſom.

How the Chan doth ſerve the great Turk.

But to this *Tartarian* army, when the *Turk* commands, he goeth with ſome ſmall artillery; and the *Nagayans*, *Precopeans*, *Crims*, *Oſovens* and *Circaſſians* are his tributaries; but the *Petigorwes*, *Oczaconians*, *Bialogordens* and *Dobrucen Tartars*, the *Turk* by covenant commands to follow him, ſo that from all thoſe *Tartars* he hath had an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand excellent, ſwift, ſtomachful *Tartarian* horſe, for foot they have none. Now the *Chan*, his ſultans and nobility, uſe *Turkiſh*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian* and other ſtrange *Tartarian* horſes; the ſwifteſt they eſteem the beſt; ſeldom they feed any more at home, than they have preſent uſe for; but upon their plains is a ſhort wood-like heath, in ſome countries like gail, full of berries, much better than any graſs.

Their arms.

Their arms are ſuch, as they have ſurpriſed or got from the chriſtians or *Perſians*, both breſt-plates, ſwords, ſcimiters, and helmets; bows and arrows they make moſt themſelves; alſo their bridles and ſaddles are indifferent, but the nobility are very handſome, and well armed like the *Turks*, in whom conſiſteth their greateſt glory; the ordinary ſort have little armour, ſome a plain young pole unſhaven, headed with a piece of iron for a lance; ſome an old chriſtian pike, or a *Turk*'s cavarinel; yet thoſe tattertimallions will have two or three

three horſes, ſome four or five, as well for ſervice, as for to eat; which makes their armies ſeem thrice ſo many as there are ſoldiers. The *Chan* himſelf hath about his perſon, 10000 choſen *Tartars* and *Janizaries*, ſome ſmall ordnance; and a white mare's tail, with a piece of green taffity on a great pike, is carried before him for a ſtandard; becauſe they hold no beaſt ſo precious as a white mare, whoſe milk is only for the king and nobility, and to ſacrifice to their idols, but the reſt have enſigns of divers colours.

For all this miſerable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the miſchief they do in *Chriſtendom* is wonderful, by reaſon of their hardneſs of life and conſtitution, obedience, agility, and their emperor's bounty, honours, grace, and dignities he ever beſtoweth upon thoſe, that have done him any memorable ſervice in the face of his enemies.

A deſcription of the Caſpian ſea.

The *Caſpian* ſea, moſt men agree that have paſſed it, to be in length about 200 leagues, and in breadth 150, environed to the eaſt, with the great deſarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkomania*; to the weſt by the *Circaſſes* and the mountain *Caucaſus*; to the north, by the river *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*; and to the ſouth, by *Media* and *Perſia:* This ſea is freſh water in many places, in others as ſalt as the great ocean; it hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of *Volga*, which is like a ſea, running near 2000 miles, thro' many great and large countries, that ſend into it many other great rivers; alſo out of *Saberia*, *Yaick*, and *Yem*, out of the great mountain *Caucaſus*, the river *Sirus*, *Araſh*, and divers others, yet no ſea nearer it than the black ſea, which is at leaſt 100 leagues diſtant: In which countrey live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Neſtorians*; it is neither found to increaſe or diminiſh, or empty itſelf any ways except it be under ground, and in ſome places they can find no ground at 200 fathom.

Many other moſt ſtrange and wonderful things are in the land of *Cathay*, towards the north-eaſt, and *China* towards the ſouth-eaſt, where are many of the moſt famous kingdoms in the world, where moſt arts, plenty, and curioſities are in ſuch abundance, as might ſeem incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from ſuch authors as have lived there.

CHAP. XVII.

How captain Smith *eſcaped his captivity; ſlew the* Baſhaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his paſſage to* Ruſſia, Tranſilvania, *and the midſt of* Europe *to* Africa.

How Smith *eſcaped his captivity.*

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thraldom, was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who ſurely was ignorant of his bad uſage; for altho' he had often debated the matter with ſome chriſtians, that had been there a long time ſlaves, they could not find how to make an eſcape, by any reaſon or poſſibility; but God beyond man's expectation or imagination helpeth his ſervants, when they leaſt think of help, as it hapned to him. So long he lived in this miſerable eſtate, as he became a threſher at a grange in a great field, more than a league from the *Tymor*'s houſe; the *Baſhaw*, as he oft uſed to viſit his granges, viſited him, and took occaſion ſo to beat, ſpurn, and revile him, that forgetting all reaſon, he beat out the *Tymor*'s brains with his threſhing bat, for they have no flails; and ſeeing his eſtate could be no worſe than it was, clothed himſelf in his clothes, hid his body under the ſtraw, filled his knapſack with corn, ſhut the doors, mounted his horſe, and ran into the deſart at all adventures; two or three days, thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was, he met not any to aſk the way; being even as taking leave of this miſerable world, God did direct him to the great way or caſtragan, as they call it, which doth croſs theſe large territories, and generally known among them by theſe marks.

Their guides in thoſe countries.

In every croſſing of this great way is planted a poſt, and in it ſo many bobs with broad ends, as there be ways, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonſtrateth to whrt part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Crim*'s countrey, is marked with a half moon; if towards the *Georgians* and *Perſians*, a black man, full of white ſpots; if towards *China*, the picture of the ſun; if towards *Muſcovia*, the ſign of a croſs; if towards the habitation of any other prince, the figure whereby his ſtandard is known. To his dying ſpirits thus God added ſome comfort in this melancholly journey, wherein if he had met any of that vile generation, they had made him their ſlave, or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his neck, (as all ſlaves have) he had been ſent back

again

again to his maſter; ſixteen days he travelled in this fear and torment, after the croſs, till he arrived at *Æcopolis*, upon the river *Don*, a garriſon of the *Muſcovites*. The governor after due examination of thoſe his hard events, took off his irons, and ſo kindly uſed him, he thought himſelf new riſen from the dead, and the good lady *Calamata*, largely ſupplied all his wants.

The deſcription of Cambia, *and his paſſage to* Ruſſia.

This is as much as he could learn of thoſe wild countries, that the countrey of *Cambia* is two days journey from the head of the great river *Bruapo*, which ſpringeth from many places of rhe mountains of *Innagachi*, that join themſelves together in the pool *Kerkas*; which they account for the head, and falleth into the ſea *Diſſabacca*, called by ſome the lake *Mæotis*, which receiveth alſo the river *Tanais*, and all the rivers that fall from the great countries of the *Circaſſi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Coſſunka*, and the *Crim*; thro' which ſea he ſailed, and up the river *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence thro' the deſarts of *Circaſſi* to *Æcopolis*, as is related; where he ſtayed with the governor, till the convoy went to *Caragnaw*; then with his certificate how he found him, and had examined with his friendly letters, ſent him by *Zumalack* to *Caragnaw*, whoſe governor in like manner ſo kindly uſed him, that by this means he went with a ſafe conduct to *Letch* and *Donko* in *Cologoſke*, and thence to *Berniſke*, and *Newgrod* in *Siberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the river *Nieper*, in the confines of *Lithuania*; from whence with as much kindneſs, he was convoyed in like manner by *Coroſki*, *Dubereſko*, *Duzibell*, *Drohobus*, and *Oſtroge* in *Volonia*; *Saſlaw*, and *Laſco* in *Podolia*; *Halico* and *Colonia* in *Polonia*; and ſo to *Hermonſtat* in *Tranſilvania*. In all this his life, he ſeldom met with more reſpect, mirth, content and entertainment; and not any governor where he came, but gave him ſomewhat as a preſent, beſides his charges; ſeeing themſelves as ſubject to the like calamity. Through thoſe poor continually forraged countries, there is no paſſage, but with the caravans or convoys; for they are countries rather to be pitied than envied; and it is a wonder any ſhould make wars for them. The villages are only here and there, a few houſes of ſtreight fir trees, laid heads and points above one another, made faſt by notches at the ends, more than a man's heighth, and with broad ſplit boards, pinned together with wooden pins, as thatched for coverture. In ten villages you ſhall ſcarce find ten iron nails, except it be in ſome extraordinary man's houſe. For their towns *Æcopolis*, *Letch* and *Donko*, have rampires made of that wooden walled faſhion, double, and betwixt them earth and ſtones, but ſo latched with croſs timber, they are very ſtrong againſt any thing but fire; and about them a deep ditch, and a palizado of young fir trees; but moſt of the reſt have only a great ditch caſt about them, and the ditches earth, is all their rampire; but round well invironed with palizadoes. Some have ſome few ſmall pieces of ſmall ordnance and ſlings, calievers and muſkets, but their generalleſt weapons are the *Ruſſe* bows and arrows; you ſhall find pavements over bogs, only of young fir-trees laid croſs one over another, for two or three hours journey, or as the paſſage requires, and yet in two days travel, you ſhall ſcarce ſee ſix habitations. Notwithſtanding to ſee how their lords, governors and captains are civilized, well attired and accoutred with jewels, ſables and horſes, and after their manner with curious furniture, it is wonderful; but they are all lords or ſlaves, which makes them ſo ſubject to every invaſion.

His obſervations in his journey to Tranſilvania, *through the midſt of* Europe.

In *Tranſilvania* he found ſo many good friends, that but to ſee, and rejoyce himſelf (after all thoſe encounters) in his native countrey, he would ever hardly have left them, though the mirrour of virtue their prince was abſent. Being thus glutted with content, and near drowned with joy, he paſſed *High-Hungaria* by *Fileck*, *Tocka*, *Caſſovia* and *Vnderoroway* by *Ulmicht* in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*; at laſt he found the moſt gracious prince *Sigiſmundus*, with his colonel at *Lipſwick* in *Miſenland*, who gave him his paſs, intimating the ſervice he had done, and the honours he had received, with fifteen hundred ducats of gold to repair his loſſes: With this he ſpent ſome time to viſit the fair cities and countries of *Dreſden* in *Saxony*, *Magdeburgh* and *Brunſwick*, *Caſſel* in *Heſſen*; *Wittenberg*, *Vilum*, and *Minekin* in *Bavaria*; *Augſburg* and her univerſities; *Hama*, *Frankford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate*; *Worms*, *Spires* and *Straſburg*; paſſing *Nancie* in *Lorain*, and *France* by *Paris* to *Orleans*, he went down the river of *Loyer* to *Angiers*, and imbarked himſelf at *Nantz* in *Britain*, for *Bilboa* in *Biſkay*, to ſee *Burgos-Valladolid*, the admired monaſtery of the *Eſcurial*, *Madrid*, *Toledo*, *Corduba*, *Cuedyrial*, *Sevil*, *Cheries*, *Cales* and *St. Lucas* in *Spain*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The obſervations of captain Smith; *Mr.* Henry Archer, *and others in* Barbary.

BEing thus ſatisfied with *Europe* and *Aſia*, underſtanding of the wars in *Barbary*, he went from *Gibraltar* to *Ceuta* and *Tangier*, thence to *Saffee*, where growing into acquaintance with a *French* man of war, the captain and ſome twelve more went to *Morocco*, to ſee the ancient monuments of that large renowned city: It was once the principal city in *Barbary*, ſituated in a goodly plain countrey, 14 miles from the great mount *Atlas*, and ſixty miles from the *Atlantick-Sea*, but now little remaining but the king's palace, which is like a city of it ſelf, and the chriſtian church, on whoſe flat ſquare ſteeple is a great broach of iron, whereon is placed the three golden balls of *Africa*: The firſt is near three ells in circumference, the next above it ſomewhat leſs, the uppermoſt the leaſt over them, as it were an half ball, and over all a pretty gilded *Pyramid*. Againſt thoſe golden balls hath been ſhot many a ſhot, their weight is recorded 700 weight of pure gold, hollow within, yet no ſhot did ever hit them, nor could ever any conſpirator attain that honour as to get them down. They report, the prince of *Morocco* betrothed himſelf to the king's danghter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their marriage, ſhe cauſed thoſe three golden balls to be ſet up for his monument, and vowed virginity all her life. The *Alfantica* is alſo a place of note, becauſe it is invironed with a great wall, wherein lie the goods of all the merchants ſecurely guarded. The *Inderea* is alſo (as it were) a city of it ſelf, where dwell the *Jews*: The reſt for the moſt part is defaced; but by the many pinnacles and towers, with balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much ſumptuouſneſs and curioſity. There have been many famous univerſities, which are now but ſtables for fowls and beaſts, and the houſes in moſt parts lie tumbled one above another: the walls of earth are with the great freſh flouds waſhed to the ground; nor is there any village in it, but tents for ſtrangers, *Larbes* and *Moors*. Strange tales they will tell of a great garden, wherein were all ſorts of birds, fiſhes, beaſts, fruits and fountains, which for beauty, art and pleaſure, exceeded any place known in the world, though now nothing but dung-hills, pigeon-houſes, ſhrubs and buſhes. There are yet many excellent fountains, adorned with marble, and many arches, pillars, towers, ports, and temples; but moſt only reliques of lamentable ruins and ſad deſolation.

The three golden balls of Africa.

The deſcription of Morocco.

When *Muly Hamet* reigned in *Barbary*, he had three ſons, *Muly Sheck*, *Muly Sidan* and *Muly Bufferres*, he a moſt good and noble king, that governed well with peace and plenty, till his empreſs, more cruel than any beaſt in *Africa*, poiſoned him, her own daughter, *Muly Sheck*, his eldeſt ſon, born of a *Portugal* lady, and his daughter, to bring *Muly Sidan*, to the crown, now reigning, which was the cauſe of all thoſe brawls and wars that followed betwixt thoſe brothers, their children, and a ſaint that ſtarted up, but he played the devil.

A bloody empreſs.

King *Huly Hamet* was not black, as many ſuppoſe, but *Molata* or tawny, as are the moſt of his ſubjects; every way noble, kind and friendly, very rich and pompous in ſtate and majeſty, though he ſitteth not upon a throne nor chair of ſtate, but croſs leg'd upon a rich carpet, as doth the *Turk*, whoſe religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miſerable curioſity they obſerve. His ordinary guard is at leaſt 5000, but in progreſs, he goeth not with leſs than 20000 horſemen, himſelf as rich in all his equipage, as any prince in chriſtendom, and yet a contributor to the *Turk*. In all his kingdom were ſo few good artificers, that he entertained from *England*, goldſmiths, plummers, carvers and poliſhers of ſtone, and watch-makers, ſo much he delighted in the reformation of workmanſhip, he allowed each of them ten ſhillings a day ſtanding fee, linen, woollen, ſilks, and what they would for diet and apparel, and cuſtom free to tranſport or import what they would; for there were ſcarce any of thoſe qualities in his kingdom, but thoſe, of which there are divers of them, living at this preſent in *London*. Amongſt the reſt, one Mr. *Henry Archer*, a watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Juderea*, the way being very foul, met a great prieſt, or a *Sante* (as they call all great clergymen) who would have thruſt him into the dirt for the way, but *Archer* not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the ear; preſently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off: But no ſooner it was known at the king's court but 300 of his guard came and broke open the priſon, and delivered him although the fact was next degree to treaſon.

King Muly Hamet, *or the great* Zeriff *of* Barbary.

His great love to Engliſhmen.

The ſtrange love of a lion.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting: Not far from mount *Atlas*, a great lioneſs in the heat of the day, did uſe to bathe her ſelf, and teach her young puppies to ſwim in the river *Cauzef*, of a good breadth; yet ſhe would carry them one after another over the river; which ſome *Moors* perceiving, watched their opportunity, and when the river was between her and them, ſtole four of her whelps, which ſhe perceiving, with all the ſpeed ſhe could paſſed the river, and coming near them, they let fall a whelp (and fled with the reſt) which ſhe took in her mouth, and ſo returned to the reſt: A male and a female of thoſe they gave Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the king's garden, till the male killed the female, then he brought it up as puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew ſo great as a maſtiff, and no dog more tame or gentle to them he knew: But being to return to *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a merchant of *Marſeilles*, that preſented him to the *French* king, who ſent him to king *James*, where it was kept in the tower ſeven years: After one Mr. *John Bull*, then ſervant to Mr. *Archer*, with divers of his friends, went to ſee the lions, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare beaſt ſmelled him before he ſaw him, whining, groaning and tumbling, with ſuch an expreſſion of acquaintance, that being informed by the keepers how he came thither, Mr. *Bull* ſo prevail'd, the keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went it: But no dog could fawn more on his maſter, than the lion on him, licking his feet, hands and face, ſkipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being ſatisfied with his acquaintance, he made ſhift to get out of the grate: But when the lion ſaw his friend gone, no beaſt by bellowing, roaring, ſcratching and howling, could expreſs more rage and ſorrow; nor in four days after would he either eat or drink.

Another kind lion in Morocco.

In *Morocco* the king's lions are altogether in a court invironed with a great high wall; to thoſe they put a young puppy-dog: The greateſt lion had a ſore upon his neck, which this dog ſo licked, that he was healed: The lion defended him from the fury of all the reſt, nor durſt they eat till the dog and he had fed; this dog grew great, and lived amongſt them many years after.

The deſcription of Fez.

Fez alſo is a moſt large and plentiful countrey, the chief city is called *Fez*, divided into two parts; old *Fez*, containing about 80 thouſand houſholds, the other 4000 pleaſantly ſituated upon a river in the heart of *Barbary*, part upon hills, part upon plains, full of people and all ſorts of merchandize. The great temple is called *Carucen*, in breadth ſeventeen arches, in length 120, born up with 2500 white marble pillars; Under the chief arch, where the tribunal is kept, hangeth a moſt huge lamp, compaſſed with 110 leſſer, under the other alſo hang great lamps, and about ſome are burning 1500 lights: They ſay they were all made of the bells the *Arabians* brought from *Spain*. It hath three gates of notable heighth, prieſts and officers ſo many, that the circuit of the church, the yard, and other houſes, is little leſs than a mile and half in compaſs; there are in this city 200 ſchools, 200 inns, 400 water-mills, 600 water-conduits, 700 temples and oratories; but 50 of them moſt ſtately and richly furniſhed. Their *Alcazer* or *Burſe* is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents, to keep the ſun from the merchants, and them that come there. The king's palace, both for ſtrength and beauty is excellent, and the citizens have many great privileges. Thoſe two countries of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the beſt part of all *Barbary*, abounding with people, cattle, and all good neceſſaries for man's uſe. For the reſt, as the *Larbs* or mountainers, the kingdoms of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis* and *Ægypt*; there are many large hiſtories of them in divers languages, eſpecially that writ by that moſt excellent ſtateſman, *John de Leo*, who afterwards turned chriſtian.

A brief deſcription of the moſt unknown parts of Africa.

The unknown countries of *Guine* and *Binn*, theſe 26 years have been frequented with a few *Engliſh* ſhips only to trade, eſpecially the river of *Senega*, by captain *Brimſtead*, captain *Brocket*, Mr. *Crump*, and divers others. Alſo the great river of *Gambria*, by captain *Jobſon*, who is returned in thither again, in the year 1626, with Mr. *William Grent*, and thirteen or fourteen others, to ſtay in the countrey, to diſcover ſome way to thoſe rich mines of *Gago* or *Tumbatu*, from whence it is ſuppoſed the *Moors* of *Barbary* have their gold, and the certainty of thoſe ſuppoſed deſcriptions and relations of thoſe interior parts, which daily the more they are ſought into, the more they are corrected: For ſurely thoſe interior parts of *Africa*, are little known to either *Engliſh*, *French* or *Dutch*, though they uſe much the coaſt; therefore we will make little bold with the obſervations of the *Portugals*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The ſtrange diſcoveries and obſervations of the Portugals *in* Africa.

How the Portugals coaſted to the East-Indies.

THE *Portugals* on thoſe parts have the glory, who firſt coaſting along this weſtern ſhore of *Africa*, to find paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, within this 150 years, even from the *Streights of Gibralter*, about the cape of *Bonne Eſperance* to the *Perſian Gulf*, and thence all along the *Aſian* coaſt to the *Moluccas*, have ſubjected many great kingdoms, erected many commonwealths, built many great and ſtrong cities; and where is it they have not been by trade or force? No not ſo much as *Cape de Verd* and *Sermleone*; but moſt bays or rivers, where there is any trade to be had, eſpecially gold, or conveniency for refreſhment, but they are ſcattered; living ſo amongſt thoſe blacks, by time and cunning, they ſeem to be naturalized amongſt them. As for the iſles of the *Canaries*, they have fair towns, many villages, and many thouſands of people rich in commodities.

Or Edward.

Ordoardo Lopez, a noble *Portugue*, *Anno Dom.* 1578, imbarking himſelf for *Congo*, to trade, where he found ſuch entertainment, finding the king much oppreſſed with enemies, he found means to bring in the *Portugueſe* to aſſiſt him, whereby he planted there chriſtian religion, and ſpent moſt of his life to bring thoſe countries to the crown of *Portugal*, which he deſcribeth in this manner.

The kingdom of Congo.

The kingdom of *Congo* is about 600 miles diameter any way, the chief city, called *St. Savadore*, ſeated upon an exceeding high mountain, 150 miles from the ſea, very fertile, and inhabited with more than 100000 perſons, where is an excellent proſpect over all the plain countries about it well water'd, lying (as it were) in the center of this kingdom, over all which the *Portugueſe* now command, though but an handful in compariſon of the negroes. They have fleſh and fruits very plentiful of divers ſorts.

Wild elephants.

This kingdom is divided into five provinces, *viz. Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the principal, and can afford 400000 men of war. Elephants are bred over all thoſe provinces, and of wonderful greatneſs; though ſome report, they cannot kneel nor lie down, they can do both, and have their joints as other creatures for uſe: With their fore-feet they will leap upon trees to pull down the boughs, and are of that ſtrength, they will ſhake a great *Coco* tree for the nuts, and pull down a good tree with their tuſks, to get the leaves to eat, as well as ſedge and long graſs, *Coco* nuts and berries, *&c.* which with their trunk they put in their mouth, and chew it with their ſmaller teeth; in moſt of thoſe provinces, are many rich mines, but the negroes oppoſed the *Portugueſe* for working in them.

The kingdom of Angola.

The kingdom of *Angola* is wonderful populous, and rich in mines of ſilver, copper, and moſt other metals; fruitful in all manner of food, and ſundry ſorts of cattle, but dogs fleſh they love better than any other meat; they uſe few clothes, and no armour; bows, arrows and clubs are their weapons. But the *Portugueſe* are well armed againſt thoſe engines, and do buy yearly of thoſe blacks more than five thouſand ſlaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned.

The kingdom of Anchios.

The *Anchios* are a moſt valiant nation, but moſt ſtrange to all about them. Their arms are bows, ſhort and ſmall, wrapped about with ſerpents ſkins of divers colours, but ſo ſmooth, you would think them all one with the wood, and it makes them very ſtrong; their ſtrings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their arrows ſhort, which they ſhoot with an incredible quickneſs. They have ſhort axes of braſs and copper for ſwords; wonderful, loyal and faithful, and exceeding ſimple, yet ſo active, they ſkip amongſt the rocks like goats. They trade with them of *Nubea* and *Congo* for *Lamach*, which is a ſmall kind of ſhell-fiſh, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold moſt pure; they value them at divers prices, becauſe they are of divers ſorts, and thoſe they uſe for coin, to buy and ſell, as we do gold and ſilver; nor will they have any other money in all thoſe countries, for which they give elephants teeth; and ſlaves for ſalt, ſilk, linen cloth, glaſs-beads, and ſuch like *Portugal* commodities.

A ſtrange money.

Shambles of men's fleſh.

They circumciſe themſelves, and mark their faces with ſundry ſlaſhes from their infancy. They keep ſhambles of mens fleſh, as if it were beef or other victuals; for when they cannot have a good market for their ſlaves, or their enemies they take, they kill, and ſell them in this manner; ſome are ſo reſolute, in ſhewing how much they ſcorn death, they will offer themſelves and ſlaves, to this butchery to their prince and friends; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies in *America* and *Aſia*, yet none but thoſe are known to

be ſo mad, as to eat their ſlaves and friends alſo.

Religions and idols they have as many as nations and humours; but the devil hath the greateſt part of their devotions, whom all thoſe blacks do ſay is white; for there are no ſaints but blacks.

Divers nations yet unknown, and the wonders of Africa.

But beſides thoſe great kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola* and *Azichi*, in thoſe unfrequented parts are the kingdoms of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Battua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the *Iſle of St. Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the empires of *Monomotapa*, *Monemugi* and *Preſbyter John*, with whom they have a kind of trade, and their rites, cuſtoms, climates, temperatures and commodities by relation: Alſo great lakes, that deſerve the names of ſeas, and huge mountains of divers ſorts, as ſome ſcorched with heat, ſome covered with ſnow; the mountains of the ſun, alſo of the moon, ſome of chryſtal, ſome of iron, ſome of ſilver, and mountains of gold, with the original of *Nilus*; likewiſe ſundry ſorts of cattle, fiſhes, fowls, ſtrange beaſts and monſtrous ſerpents; for *Africa* was always noted to be a fruitful mother of ſuch terrible creatures, who meeting at their watering places, which are but ponds in deſart places, in regard of the heat of the countrey, and their extremities of nature, make ſtrange copulations, and ſo ingender thoſe extraordinary monſters. Of all theſe you may read in the hiſtory of this *Edward Lopez*, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Abraham Hartwel*, and dedicated to *John* lord archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 1597. But becauſe the particulars are moſt concerning the converſion of thoſe pagans, by a good poor prieſt, that firſt converted a noble man, to convert the king, and the reſt of the nobility; ſent for ſo many prieſts and ornaments into *Portugal*, to ſolemnize their baptiſms with ſuch magnificence, which was performed with ſuch ſtrange curioſities, that thoſe poor negroes adored them as gods, till the prieſts grew to that wealth, a biſhop was ſent to rule over them, which they would not endure, which endangered to ſpoil all before they could be reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with thoſe rarities of uncertainties; let us return again to *Barbary*, where the wars being ended, and *Befferres* poſſeſſed of *Morocco*, and his father's treaſure, a new bruit aroſe amongſt them, that *Muly Sidan* was raiſing an army againſt him, who after took his brother *Befferres* priſoner; but by reaſon of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murthers rather than war, amongſt thoſe perfidious, barbarous *Moors*, *Smith* returned with *Merham*, and the reſt to *Saffee*, and ſo aboard his ſhip, to try ſome other concluſions at ſea.

CHAP. XX.

A brave ſea-fight betwixt two Spaniſh *men of war, and captain* Merham, *with* Smith.

MErham, a captain of a man of war then in the road, invited captain *Smith* and two or three more of them aboard with him, where he ſpared not any thing he had to expreſs his kindneſs, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to go on ſhore, ſo that neceſſity conſtrained them to ſtay aboard; a fairer evening could not be; yet ere midnight, ſuch a ſtorm did ariſe, they were forced to let ſlip cable and anchor, and put to ſea; ſpooning before the wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*; in the calms they accommodated themſelves, hoping this ſtrange accident might yet produce ſome good event; not long it was before they took a ſmall bark coming from *Tenerif*, loaded with wine; three or four more they chaſed, two they took, but found little in them, ſave a few paſſengers, that told them of five *Dutch* men of war, about the iſles; ſo that they ſtood for *Boiadora*, upon the *African* ſhore, betwixt which and cape *Noa*, they deſcry'd two ſail. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they danced their topſails, and deſired the man of war to come aboard them, and take what he would, for they were but two poor diſtreſſed *Biſkayners*. But *Merham*, the old fox, ſeeing himſelf in the lion's paws, ſprung his louf, the other tacked after him, and came cloſe up to his nether quarter, gave his broad-ſide, and ſo louſed up to windward; the vice-admiral did the like, and at the next bout, the admiral with a noiſe of trumpets, and all his ordnance, murtherers and muſkets, boarded him on his broad-ſide; the other in like manner on his ley quarter, that it was ſo dark, there was little light, but fire and ſmoak; long he ſtayed not, before he fell off, leaving 4 or 5 of his men ſprawling over the grating; after they had battered *Merham* about an hour, they boarded him again as before, and threw four kedgars

gars or grapnels in iron chains, then ſhearing off, they thought ſo to have torn down the grating; but the admiral's yard was ſo intangled in the ſhrouds, *Merham* had time to diſcharge two croſs-bar ſhot amongſt them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpoſe, againſt his bow, that made ſuch a breach, he feared they both ſhould have ſunk for company; ſo that the *Spaniards* was as yare in ſlipping his chained grapnels, as *Merham* was in cutting the tackling, kept faſt their yards in his ſhrouds; the vice-admiral preſently cleared himſelf, but ſpared neither his ordnance nor muſkets to keep *Merham* from getting away, till the admiral had repaired his leak; from twelve at noon, till ſix at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the vice-admiral fell on ſtern, ſtaying for the admiral that came up again to him, and all that night ſtood after *Merham*, that ſhaped his courſe for *Mamora*; but ſuch ſmall way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from cape *Noa*. The two *Spaniſh* men of war, for ſo they were, and well appointed, taking it in ſcorn as it ſeemed, with their chaſe, broad-ſide and ſtern, the one after the other, within muſket ſhot, plying their ordnance; and after an hours work, commanded *Merham* amain for the king of *Spain* upon fair quarter; *Merham* drank to them, and ſo diſcharged his quarter-pieces: Which pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, boarded him again, and many of them were got to the top to unſling the main-ſail, which the maſter and ſome others from the round-houſe, cauſed to their coſt to come tumbling down; about the round-houſe the *Spaniards* were ſo peſter'd, that they were forced to the great caben and blew it up; the ſmoak and fire was ſo vehement, as they thought the ſhip on fire; they in the fore-caſtle were no leſs aſſaulted, that they blew up a piece of the grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themſelves with all ſpeed, and *Merham* with as much expedition to quench the fire with wet cloaths and water, which began to grow too faſt. The *Spaniard* ſtill playing upon him with all the ſhot they could; the open places preſently they covered with old ſails, and prepared themſelves to fight to the laſt man. The angry *Spaniard* ſeeing the fire quench'd, hung out a flag of truce to have but a parley; but that deſperate *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none, but the report of his ordnance, which he did know well how to uſe for his beſt advantage. Thus they ſpent the next afternoon, and half the night, when the *Spaniards* either loſt them or left them. Seven and twenty men *Merham* had ſlain, and ſixteen wounded, and could find they had received 140 great ſhot. A wounded *Spaniard* they kept alive confeſſed they had loſt 100 men in the admiral, which they did fear would ſink ere ſhe could recover a port. Thus reaccommodating their ſails, they ſailed for *Sancta Cruſe*, cape *Goa* and *Magadore*, till they came again to *Saffee*, and then he returned into *England*.

CHAP. XXI.

The continuation of the general hiſtory of Virginia, *the* Summer-Iſles *and* New-England; *with their preſent eſtate from* 1624 *to this preſent* 1629.

CONcerning theſe countries, I would be ſorry to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their maps, commodities, people, government and religion yet known; the beginning of theſe plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the adventurers, the yearly proceedings of every governor both here and there. As for the miſpriſions, neglect, grievances, and the cauſes of all thoſe rumours, loſſes and croſſes that have happened; I refer you to the general hiſtory, where you ſhall find all this at large, eſpecially to thoſe pages where you may read my letter of advice to the council and company, what of neceſſity muſt be done, or loſe all and leave the countrey, page 70, what commodities I ſent home, page 163, my opinion and offer to the company, to feed and defend the colonies, page 150, my account to them here of my actions there, page 163, my ſeven anſwers to his majeſty's commiſſioners: Seven queſtions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedy, page 165. How thoſe noble gentlemen ſpent near two years in peruſing all letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their complaints; eſpecially about the ſallery which ſhould have been a new office in *London*, for the well ordering the ſale of tobacco, that 2500 pounds ſhould yearly have been raiſed out of it, to pay four or five hundred pounds yearly to the gover-

nor

nor of that company, two or three hundred to his deputy; the reſt into ſtipends of forty or fifty pounds yearly for their clerks and other officers which were never there, page 153; but not one hundred pounds for all them in *Virginia*, nor any thing for the moſt part of the adventurers in *England*, except the undertakers for the lotteries, ſetters out of ſhips, adventurers of commodities, alſo their factors and many other officers, there imploy'd only by friendſhip to raiſe their fortunes out of the labours of the true induſtrious planters by the title of their office, who under the colour of ſincerity, did pillage and deceive all the reſt moſt cunningly: For more than 150000 pounds have been ſpent out of the common ſtock, beſides many thouſands have been there conſumed, and near 7000 people that there died, only for want of good order and government, otherwiſe long ere this there would have been more than 20000 people, where after twenty years ſpent only in complement and trying new concluſions, was remaining ſcarce 1500, with ſome few cattle.

Then the company diſſolved, but no account of any thing; ſo that his majeſty appointed commiſſioners to overſee and give order for their proceedings. Being thus in a manner left to themſelves, ſince then within theſe four years, you ſhall ſee how wonderfully they have increaſed beyond expectation; but ſo exactly as I deſired, I cannot relate unto you: For altho' I have tired my ſelf in ſeeking and diſcourſing with thoſe returned thence, more than would a voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that place or places they have inhabited, and he is a great traveller that hath gone up and down the river of *James-Town*, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smith*'s-*Iſles*, or *Accomack*; wherein for the moſt part, they keep one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants having been there, ſome ſixteen years, ſome twelve, ſome ſix, ſome near twenty, *&c.* But of their general eſtate, or any thing of worth, the moſt of them do know very little to any purpoſe.

Their eſtate 1627. Now the moſt I could underſtand in general, was from the relation of Mr. *Nathaniel Cawſey*, that lived there with me, and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627; and ſome others affirm, Sir *George Yerely* was governor, captain *Francis Weſt*, Dr. *John Pott*, captain *Roger Smith*, captain *Matthews*, captain *Tucker*, Mr. *Clabourn* and Mr. *Farrer*, of the council: Their habitations many. The governor, with two or three of the council, are for moſt part at *James-Town*, the reſt repair thither as there is occaſion; but every three months they have a general meeting, to conſider of their publick affairs.

Their numbers then were about 1500, ſome ſay rather 2000, divided into ſeventeen or eighteen ſeveral plantations; the greateſt part thereof, towards the falls, are ſo incloſed with palliſadoes they regard not the *Salvages*; and amongſt thoſe plantations above *James-Town*, they have now found means to take plenty of fiſh, as well with lines as nets, and where the waters are the largeſt, having means they need not want. *Their numbers.*

Upon this river they ſeldom ſee any *Salvages*, but in the woods many times their fires: Yet ſome few there are, that upon their opportunity, have ſlain ſome few ſtraglers, which have been revenged with the death of ſo many of themſelves; but no other attempt hath been made upon them this two or three years. *Their condition with the ſalvages.*

Their cattle, namely, oxen, kine, bulls, they imagine to be about 2000; goats great ſtore and great increaſe; the wild hogs, which are infinite, are deſtroy'd and eaten by the *Salvages*; but no family is ſo poor that hath not tame ſwine ſufficient; and for poultrey, he is a very bad huſband, that breedeth not an hundred in a year, and the richer ſort doth daily feed on them. *Their increaſe of cattle and poultry.*

For bread they have plenty, and ſo good, that thoſe that make it well, better cannot be: Divers have much *Engliſh* corn, eſpecially Mr. *Abraham Peree*, which prepared this year to ſow two hundred acres of *Engliſh* wheat, and as much with barley, feeding daily about the number of ſixty perſons at his own charges. *Plenty of corn.*

For drink, ſome malt the *Indian* corn, others barley, of which they make good ale, both ſtrong and ſmall, and ſuch plenty thereof, few of the upper planters drink any water: But the better ſort are well furniſh'd with ſack, *Aquavitæ* and good *Engliſh* beer. *Their drink.*

The ſervants commonly feed upon milk homily, which is bruiſed *Indian* corn pounded and boil'd thick, and milk for the ſawce; but boil'd with milk, the beſt of all will feed oft on it, and leave their fleſh; with milk, butter and cheeſe; with fiſh, bulls-fleſh, for they ſeldom kill any other, *&c.* And every one is ſo applied to his labour about tobacco and corn, which doth yield them ſuch profit, they never regarded any food from the *Salvages*, nor have they any trade or conference with them them, but upon meer accidents and defiances: And now the merchants have left it, there having gone ſo many voluntary ſhips within theſe two years, as have furniſhed them with apparel, ſack, *Aquavitæ*, and all neceſſaries, much better than any before. *Their ſervants diet.*

For arms, there is ſcarce any man but he is furniſh'd with a piece, a jack, a coat of *Their arms and exerciſe.*

of male, a ſword or rapier; and every holyday, every plantation doth exerciſe their men in arms, by which means hunting and fowling, the moſt part of them are moſt excellent markſmen.

Their health and diſcoveries.

For diſcoveries they have made none, nor any other commodity than tobacco do they apply themſelves unto, tho' never any was planted at firſt. And whereas the countrey was heretofore held moſt intemperate and contagions by many, now they have houſes, lodgings, vlctuals, and the ſun hath power to exhale up the moiſt vapours of the earth, where they have cut down the wood, which before it could not, being covered with ſpreading tops of high trees; they find it much more healthful than before; and for their numbers few countries are leſs troubled with death, ſickneſs or any other diſeaſe, or have their overgrown women become more fruitful.

The preſent ſtate of Virginia 1629.

Since this, Sir *George Yerely* died 1628, captain *Weſt* ſucceeded him, but about a year after, returned for *England:* Now Dr. *Poot* is governor, and the reſt of the council as before: *James-Town* is yet their chief ſeat, moſt of the wood deſtroy'd, little corn there planted, but all converted into paſture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England*, in abundance, and as good graſs as can be. Here moſt of their cattle do feed, their owners being moſt ſome one way, ſome another, about their plantations, and return again when they pleaſe, or any ſhipping comes in to trade. Here in the winter they have hay for their cattle, but in other places they browze upon wood, and the great huſks of their corn, with ſome corn in them, doth keep them well.

Mr. Hutchins. *Five thouſand people. Five thouſand cattle. Goats hogs and poultry infinite.*

Mr. *Hutchins* ſaith, they have 2000 cattle, and about 5000 people; but Maſter *Floud*, *John Daves*, *William Emerſon*, and divers others ſay about 5000 people, and 5000 kine, calves, oxen and bulls; for goats, hogs and poultry, corn, fiſh, deer, and many ſorts of other wild beaſt, and fowl in their ſeaſon, they have ſo much more than they ſpend, they are able to feed three or four hundred more than they have; and do oft much relieve many ſhips, both there and for their return; and this laſt year was there at leaſt two or three and twenty ſale. They have oft much ſalt-fiſh from *New-England*, but freſh fiſh enough, when they will take it; peaches in abundance at *Kekoughtan*; apples, pears, apricocks, vines, figs, and other fruits ſome have planted that proſpered exceedingly, but their diligence about tobacco, left them to be ſpoil'd by the cattle, yet now they begin to revive; Mrs. *Pearce*, an honeſt induſtrious women, hath been there near twenty years, and now returned, ſaith, ſhe hath a garden at *James-Town*, containing three or four acres, where in one year ſhe hath gathered near an hundred buſhels of excellent figs; and that of her own proviſion ſhe can keep a better houſe in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3 or 400 pounds a year, yet went thither with little or nothing. They have ſome tame geeſe, ducks and turkies. The maſters now do ſo train up their ſervants and youths in ſhooting deer and fowl, that the youths will kill them as well as their maſters. They have two brew-houſes, but they find the *Indian* corn ſo much better than ours, they begin to leave ſowing it. Their cities and towns are only ſcattered houſes, they call plantations, as our countrey villages, but no ordnance mounted. The forts captrin *Smith* left a building, ſo ruined, there is ſcarce mention where they were; no diſcoveries of any thing more, than the curing of tobacco, by which hitherto, being ſo preſent a commodity of gain, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are ſo disjointed, and every one commander of himſelf to plant what he will: They are now ſo well provided, that they are able to ſubſiſt, if they would join together, now to work upon ſoap-aſhes, iron, rape-oil, mader, pitch and tar, flax and hemp; as for their tobacco, there comes from many places ſuch abundance, and the charge ſo great, it is not worth the bringing home.

Good hoſpitality.

Commodities worth making, black wallnut, aſh for pikes, oak for planks, knees for ſhips, cypreſs for cheſts, &c.

There is gone, and now a going, divers ſhips, as captain *Perſe*, captain *Prine*, with Sir *John Harvey* to be their governor, with two or three hundred people; there is alſo ſome from *Briſtol* and other parts of the weſt-countrey a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to bleſs, and ſend them a happy and proſperous voyage.

Nathaniel Cauſie, maſter *Hutchins*, maſter *Floud*, *John Davis*, *William Emerſon*, maſter *William Barnet*, maſter *Cooper*, and others.

CHAP. XXII.

The proceedings and preſent eſtate of the Summer Iſles, *from* Anno Dom. 1624, *to this preſent* 1629.

FROM the *Summer Iſles*, Mr. *Ireland*, and divers others report, their forts, ordnance and proceedings, are much as they were in the Year 1622. as you may read in the general hiſtory, pag. 199. Captain *Woodhouſe* governour. There are few ſorts of any fruits in the *Weſt Indies*, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the ſoil in many places decayeth, being planted every year; for their plantains, which is a moſt delicate fruit, they have lately found a way by pickling or drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no ſuch fruit in *Europe*, and wonderful for increaſe. For fiſh, fleſh, figs, wine, and all ſorts of moſt excellent herbs, fruits and roots they have in abundance. In this governour's time, a kind of whale, or rather a *Jubarta*, was driven on ſhore in *Southampton* tribe from the weſt, over an infinite number of rocks ſo bruiſed, that the water in the bay where ſhe lay, was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedaſht with parmacitty, congealed like ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any boil, hurt or bruiſe; ſome burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very ſnuff will burn ſo long as there is any of the oil remaining, for two or three days together.

The preſent eſtate of the Summer Iſles, 1629.

The next governour was captain *Philip Bell*, whoſe time being expired, captain *Roger Wood* poſſeſs'd his place, a worthy gentleman of good deſert, and hath lived a long time in the countrey; their numbers are about 2 or 3000 Men, Women and Children, who increaſe there exceedingly; their greateſt complaint is want of apparel, and too much cuſtom, and too many officers; the pity is, there are no more men than women, yet no great miſchief, becauſe there is ſo much leſs pride: the cattle they have increaſe exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the merchants here, and planters there; to be brief, this iſle is an excellent bit to rule a great horſe.

All the cohow birds and egbirds are gone; ſeldom any wild cats ſeen; no rats to ſpeak off; but the worms are yet very troubleſome; the people very healthful, and the ravens gone; fiſh enough, but not ſo near the ſhore as it uſed, by the much beating it; it is an iſle that hath ſuch a rampire and a ditch, and for the quantity ſo manned, victualled, and fortified, as few in the world do exceed it, or is like it.

An evil miſchance.

The 22d of *March*, two ſhips came from thence; the *Peter-Bonaventure*, near 200 Tons, and ſixteen Pieces of ordnance; the captain, *Thomas Sherwin*; the maſter, Mr. *Edward Some*, like him in condition, a goodly, luſty, proper, valiant man: The *Lydia*, wherein was Mr. *Anthony Thorne*, a ſmaller ſhip, were chaſed by eleven ſhips of *Dunkirk*; being thus over-match'd, captain *Sherwin* was taken by them in *Torbay*, only his valiant maſter was ſlain; the ſhip with about ſeventy *Engliſh* men they carried betwixt *Dover* and *Calais* to *Dunkirk*; but the *Lydia* ſafely recovered *Dartmouth*.

Theſe noble adventurers for all thoſe loſſes patiently do bear them; but they hope the king and ſtate will underſtand it is worth keeping, tho' it afford nothing but tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, cuſtom and fraught pay'd, yet it is worth keeping, and not ſupplanting; tho' great Men feel not thoſe loſſes, yet gardiners, carpenters and ſmiths, do pay for it.

From the Relation of *Robert Cheſtevan* and others.

CHAP. XXIII.

The proceedings and preſent eſtate of New England, *ſince* 1624, *to this preſent* 1629.

Conſiderations about the loſs of time.

WHEN I went firſt to the north part of *Virginia*, where the weſterly colony had been planted, it had diſſolved it ſelf within a year, and there was not one chriſtian in all the land. I was ſet forth at the ſole charge of four merchants of *London*; the countrey being then reputed by your weſterlings, a moſt rocky, barren, deſolate deſart; but a good return I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the countrey, which I made ſo manifeſt, ſome of them did believe me, and they were well embraced both by the *Londoners* and the *Weſterlings*, for whom I had promiſed to undertake it, I thinking to have joined them all together; but that might well have

have been a work of *Hercules*. Betwixt them long there was much contention; the *Londoners* indeed went bravely forward; but in three or four years, I and my friends conſumed many hundred pounds amongſt the *Plimothians*, who only fed me with delays, promiſes and excuſes, but no performance of any thing to any purpoſe. In the interim, many particular ſhips went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the *Frenchmen*, as had been reported; yet farther, for my pains to diſcredit me, and my calling it *New-England*, they obſcured, and ſhadowed it, with the title of *Canada*, till at my humble ſuit, it pleaſed our moſt royal king *Charles*, whom God long keep, bleſs and preſerve, then prince of *Wales*, to confirm it with my map and book, by the title of *New-England*; the gain thence returning, did make the fame thereof ſo increaſe, that thirty, forty, or fifty ſail went yearly only to trade and fiſh; but nothing would be done for a plantation, till about ſome hundred of your browniſts of *England*, *Amſterdam* and *Leyden*, went to *New Plimouth*, whoſe humorous ignorances, cauſed them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of miſery, with an infinite patience; ſaying my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them than myſelf; many other have uſed the like good huſbandry, that have pay'd ſoundly in trying their ſelf-will'd concluſions; but thoſe in time doing well, divers others have in ſmall handfuls undertaken to go there, to be ſeveral lords and kings of themſelves, but moſt vaniſhed to nothing. Notwithſtanding the fiſhing ſhips, made ſuch good returns, at laſt it was ingroſſed by twenty patentees, that divided my map into twenty parts, and caſt lots for their ſhares; but money not coming in as they expected, procured a proclamation, none ſhould go thither without their licences to fiſh; but for every thirty tuns of ſhipping, to pay them five pounds; beſides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut down wood for the ſtages, without giving ſatisfaction, tho' all the countrey is nothing but wood, and none to make uſe of it, with many ſuch other pretences, for to make this countrey plant itſelf, by its own wealth: Hereupon moſt men grew ſo diſcontented, that few or none would go; ſo that the patentees, who never a one of them had been there, ſeeing thoſe projects would not prevail, have ſince not hindred any to go that would, that within theſe few laſt years, more have gone thither than ever.

The effect of negardlineſs.

A new plantation, 1629.

Now this year 1629, a great company of people of good rank, zeal, means and quality, have made a great ſtock, and with ſix good ſhips in the months of *April* and *May*, they ſet ſail from *Thames*, for the bay of the *Maſſachuſets*, otherwiſe called *Charles*'s river, *viz.* the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty pieces of ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteen, the *Lions-whelp* eight, the *Mayflower* fourteen, the *Four Siſters* fourteen, the *Pilgrim* four, with three hundred and fifty men, women and children; alſo an hundred and fifteen head of cattle, as horſe, mares, and neat beaſt; one and forty goats, ſome conies, with all proviſion for houſhold and apparel; ſix pieces of great ordnance for a fort, with muſkets, pikes, corſelets, drums, colours, with all proviſion neceſſary for a plantation, for the good of man; other particulars I underſtand of no more, than is writ in the general hiſtory of thoſe countries.

But you are to underſtand, that the noble lord chief juſtice *Popham*, judge *Dodderege*, the right honourable earls of *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Saliſbury*, and the reſt, as I take it, they did all think, as I and they that went with me, did; that, had thoſe two countries been planted, as it was intended, no other nation ſhould complant betwixt us. If ever the king of *Spain* and we ſhould fall foul, thoſe countries being ſo capable of all materials for ſhipping, by this might have been owners of a good fleet of ſhips, and have relieved a whole navy from *England* upon occaſion; yea, and have furniſhed *England* with the moſt eaſterly commodities; and now ſince, ſeeing how conveniently the *Summer Iſles* fell to our ſhares, ſo near the *Weſt-Indies*, we might with much more facility than the *Dutchmen* have invaded the *Weſt-Indies*, that doth now put in practiſe, what ſo long hath been adviſed on, by many an honeſt *Engliſh* ſtateſman.

Notes of inconvenicency.

Thoſe countries, captain *Smith* oft times uſed to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for ſo little content; and for thoſe that would truly underſtand, how many ſtrange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft down, ſometimes near deſpair, and ere long flouriſhing, cannot but conceive God's infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his deſigns been to have perſuaded men to a mine of gold, though few do conceive either the charge or pains in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or ſome new invention to paſs to the ſouth-ſea, or ſome ſtrange plot to invade ſome ſtrange monaſtery, or ſome portable countrey, or ſome chargeable fleet to take ſome rich carocks in the *Eaſt-Indies*; or letters of mart to rob ſome poor merchants; what

multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first imployed? But in those noble endeavours (now) how few of quality, unless it be to beg some monopoly; and those seldom seek the common good, but the commons goods, as you may read at large in his general history, *pag.* 217, 218, 219, his general observations and reasons for this plantation; for yet those countries are not so forward, but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than are; as this *Smith* will plainly demonstrate to his majesty, or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make *Virginia* able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all, and yield the king more custom within these few years, in certain staple commodities, than ever it did in tobacco; which now not being worth bringing home, the custom will be as uncertain to the king, as dangerous to the plantations.

CHAP. XXIV.

A brief discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly countrey of Guinea, *and the great river of the* Amazons; *relating also the present plantation there.*

IT is not unknown how that most industrious and honourable knight, sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the year of our Lord 1595, taking the isle of *Trinidada*, fell with the coast of *Guiana*, northward of the line 10 degrees, and coasted the coast, and searched up the river *Oranoco*; where understanding that twenty several voyages had been made by the *Spaniards*, in discovering this coast and river, to find a passage to the great city of *Mano*, called by them the *Eldorado*, or the golden city: He did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations: But means failing him, he left his trusty servant *Francis Sparrow* to seek it, who wandring up and down those countries, some fourteen or fifteen years, unexpectedly returned. I have heard him say, he was led blinded into this city by *Indians*; but little discourse of any purpose, touching the largeness of the report of it; his body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, shortly died here after in *England*. There are above thirty fair rivers that fall into the sea, between the river of the *Amazons* and *Oranoco*, which are some nine degrees asunder. In the year 1605, captain *Ley*, brother to that noble knight, sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himself in the river *Weapoco*, wherein I should have been a party; but he died, and there lies buried, and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sparrow *left to seek the great city of* Mano.

Captain Charles Ley.

Sir Thomas Roe.

Captain Morton.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, well known to be a most noble gentleman, before he went lord ambassador to the great *Mogul*, or the great *Turk*, spent a year or two upon this coast, and about the river of the *Amazons*; wherein he most imployed captain *Matthew Morton*, an expert seaman in the discovery of this famous river, a gentleman that was the first shot, and mortally supposed wounded to death, with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath been twice with command in the *East-Indies*; also captain *William White*, and divers other worthy and industrious gentlemen, both before and since, have spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly, but nothing more effected for a plantation, till it was undertaken by captain *Robert Harcote* 1609.

Captain White.

Captain Harcote.

This worthy gentleman, after he had by commission made a discovery to his mind, left his brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fifty or sixty men in the river *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained, by the favour of prince *Henry*, a large patent for all that coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous river of *Amazons*, to him and his heirs: But so many troubles here surprized him, tho' he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few he sent over as passengers, with certain *Dutchmen*, but to small purpose. Thus this business lay dead for divers years, till sir *Walter Raleigh*, accompanied with many valiant soldiers and brave gentlemen, went his last voyage to *Guinea*, amongst the which was captain *Roger North*, brother to the right honourable the lord *Dudley North*, who upon this voyage having stayed, and seen divers rivers upon this coast, took such a liking to those countries, having had before this voyage, more perfect and particular information of the excellency of the great river of the *Amazons*, above any of the rest, by certain *Englishmen* returned so rich, from thence in good commodities, they would not go with sir *Walter Raleigh* in search of gold; that after his return for *England*, he endeavoured by his best abilities to interest his countrey and state in those fair regions, which by the way of letters patents unto divers noblemen and gentlemen of quality, was erected into a company, and perpetuity for trade and plantation, not knowing of the interest of captain *Harcote*.

Whereupon,

Captain Roger North.

Whereupon, accompanied with 120 gentlemen and others, with a ſhip, a pinnace and two ſhallops, to remain in the countrey, he ſet ſail from *Plimouth* the laſt of *April* 1620, and within ſeven weeks after he arrived well in the *Amazons*, only with the loſs of one old man: Some hundred leagues they ran up the river to ſettle his men, where the ſight of the countrey and people ſo contented them, that never men thought themſelves more happy: Some *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* that had lived there ſome eight years, only ſupplied by the *Dutch*, he reduced to his company and to leave the *Dutch*: Having made a good voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he returned to *England* with divers good commodities beſides tobacco: So that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not been thus croſſed, the generality of *England* had by this time been won and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great buſineſs effected, by reaſon of the great power the lord *Gundamore*, ambaſſador for the king of *Spain*, had in *England*, to croſs and ruin thoſe proceedings; and ſo unfortunate captain *North* was in this buſineſs, he was twice committed priſoner to the *Tower*, and the goods detained till they were ſpoiled, who beyond all others, was by the much greateſt adventurer and loſer.

Nota bene.

Notwithſtanding all this, thoſe that he had left in the *Amazons*, would not abandon the countrey. Captain *Thomas Painton*, a worthy gentleman, his lieutenant died. Captain *Charles Parker*, brother to the right honourable the lord *Morley*, lived there ſix years after; Mr. *John Chriſtmas* five years, ſo well, they would not return, altho' they might, with divers other gentlemen of quality and others: All thus deſtitute of any ſupplies from *England*. But all authority being diſſolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings, than all other croſſes whatſoever. Some relief they had ſometime from the *Dutch*, who knowing their eſtates, gave what they pleaſed, and took what they liſt. Two brothers, gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who ſtayed three years there, are now gone to ſtay in the *Amazons*, in the ſhips lately ſent thither.

The buſineſs thus remaining in this ſort, three private men left of that company, named Mr. *Thomas Warriner*, *John Rhodes*, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two years, came for *England*, and to be free from the diſorders that did grow in the *Amazons*, for want of government amongſt their countreymen, and to be quiet amongſt themſelves, made means to ſet themſelves out for St. *Chriſtophers*; their whole number being but fifteen perſons that paid for their paſſage in a ſhip going for *Virginia*, where they remained a year before they were ſupplied, and then that was but four or five men. Thus this iſle, by this ſmall beginning, having no interruption by their own countrey, hath not got the ſtart of the continent and main land of *Guinea*, which hath been laid apart, and let alone until that captain *North*, ever watching his beſt opportunity and advantage of time in the ſtate, hath now again purſued, and ſet on foot his former deſign: Captain *Harcote* being now willing to ſurrender his grant, and to join with captain *North*, in paſſing a new patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the coaſt and countrey of *Guinea* for ever. Whereupon, they have ſent this preſent year in *January*, and ſince 1628, four ſhips, with near 200 perſons; the firſt ſhip with 112 men, not one miſcarried; the reſt went ſince, not yet heard of; and they are preparing another with their beſt expedition; and ſince *January* are gone from *Holland*, 100 *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, conducted by the old planters.

This great river lieth under the line; the two chief head lands north and ſouth, are about three degrees aſunder, the mouth of it is ſo full of many great and ſmall iſles, it is an eaſy matter for an unexperienced pilot to loſe his way. It is held one of the greateſt rivers in *America*, and as moſt men think in the world; and cometh down with ſuch a freſh, it maketh the ſea freſh, more than thirty miles from the ſhore. Captain *North* having ſeated his men about 100 leagues in the main, ſent captain *William White*, with thirty gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirty tun, to dicover farther, which they did ſome 200 leagues, where they found the river to divide itſelf into two parts, till then all full of iſlands, and a countrey moſt healthful, pleaſant and fruitful; for they found food enough, and all returned ſafe and in good health: In this diſcovery, they ſaw many towns well inhabited, ſome with three hundred people, ſome with five, ſix, or ſeven hundred; and of ſome they underſtood to be of ſo many thouſands, moſt differing very much, eſpecially in their languages: Whereof they ſuppoſe by thoſe *Indians*, they underſtand are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any chriſtians, moſt of them ſtark naked, both men, women and children, but they ſaw not any ſuch giant-like women as the rivers name importeth. But for thoſe where captain *North* hath ſeated his company, it is not known where *Indians* were ever ſo kind to any nation, not ſparing any pains, danger or labour, to feed

and maintain them. The *Engliſh* following their buildings, fortifications and ſugar works; for which they have ſent moſt expert men, and with them all things neceſſary for that purpoſe; to effect which, they want not the help of thoſe kind *Indians* to produce; and many other good commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plain and apparent to this kingdom, and all the adventurers and well-willers to this plantation, to be well worthy the cheriſhing and following with all alacrity.

CHAP. XXV.

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St. Chriſtopher *by Captain* Warner.

MAſter *Ralph Marifield* and others, having furniſhed this worthy induſtrious gentleman, he arrived at St. *Chriſtophers*, as is ſaid, with fifteen men, the 28th
1623. of *January* 1623, viz. *William Teſted*, *John Rhodes*, *Robert Bims*, Mr. *Benifield*, Sergeant *Jones*, Mr. *Ware*, *William Ryle*, *Rowland Graſcock*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Weaver*, *Edward Warner*, their captain's ſon, and now deputy governor, till his father's return, ſergeant *Aplon*, one ſailor and a cook: At their arrival, they found three *Frenchmen*, who ſought to oppoſe captain *Warner*, and to ſet the *Indians* upon us; but at laſt we all became friends, and lived with the *Indians* a month, then we built a fort, and a houſe; and planting fruits, by *September* we made a crop of *Tobacco*; but upon the 19th of *September* came a hurricano and blew it away. All this while we lived upon caſſado bread, potatoes, plantanes, pines, turtles, guanes, and fiſh plenty; for drink we had *Nicknobby*.

A hurricano.

1624. The 18th of *March* 1624, arrived captain *Jefferſon*, with three men paſſengers in the *Hopewell* of *London*, with ſome trade for the *Indians*, and then we had another crop of tobacco, in the mean time the *French* had planted themſelves in the other end of the iſle; with this crop captain *Warner* returned for *England* in *September* 1625.

In his abſence came in a *French* pinnace, under the command of *Monſieur de Nombe*, that told us, the *Indians* had ſlain ſome *Frenchmen* in other of the *Caribbee* iſles, and that there were ſix peryagoes, which are huge great trees, formed as your canoos, but ſo laid out on the ſides with boards, they will ſeem like a little galley: Six of thoſe, with about four or five hundred ſtrange *Indians* came unto us, we bad them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joined together, and upon the 5th of *November* ſet upon them, and put them to flight: Upon new-years-even they came again, found three *Engliſh* going about the iſle, whom they ſlew:

Their fight with the Indians.

1626. Until the 4th of *Auguſt*, we ſtood upon our guard, living upon the ſpoil, and did nothing. But now captain *Warner* arriving again with near an hundred people, then we fell to work and planting as before; but upon the 4th of *September*, came ſuch a hurricano, as blew down all our houſes, tobacco, and two drums into the air we know not whither, drove two ſhips on ſhore that were both ſplit; all our proviſion thus loſt, we were very miſerable, living only on what we could get in the wild woods, we made a ſmall party of *French* and *Engliſh* to go aboard for proviſion, but in their returning home, eight *French* men were ſlain in the harbour.

A hurricano.

Eight French *ſlain.*

Thus we continued till near *June* that the *Tortles* came in 1627, but the *French* being like to ſtarve, ſought to ſurprize us, and all the caſſado, potatoes, and tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26th of *October*, came in captain *William Smith*, in the *Hopewell*, with ſome ordnance, ſhot and powder, from the earl of *Carliſle*, with captain *Pelham* and thirty men; about that time alſo came the *Plow*, alſo a ſmall ſhip of *Briſtow*, with captain *Warner*'s wife, and ſix or ſeven women more.

1627.

Upon the 25th of *November*, the *Indians* ſet upon the *French*, for ſome injury about their women, and ſlew ſix and twenty *French* men, five *Engliſh*, and three *Indians*. Their weapons are bows and arrows, their bows are never bent, but the ſtring lies flat to the bow; their arrows a ſmall reed, four or five foot long, headed ſome with the poiſoned ſting of the tail of a ſtingray, ſome with iron, ſome with wood, but all ſo poiſoned, that if they draw but blood, the hurt is incurable.

Three Indians *ſlain.*

The next day came in captain *Charles Saltonſtall*, a young gentleman, ſon to ſir *Samuel Saltonſtall*, who brought with him good ſtore of all commodities to relieve the plantation; but by reaſon ſome *Hollanders*, and others had been there lately before him, who carried away with them all the tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon truſt till the next crop; in the mean time he reſolved there to ſtay, and imploy himſelf and his company in plant-

The arrival of many Engliſh *ſhips.*

ing tobacco, hoping thereby to make a voyage, but before he could be ready to return for *England* a hurricano happening, his ſhip was ſplit, to his great loſs, being ſole merchant and owner himſelf, notwithſtanding forced to pay to the governor the fifth part of his tobacco, and for fraught to *England*, three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound cuſtom, which amounts together to more than threeſcore pound in the hundred pound, to the great diſcouragement of him and many others, that intended well to thoſe plantations. Nevertheleſs he is gone again this preſent year 1629, with a ſhip of about three hundred tons, and very near two hundred people, with Sir *William Tuffton* governor for the *Barbadoes*, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captain *Prinn*, captain *Stone*, and divers others came in about *Chriſtmas*; ſo that this laſt year, there hath been about thirty ſail of *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch* ſhips, and all the *Indians* forced out of the iſle, for they had done much miſchief amongſt the *French*, in cutting their throats, burning their houſes, and ſpoiling their tobacco; amongſt the reſt *Tegramund*, a little child, the king's ſon, his parents being ſlain or fled, was by great chance ſaved, and carefully brought to *England*, by maſter *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his own children.

The deſcription of the iſle.

It lieth ſeventeen degrees Northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the neareſt main land in *America*; it is about eight leagues in length, and four in breadth; an iſland amongſt 100 iſles in the *Weſt-Indies*, called the *Caribbees*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *Weſt-Indies* refreſh themſelves; thoſe, moſt of them are rocky, little and mountainous, yet frequented with the canibals; many of them inhabited, as *St. Domingo*, *St. Mattalin*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Granada* and *Margarita*, to the ſouthward; northward, none but St. *Chriſtophers*, and that but lately; yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceado*, *Mountſerat*, *Antegua*, *Mevis*, *Bernardo*, *St. Martin* and *St. Bartholomew*, but the worſt of the four iſles poſſeſſed by the *Spaniard*, as *Portorico* or *Jamaica*, is better than them all; as for *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, they are worthy the title of two rich kingdoms, the reſt not reſpected by the *Spaniards*, for want of harbours, and their better choice of good land, and profit in the main. But captain *Warner* having been very familiar with captain *Painton*, in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this *St. Chriſtophers*; and having made a years tryal, as it is ſaid, returned for *England*, and joining with maſter *Merifield* and his friends, got letters patents from king *James* to plant and poſſeſs it. Since then, the right honourable the earl of *Carliſle* hath got letters patents alſo, not only of that, but all the *Caribee Iſles* about it, who is now chief lord of them, and the *Engliſh* his tenants that do poſſeſs them; over whom he appointeth ſuch governors and officers as their affairs require; and although there be a great cuſtom impoſed upon them, conſidering their other charges, both to feed and maintain themſelves; yet there is there, and now a going, near upon the number of three thouſand people; where by reaſon of the rockineſs and thickneſs of the woods in the iſle, it is difficult to paſs, and ſuch a ſurff of the ſea goeth on the ſhore, ten may better defend, than fifty aſſault. In this iſle are many ſprings, but yet water is ſcarce again in many places; the valleys and ſides of the hills very fertile, but the mountains harſh, and of a ſulphurous compoſition; all over-grown with *Palmetas*, cotton trees, *Lignum Vitæ*, and divers other ſorts, but none like any in chriſtendom, except thoſe carried thither; the air very pleaſant and healthful, but exceeding hot, yet ſo tempered with cool breaths, it ſeems very temperate to them, that are little uſed to it; the trees being always green, the days and nights always very near equal in length, always ſummer; only they have in their ſeaſons great guſts and rains, and ſometimes a hurricano, which is an over-grown, and a moſt violent ſtorm.

The ſprings, temper and ſeaſons.

In ſome of thoſe iſles, are cattle, goats and hogs, but here none but what they muſt carry; *Guanes* they have, which is a little harmleſs beaſt, like a crocodile or aligator, very fat and good meat; ſhe lays eggs in the ſand, as doth the land crabs, which live here in abundance, like conies in boroughs, unleſs about *May*, when they come down to the ſea-ſide to lay in the ſand, as the other; and all their eggs are hatched by the heat of the ſun.

A ſtrange hatching of eggs for beaſts.

From *May* to *September*, they have good ſtore of *Tortoiſes* that come out of the ſea to lay their eggs in the ſand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay half a peck at a time, and near a buſhel ere they have done, and are round like tennis-balls: This fiſh is like veal in taſte, the fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholeſome. We ſeek them in the nights, where we find them on ſhore, we turn them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never return themſelves, being ſo hard, a cart may go over them;

Fiſh.

and

and ſo big, one will ſuffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers ſorts of other fiſh they have in abundance, and prawnes moſt great and excellent, but none will keep ſweet ſcarce twelve hours.

Birds. The beſt and greateſt is a *Paſſer Flaminga*, which walking at her length, is as tall as a man; pigeons and turtle-doves in abundance; ſome parrots, wild hawks, but divers other ſorts of good ſea-fowl, whoſe names we know not.

Roots. *Caſſado* is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderful increaſe, and will make very good white bread, but the juce rank poiſon, yet boiled, better than wine; potatoes, cabbages and radiſhes plenty.

Fruits. Maize, like the *Virginia* wheat; we have pine-apple, near ſo big as an artichoke, but the moſt daintieſt taſte of any fruit; *Plantnais*, an excellent and moſt increaſing fruit; apples, prickle-pears and peaſe, but differing all from ours. There is pepper that groweth in a little red huſk, as big as a walnut, about four inches in length, but the long cods are ſmall, and much ſtronger and better for uſe, than that from the *Eaſt-Indies*. There is two ſorts of cotton; the ſilk-cotton, as in the *Eaſt-Indies*, groweth upon a ſmall ſtalk, as good for beds as down; the other upon a ſhrub, and beareth a cod bigger than a walnut, full of cotton-wool: *Anotto* alſo groweth upon a ſhrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of *Anotto*, very good for dyers, tho' wild; ſugar-canes, not tame, four or five foot high; alſo maſtick and locuſt-trees; great and hard timber, gourds, muſk-melons, water-melons, lettice, parſly; all places naturally bear purſlain of it lelf; ſope-berries like a muſquet bullet, that waſheth as white as ſope; in the middle of the root is a thing like a ſedge, a very good fruit, we call pengromes; a pappaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an orange, and good to eat; a ſmall hard nut, like a hazel-nut, grows cloſe to the ground, and like this grows on the palmetas, which we call a mucca-nut; muſtard-ſeed will grow to a great tree, but bears no ſeed, yet the leaves will make good muſtard; the mancinel tree, the fruit is poiſon; good figs in abundance; but the palmeta ſerveth to build forts and houſes, the leaves to cover them, and many other uſes; the juice we draw from them, till we ſuck them to death, it is held reſtorative, and the top for meat doth ſerve us as cabbage; but oft we want powder'd beef and bacon, and many other needful neceſſaries.

By *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Graſcocke*, *Nicholas Burgh*, and others.

CHAP. XXVI.

The firſt planting of the Barbadoes.

THE *Barbadoes* lies ſouth-weſt and by ſouth, an hundred leagues from *St. Chriſtophers*, threeſcore leagues weſt and ſouth from *Trinidada*, and ſome fourſcore leagues from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the main. The firſt planters brought thither by captain *Henry Powel*, were forty *Engliſh*, with ſeven or eight negroes; then he went to *Diſacuba* in the main, where he got thirty *Indians*, men, women and children of the *Arawacos*, enemies both to the *Caribbees* and the *Spaniards*. The iſle is moſt like a triangle each ſide forty or fifty miles ſquare, ſome exceeding great rocks, but the moſt part exceeding good ground, abounding with an infinite number of ſwine, ſome turtles, and many ſorts of excellent fiſh; many great ponds wherein is duck and mallard; excellent clay for pots, wood and ſtone for building, and a ſpring, near the midſt of the iſle, of *Bitume*, which is a liquid mixture like tar, that by the great rains falls from the tops of the mountains; it floats upon the water in ſuch abundance, that drying up, it remains like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any uſe.

A deſcription of the iſle.

Fruits and trees. The mancinel apple, is of a moſt pleaſant ſweet ſmell, of the bigneſs of a crab, but rank poiſon, yet the ſwine and birds have wit to ſhun it; great ſtore of exceeding great locuſt-trees, two or three fathom about, of a great heighth, that beareth a cod full of meal, will make bread in time of neceſſity. A tree like a pine beareth a fruit ſo great as a muſk-melon, which hath always ripe fruit, flowers or green fruit, which will refreſh two or three men, and very comfortable; plum-trees many, the fruit great and yellow, which but ſtrained into water in four and twenty hours, will be very good drink; wild fig-trees there are many; all thoſe fruits do fat the hogs, yet at ſometimes of the year they are ſo lean as carrion; guane trees bear a fruit ſo big as a pear, good and wholſome; palmetaes of three ſeveral ſorts; pappaws, prickle-pears, good to eat or make drink; cedar trees very tall and great; fuſtick

trees

trees are very great, and the wood yellow, good for dying; ſoap-berries, the kernel ſo big as a ſloe, and good to eat; pompions in abundance; goads ſo great as will make good great bottles, and cut in two pieces, good diſhes and platters; many ſmall brooks of very good water; *Guiney* wheat, caſſado, pines and plantains; all things we there plant, do grow, exceedingly, ſo well as tobacco; the corn, peaſe, and beans, cut but away the ſtalk, young ſprigs will grow, and ſo bear fruit for many years together, without any more planting; the iſle is overgrown with wood or great reeds, thoſe woods which are ſoft are exceeding light and full of pitch, and thoſe that are hard and great, they are as hard to cut as ſtone.

Their numbers. Mr. *John Powel* came thither the 4th of *Auguſt* 1627, with forty five men, where we ſtayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his ſon *John Powel* for his deputy, as governor; but there have been ſo many factions amonſt them, I cannot from ſo many variable relations, give you any certainty for their orderly government: For all thoſe plenties, much miſery they have endured, in regard of their weakneſs at their landing, and long ſtay without ſupplies; therefore thoſe that go thither, it were good they carry good proviſion with them; but the iſle is moſt healthful, and all things planted do increaſe abundantly; and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteen or ſixteen hundred people.

Sir *William Curtine*, and captain *John Powel*, were the firſt and chief adventurers to the planting this fortunate iſle; which had been oft frequented by men of war to refreſh themſelves, and ſet up their ſhallopes; being ſo far remote from the reſt of the iſles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good roads, which with a ſmall charge, might be very well fortified; it doth ebb and flow four or five foot, and they cannot perceive that there hath ever been any hurricano in that iſle.

From the relations of captain *John White*, and captain *Wolverſtone*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The firſt plantations of the iſle of Mevis.

The deſcription of the iſle. BEcauſe I have ranged and lived amongſt thoſe iſlands, what my authors cannot tell me, I thing it no great error in helping them to tell it my ſelf. In this little iſle of *Mevis*, more than twenty years ago, I have remained a great time together, to wood and water, and refreſh my men; it is all woody, but by the ſeaſide ſouthward, there are ſands like downs, where a thouſand men may quarter themſelves conveniently; but in moſt places the wood groweth cloſe to the water-ſide, at a high-water mark, and in ſome places ſo thick of a ſoft ſpungy wood like a wild fig-tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets or fauchions: Whether it was the dew of thoſe trees, or of ſome others, I am not certain, but many of our men became ſo tormented with a burning ſwelling all over their bodies, they ſeemed like ſcalded men, and near mad with pain; here we found a great pool, wherein bathing themſelves they found much eaſe; and finding it fed with a pleaſant ſmall ſtream that came out *The bath.* of the woods, we found the head half a mile within the land, diſtilling from many rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three days. Such factions here we had, as commonly attend ſuch voyages, that a pair of gallows were made, but captain *Smith* for whom they were intended, could not be perſuaded to uſe them; but not any one of the inventers, but their lives by juſtice fell into his power to determine of at his pleaſure, whom with much mercy he favoured, that moſt baſely and unjuſtly have betray'd him.

A great miſpriſon. The laſt year 1628, Mr. *Littleton* with ſome others, got a patent of the earl of *Carliſle* to plant the iſle called the *Barbadoes*, thirty leagues northward of *St. Chriſtophers*; which by report of their informers and undertakers, for the excellency of the pleaſantneſs thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it ſuch a barren rock they left it; altho' they were told as much before, they would not believe it; perſuading themſelves thoſe contradicters would get it for themſelves, they were thus by their cunning opinion, the deceivers of themſelves; for ſeeing it lie conveniently for their purpoſe in a map, they had not patience to know the goodneſs or badneſs, the inconvenience or probability of the quantity or quality; which error doth predominate in moſt of our home bred adventurers, that will have all things as they

they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may ſee by many examples in the general hiſtory, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the truth from amongſt ſo many foreign and ſeveral relations, except you have exceeding good experience, both of the countries, people and their conditions; and thoſe ignorant undertakings, have been the greateſt hindrance of all thoſe plantations.

Their numbers. At laſt, becauſe they would be abſolute, they came to *Mevis*, a little iſle by *St. Chriſtophers*; where they ſeated themſelves, well furniſh'd with all neceſſaries, being about the number of an hundred, and ſince increaſed to an hundred and fifty perſons, whereof many were old planters of *St. Chriſtophers*, eſpecially Mr. *Anthony Hinton*, and Mr. *Edward Thompſon*. But becauſe all thoſe iſles for the moſt part are ſo capable to produce, and in nature like each other, let this diſcourſe ſerve for the deſcription of them all. Thus much concerning thoſe plantations, which now after all this time, loſs and charge, ſhould they be abandon'd, ſuppreſſed and diſſolved, were moſt lamentable; and ſurely ſeeing they all ſtrive ſo much about this tobacco, and that the fraught thereof, and other charges are ſo great, and ſo open to any enemy by that commodity, they cannot long ſubſiſt.

And it is a wonder to me to ſee ſuch miracles and miſchiefs in men; how greedily they purſue to diſpoſſeſs the planters of the name of Chriſt Jeſus, yet ſay they are chriſtians, when ſo much of the world is unpoſſeſſed; yea, and better land than they ſo much ſtrive for, murthering ſo many chriſtians, burning and ſpoiling ſo many cities, villages and countries, and ſubverting ſo many kingdoms, when ſo much lieth waſt, or only poſſeſſed by a few poor ſavages, that more ſerve the devil for fear, than God for love; whoſe ignorance we pretend to reform, but covetouſneſs, humours, ambition, faction and pride hath ſo many inſtruments, we perform very little to any purpoſe; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are ſo vile, to undertake the ſubverſion, or hindrance of any honeſt intended chriſtian plantation.

Certain exploits of captain Smith. Now to conclude the travels and adventures of captain *Smith*; how firſt he planted *Virginia*, and was ſet aſhore with about an hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken priſoner by the ſavages, by the king of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be ſhot to dath; led up and down their countrey to be ſhewed for a wonder; fatted, as he thought, for a ſacrifice for their idol, before whom they conjured him three days, with ſtrange dances and invocations, then brought him before their emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be ſlain; how his daughter *Pocahontas* ſaves his life, return'd him to *James-Town*, relieved him and his famiſhed company, which was but eight and thirty to poſſeſs thoſe large dominions; how he diſcover'd all the ſeveral nations upon the rivers falling into the bay of *Chiſapeacke*; ſtung near to death with a moſt poiſoned tail of a fiſh called ſtingray; how *Powhatan* out of countrey took the kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paſpahegh* priſoners; forced thirty nine of thoſe kings to pay him contribution; ſubjected all the ſavages; how *Smith* was blown up with gun-powder, and returned for *England* to be cured.

Alſo how he brought our *New-England* to the ſubjection of the kingdom of *Great-Britain*; his fights with the pirates, left alone amongſt a many *French* men of war, and his ſhip ran from him; his ſea-fights for the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*; their bad uſage of him; how in *France* in a little boat he eſcaped them; was adrift all ſuch a ſtormy night at ſea by himſelf, when thirteen *French* ſhips were ſplit or driven on ſhore by the iſle of *Ree*, the general and moſt of his men drowned, when God, to whom be all honour and praiſe, brought him ſafe on ſhore to all their admirations that eſcaped; you may read at large in his general hiſtory of *Virginia*, the *Summer-Iſles* and *New-England*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The bad life, qualities and conditions of pirates; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moors, *to become men of war.*

AS in all lands where there are many people, there are ſome thieves, ſo in all ſeas much frequented, there are ſome pirates; the moſt ancient within the memory of threeſcore years, was one *Callis*, who moſt refreſhed himſelf upon the coaſt of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Purſer* his companions, who grew famous till queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory hanged them at *Wapping*: *Flemming* was as expert and as much ſought for as they, yet ſuch a friend to his countrey, that diſcovering the *Spaniſh Armada*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yielded himſelf freely to my lord admiral, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* coming; which good warning came ſo happily and unexpectedly; that he had his pardon, and a good reward; ſome few pirates there then remained; notwithſtanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques of the weſt country

daily brought home, in regard of their ſmall charge; for there are ſo many difficulties in a great navy, by wind and weather, victual, ſickneſs, loſing and finding one another, they ſeldom defray half the charge: But for the grace, ſtate and defence of the coaſt and narrow ſeas, a great navy is moſt neceſſary, but not to attempt any far voyage, except there be ſuch a competent ſtock, they want not wherewith to furniſh and ſupply all things with expedition. But to the purpoſe.

The difficulties of a great navy.

What occaſioneth pirates.

After the death of our moſt gracious queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed memory, our royal king *James*, who from his infancy had reigned in peace with all nations; had no imployment for thoſe men of war, ſo that thoſe that were rich reſted with that they had; thoſe that were poor, and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned pirates; ſome, becauſe they became ſlighted of thoſe for whom they had got much wealth; ſome for that they could not get their due; ſome that had lived bravely, would not abaſe themſelves to poverty; ſome vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetouſneſs, or as ill; and as they found themſelves more and more oppreſſed, their paſſions increaſing with diſcontent, made them turn pirates.

Their chief rendezvouz.

Now becauſe they grew hateful to all chriſtian princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where altho' there be not many good harbours, but *Tunis*, *Algier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient roads, or the open ſea, which is their chief lordſhip: For their beſt harbours *Maſſalquebar*, the towns of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tangier*, and *Ceuta*, within the ſtreights, are poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*; without the ſtreights they have alſo *Arzella* and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* they have likewiſe lately taken and fortified. *Ward*, a poor *Engliſh* ſailer, and *Danſker* a *Dutchman*, made firſt here their marts, when the *Moors* knew ſcarce how to ſail a ſhip; *Biſhop* was ancient and did little hurt; but *Eaſton* got ſo much as made himſelf a marqueſs in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a baſhaw in *Barbary*; thoſe were the firſt that taught the *Moors* to be men of war. *Gennings*, *Harris*, *Tompſon*, and divers others, were taken in *Ireland*, a coaſt they much frequented, and died at *Wapping*. *Haws*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walſingham*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwel*, *Wollingſtone*, *Barrow*, *Wilſon*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all theſe were captains amongſt the pirates, whom king *James* mercifully pardon'd; and was it not ſtrange, a few of thoſe ſhould command the ſeas? Notwithſtanding the *Malteſes*, the pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeſes*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh* gallies and men of war, they would rob before their faces, and even at their own ports, yet ſeldom more than three four, five or ſix in a fleet; many times they had very good ſhips, and well mann'd, but commonly in ſuch factions amongſt themſelves, and ſo riotous, quarrellous, treacherous, blaſphemous and villanous, it is more than a wonder they could ſo long continue, to do ſo much miſchief; and all they got, they baſely conſumed it amongſt *Jews*, *Turks Moors* and whores.

Their conditions.

The beſt was, they would ſeldom go to ſea, ſo long as they could poſſibly live on ſhore, being compiled of *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Moors*, (but very few *Spaniards* or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, 'till they became ſo disjointed, diſordered, debauched and miſerable, that the *Turks* and *Moors* began to command them as ſlaves, and force them to inſtruct them in their beſt ſkill, which many an accurſed renegado or chriſtian turned *Turk* did, till they have made thoſe *Sallymen* or *Moors* of *Barbary* ſo powerful as they be, to the terror of all the *Streights*, and many times they take purchaſe in the main ocean, yea ſometimes in the narrow ſeas in *England*, and thoſe are the moſt cruel villains in *Turkey* or *Barbary*, whoſe natures are very noble and of good natures, in compariſon of them.

Renegadoes.

To conclude, the miſery of a pirate, (altho' many are ſufficient ſeamen as any) yet in regard of its ſuperfluity, you ſhall find it ſuch, that any wiſe man would rather live amongſt wild beaſts, than them; therefore let all unadviſed perſons take heed how they entertain that quality; and I could wiſh merchants, gentlemen, and all ſetters forth of ſhips, not to be ſparing of a competent pay, nor true payment; for neither ſoldiers nor ſeamen can live without means, but neceſſity will force them to ſteal; and when they are once entred into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Thoſe titles of ſeamen and ſoldiers, have been moſt worthily honoured and eſteemed, but now regarded for the moſt part, but as the ſcum of the world; regain therefore your wanted reputations, and endeavour rather to adventure to thoſe fair plantations of our *Engliſh* nation; which however in the beginning were ſcorned, contemned, yet now you ſee how many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poor as any ſoldier or ſailor, and gets more in one year, than you by piracy in ſeven. I intreat you therefore to conſider how many thouſands yearly go thither; alſo how many ſhips and ſailors are imployed to tranſport them, and what cuſtom they yearly pay to our moſt royal king *Charles*, whoſe proſperity and his kingdom's good, I humbly beſeech the immortal God to preſerve and increaſe.

Advertiſement for wild beads.

TWO

TWO

JOURNALS

THE FIRST

Kept by ſeven SAILERS

IN THE

ISLE of St. MAURICE in *GREENLAND*,

In the years 1633, 1634;

Who paſs'd the winter, and all died in the ſaid ISLAND.

THE SECOND

Kept by ſeven other SAILERS, who in the years 1633 and 1634, wintered at *SPITSBERGEN*;

WITH

An account of their ADVENTURES and SUFFERINGS from the BEARS and WHALES, inſupportable cold and ſtorms, &c.

Done out of LOW-DUTCH.

TO THE

READER

IT having pleaſed God, the Creator and Preſerver of the Univerſe, by whoſe uncontroulable will, the counſels of men are governed, to influence the committee of the Greenland *company; to take a reſolution of making the moſt exact enquiry that could be, concerning the true condition of the countrey of* Greenland, *during the winter: Concerning the nights there, and other curious obſervations (diſputed among the aſtronomers) it was reſolved to ſelect ſeven of the boldeſt and ableſt ſeamen, out of the fleet, who for that purpoſe ſhould tarry there all the winter, which reſolution being publiſhed, the following ſeven offered themſelves for that ſervice, and were accepted of accordingly:* Outgert Jacobſon *of* Grootenbrook, *their commander*; Adrian Martin Carman *of* Schiedam, *Clerk*; Thauniſs Thauniſſen *of* Shermerhem, *as cook*; Dick Peterſon *of* Veenhuyſe; Peter Peterſon *of* Harlem; Sebaſtian Gyſe *of* Delfts-Haven, *and* Gerard Beautin *of* Bruges. *Theſe ſeven being left* 1633, *by their own choice, in the iſle of St.* Maurice *in* Greenland, *the* Dutch *fleet ſet ſail from thence the* 26th *of* Auguſt, *and the ſeamen left us the following account.*

TWO

TWO JOURNALS:

THE FIRST,

Kept by Seven SAILERS in *GREENLAND*

THE SECOND,

Kept by Seven other SAILERS at *SPITZBERGEN*, in the Years 1633 and 1634.

THE 26th of *Auguſt* our fleet ſet ſail for *Holland* with a ſtrong N. E. wind and a hollow ſea, which continued all that night. The 27th, the wind ſtill at N. E. we went four or five times up to an adjacent hill, but did not obſerve the leaſt darkneſs all that night. The 28th the wind the ſame, it began to ſnow very hard; we then ſhar'd half a pound of tobacco betwixt us, which was to be our allowance for a week; towards evening we went about together, to ſee whether we could diſcover any thing worth our obſervation, but met with nothing. The 29th proving a ſun-ſhiny and clear day, we aſcended together in the afternoon the before mentioned hill, when, (and at ſeveral other times when it was clear weather) we could diſtinctly ſee the *Bears Mountain*. The 30th the wind turn'd to the N. W. with ſome ſnow in the afternoon, the night cloudy, the wind at N. E. The 31ſt, being a clear and ſun-ſhiny day, we had a perfect ſight of the *Bears Mountain*, with a freſh gale from the N. E. a fair ſtar-light night.

The 1ſt of *September* prov'd a fair day, the wind at N. W. with ſome ſnow in the evening, and a windy night from the N. E. We went three or four times by the hill, but ſaw nothing. The 2d, the ſame wind continued, with ſome ſnow and cloudy night. The 3d, was a fair day, with ſome ſnow; the wind as the day before, which continued the 4th and 5th, with ſome ſnow; the night fair and ſtar-light. The 6th, was a fair forenoon, but the night rainy, the wind the ſame. The 7th, the wind continued as before all the day, with fair weather, but turning to the S. E. by S. at night produced a great deal of rain. On the 8th 'twas a rainy morning, the wind at S. E. but in the afternoon fair, and the night ſtar-light; at the beginning whereof we were frightned by a noiſe, as if ſomething had fallen very heavy upon the ground, but ſaw nothing, the wind at S. E. ſtill. The 9th, the wind the ſame; it prov'd a ſun-ſhiny day, and ſo warm that we pull'd off our ſhirts and ſported in the ſun on the ſide of the hill; we had alſo a ſight of the *Bears Mountain*; the night was rainy, the wind at S. E. The 10th was very ſtormy, the night rainy and the wind the ſame. The 11th was a foggy and rainy day, the wind at S. E. by S. but turn'd to the S. W. in the afternoon, and to the N. E. in the night, the weather cloudy; we made a ſhift to get ſome ſalleting, being fond of a change of diet. The 12th it blew hard from the N. E. the weather clear, but the night ſnowy, the wind as before. The 13th was a fair ſun-ſhiny day, the wind at S. E. but the wind turning to the N. E. by N. it began to ſnow, the night was ſtill and cloſe, the wind at N. W. The 14th it was fair weather, the wind in the weſt, with ſome ſnow; we went up the hill, but ſaw nothing worth our obſervation, except that at night we obſerved the ſetting of the ſun; the wind at N. W. by W. a clear night, and the wind at S. W. The 15th it blew very hard, ſo that the ſea foam'd; we obſerv'd the ſun from the S. to the S. W. when it clouded in, but the night prov'd ſtar-light, the wind at W. The 16th it was a fair ſun-ſhiny day, the wind at S. W. which made us go about to gather ſome herbs for ſalletting; it being a very ſtar-light moon-ſhining night, we ſaw

abundance of ſea-gulls. The 17th it blew very hard out of the S. W. which made the ſea foam, yet the day was clear and the night calm, the wind as before. The 18th it was a rainy day, the wind at S. W. by S. This was the firſt time we took each of us our allotment of brandy, being a certain meaſure which was to ſerve us for eleven days. The 19th it was a clear day, the wind at W. the night ſtar-light, the wind at S. E. The 20th it was ſun-ſhine, the wind at S. E. by S. we then diſcharged our great guns, having no more to fear from the *Biſcay* privateers for this ſeaſon; the night was ſtar-light, the wind at S. W. The 21ſt, day and night miſty and rainy; the wind at S. W. The 22d, it blew and rain'd very hard, the wind at S. W. The 23d, being a cloudy day, the wind at E. we diſcover'd a whale near the ſhore, which made us ſet out our ſloop in order to catch him; but he got clear of us, it turning a dark ſky, with rain and miſt on a ſudden, and in the night it rain'd very hard; the wind at S. E. The 24th, the wind was at S. E. by S. with rainy weather in the forenoon, but the afternoon being fair, we went to the *Red-Hill* for ſome ſalletting, but found none; at night the wind was at S. E. The 25th proved very rainy in the morning, the wind at S. E. by E. but the afternoon and night it was very ſtormy weather. The 26th it was cold froſty weather, with an eaſterly wind. The 27th being a fair day, the wind at N. E. we went towards the ſouth-ſide of the iſle for ſome ſalletting, but found none, being ſpoiled by the cold rains; in the night the wind turn'd to the W. with very foul weather. The 28th a violent ſtorm aroſe from the north, with ſome ſnow and running clouds, but the night prov'd fair, the wind at S. E. The 29th it blew very hard from the S. E. with ſome ſnow, we obſerved the height of the ſun ſomething above the mountains; the night was fair, and the wind S. The 30th it was a cloudy rainy day, the wind at S. W. by W. the night proved very wet, mix'd with ſnow, and very ſtormy.

THE 1ſt of *October* it was fair in the morning, the wind at N. E, but in the afternoon ſtormy, and a cloudy night, the wind as before; it being froſty weather, we reſolved to go to the ſouth-ſide of the iſle. The 2d it froze ſo hard, that the ice would bear even on the ſouth part of the iſland, the wind the ſame as the day before: We found there a fine ſpring of freſh water, and the night was very clear, the wind at eaſt. The 3d the wind was the ſame in the forenoon, but turn'd to the weſt afterwards, with froſt and ſnow, but the night was very fair. The 4th prov'd a froſty day, the wind ſouth; in the morning we ſaw the *Bears Mountain*; the afternoon was very warm, and the night foggy and rainy, the wind very ſharp from the S. W. The 5th, the wind continued the ſame, with rain from morning till night, which made us keep our tents all that day; at night the wind turn'd to the ſouth. The 6th, the wind was the ſame, with froſty weather, we obſerved the ſun in the ſouth, from our huts, about half a pace above the hill; we alſo could ſee the *Bears Mountain:* In the night it blew very hard from the S. W. by S. with a hollow ſea and very dark ſky. The 7th it was very ſtormy, the wind at S. W. by W. we went upon the hill, but met with nothing there, the night proved very wet. The 8th the wind continued the ſame, in the morning with ſnow, but turn'd to the S. W. by S. in the afternoon; towards night it grew very tempeſtuous, which ſhook our huts to that degree, that we were not able to reſt, the ſtorm increaſing with ſnow and froſt till late in the night; the wind at N. E. and afterwards to the N. with a very hollow ſea. The 9th, the tempeſt continued with ſuch violence, that no ſhip could have rid ſafely at anchor, with froſt and ſnow, the waves riſing by the northerly wind above the fort. It being exceſſive cold, we began the firſt time to make a fire; we had ſtill very ſtrong winds from the N. E. by N. all that night, which continuing the ſame the 10th; the exceſſiveneſs of the cold forced us to keep at home near the fire ſide; we found a conſiderable alteration in our bodies, being troubled with a ſudden giddineſs in our heads, the wind the ſame as before. The 11th it was very cold and ſnowy weather, the wind at N. E. we had hung ſome of our linen in the air to whiten, but were glad to bring them near the fire, they being in a moment frozen as hard as a board; we went along the ſea-ſhore to the ſouthern rocks, but found nor ſaw any thing there. The 12th it froze, ſnow'd, and blew ſo very hard; that our barrel of beer, (tho' laid within a fathom from the fire) was frozen, the wind at N. E. we went upon the hill that day but ſaw nothing. The 13th the cold weather continued, we took a view about us on the hill as uſual, but diſcovered nothing, except that we ſee the ſun ſet between S. and W. very clear, the wind at the north; the beginning of the night was ſtar-light, but towards the morning it was ſtormy with ſnow. The 14th the wind and weather the ſame, and we obſerved the ſun to ſet at S. W. by W. part of the night was ſtar-light. The 15th in the morning, finding two whales caſt a-ſhore near the old fur-

nace of *Amſterdam*, we went to work with our harp-irons, launces and hangers, but notwithſtanding all our endeavours, they got clear of us by the advantage of the tide; the weather proved indifferently well that day, the wind as the day before; we went upon the hill but without ſeeing any thing. The 16th the weather continued very cold with ſnow, the wind the ſame, which occaſioned no ſmall alteration in our bodies; we took a view round about us on the hill, but obſerved nothing. The 17th it was ſtill froſty weather, and cloudy, and blew very hard from the north; the evening was ſtar-light; we went in the day upon the hill, but ſaw nothing. The 18th the froſt continued, the wind N. we obſerved the ſun to ſet at S. W. by N. or almoſt S. W. it was a very moon-light night. The 19th the wind kept in the N. we ſaw from the hill the *Bears Mountain*, and ſome ice we ſaw about a mile to the north of the ſhore; it was a ſun ſhiny day, but the ſun did not riſe high enough to reach over the hill, into our huts in the bay; it was a bright moon-light night. The 20th being a fair day, the wind at N. E. we had ſight of a bear, the firſt we ſaw here, but could not catch him; we ſaw great ſhoals of ice, a good way at ſea, from the ſhore, and the night proved very cold, with an eaſt wind. The 21ſt. it blow'd and ſnow'd very hard, with a N. E. wind, which continued all night, with very thick ſnow. The 22d it ſnow'd all day, and the night continued cloudy, the wind the ſame. The 23d was cloudy, the wind at N. E. we took a view again round about us from the hill, but ſaw nothing; the night was very fair. The 24th the wind and weather the ſame, with ſome froſt, we went upon the red hill, where we ſaw nothing except the tracks of ſome beaſts, whence we concluded that they began to come down towards the ſea-ſide. The night was clear and froſty. The 25th we had an exceſſive cold, yet ſun-ſhiny day, the wind at S. W. but the ſun could not ſend its beams over the hills to our huts; it being a ſtar-light night, a bear came in ſight of our huts, but we could not take him; the wind was the ſame as the day before. The 26th the wind continuing the ſame corner, we went upon the hill, where we ſaw nothing but ice, the night was very clear, the wind at the W. The 27th it was fair weather, the wind the ſame, the night very clear and ſtar-light. The 28th, the wind blew from the ſame corner all day and night, with clear froſty weather; we went up the hill but ſaw nothing. The 29th being an exceſſive cold day, the wind in the N. not only the bay, but alſo the ſea, as far we could ſee, was full of ice; in the night it ſnowed very hard, the wind as before. The 30th it continued freezing very hard, with the ſame wind, and the ſea was ſo full of ice, that we could ſee no water; the night proved very tempeſtuous. The 31ſt the north-wind produced ſuch an exceſſive froſt and ſnow, that not the leaſt drop of water was to be ſeen, wherever you turn'd yourſelf, and ſome of our veſſels were frozen to pieces, tho' we ſav'd our beer and other ſtrong liquors, by putting them in the buttery cellar.

The 1ſt of *November*, a N. E. wind vehemently encreaſed the cold, ſo that when we came upon the hill, we could ſee nothing but ice on the north-ſide; yet we had ſtill ten hours day, tho' we ſeldom got ſight of the ſun-beams, the ſame not appearing except on the ſouth-ſide, whither we could not come by reaſon of the ſnow and ice. Towards evening we got ſight of a bear, but he no ſooner ſaw us making up towards him, but he ſaved himſelf upon the ice at ſea, theſe creatures being exceſſive ſhy here; the cold grew ſo fierce by this time, that to preſerve our beer, and other liquors, we were forced to kindle a fire in the buttery cellar. Towards night, the bears appeared in ſuch numbers about our hutts, that we ſcarce durſt venture abroad; the wind continued as before. The 2d, it being a very hard froſt, we diſcovered five or ſix bears upon the ice in the bay, whereof we kill'd one, but the reſt ſaved themſelves upon the ice. The 3d, it was tolerable good weather, the wind at N. E. we ſaw four bears, one whereof being kill'd by a gun, he got upon the ice in the bay, but was pull'd aſhore by the help of ſome ropes we had by us. The night was ſtar-light, and the wind as before. The 4th, the wind being at N. E. it froze very hard, tho' it was very cloudy; we ſaw three bears, but we could ſhoot none of them, they betaking themſelves immediately to the ice at ſea; the wind was W. The 5th a ſouth wind produced ſo violent a ſnow, that we durſt not venture out of our huts; we had of late not ſeen any ſea gulls; all that night the wind continued in the ſouth, as well as the 6th, with ſome tempeſtuous weather, the wind turned eaſt in the night. The 7th it was ſtill, the wind at N. E. we went up the hill, but diſcovered nothing; the wind turning to the north in the night, fill'd the bay with great ſhoals of ice. The 8th the wind continued at the north, with exceſſive cold weather; for want of water we were forced to make uſe of melted ſnow. The 9th, the north-wind holding ſtill, we made ſhift to get to the ſouthern ſhore, where we ſaw no ice, but plainly diſcovered the ſun, this being the firſt time we had ſight

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of it in 21 or 22 days laſt paſt, being then above half an hour above the horizon; the wind continued in the north, all that night as well as the next day, being the 10th when we got ſight of a great number of bears. The 11th the north wind encreaſed, with thick clouds; at night the wind turned N. E. which continued the 12th, with very thick fogs, we went upon the hill, but could ſee nothing but ice, and ſome ſea-gulls; the night proved very light by reaſon of the moon; the wind at eaſt. The ſame wind continuing the 13th, it froze moſt ſeverely; and the 14th the wind turned to the weſt; the cold weather held on and brought vaſt quantities of ice into the bay; it was a bright moon-ſhiny night, but we ſaw no bears that day, tho' the next being the 15th we ſaw three or four, but had only the pleaſure of ſeeing them, they not coming within the reach of our guns. The 16th the wind continued in the ſame corner all that day and night; we let fire at a bear that came in ſight of us, but miſſing him he betook himſelf to the ice in the bay. The 17th the wind turned to the north, with dark ſnowy weather, yet the cold was not ſo exceſſive as before. The 18th the froſt encreaſed again with a N. E. wind, which however prov'd very tolerable to us hitherto; we ſpending moſt of our time in rehearſing to one another, the adventures that had befaln us both by ſea and land; it prov'd a very fair and ſtar-light night. The 19th the wind turning to the north again, we paſs'd the hill to the ſouth-ſide, yet not without a great deal of difficulty, being often knee deep in the ſnow; we then had a full ſight of the *Bears-Mountain*, and ſaw the ſun juſt above the ſurface of the ſea, having yet ſo much day-light left, that we could write and read in the open air, but not within our huts, which made us very melancholy; the wind continued the ſame as it did the 20th, with dark ſnowy weather; in the night the wind turning to the weſt, continued there the 21ſt, when going up the hill we looked to the north-ſide, but could ſee nothing but ice. The 22d, the wind held weſterly, with very cold weather. The 23d the wind ſhifted to the N. W. by W. and being a fair day, we paſſed the hill to the *Red-hill*, but could ſee nothing but ice wherever we turned our faces; two or three bears came within ſight of us, but not within the reach of our guns: The beginning of the night proving very clear and calm, we diſcover'd a bear, at whom we diſcharged our guns immediately (they being always ready charged) and wounded him ſorely, as we found by the tracks of blood near the ſea-ſhore; yet he eſcaped to the ice, nothing being more frequent than to be ſhot quite thro' the body, without receiving much harm. The 24th proving a cloudy dark day, a S. E wind forced moſt of the ice out of the bay into the ſea, but yet not quite out of ſight; at night the wind turning to the weſt, the bay was filled again with ice; the weather being very froſty; we ſaw a vaſt quantity of ſea-gulls, but they kept cloſe among the mountains; the wind as before. The 25th the wind being in the W. with froſty weather, we ſaw a vaſt number of ſea-gulls, but they returned to the mountains before night; the wind was as before. The 26th the wind turning to the ſouth, it prov'd a tolerable mild day, and moſt of the ice was carried out of the bay into the ſea; the wind as before. The 27th it was fair weather, the wind at S. W. but turned to the eaſt in the night. The 28th the wind was at S. E. with fair weather; we got ſight of a bear again, whom we purſued over the hill, but he proving too nimble for us, eſcaped our hands. The weather was (to our great ſurpriſe) ſo mild for theſe five or ſix days laſt paſt, that we believed the cold to be no more intenſe here than it was in *Holland*; at the ſame time the wind as before. The 29th, the wind continuing the ſame, we went over the hill again to the ſouth-ſide of the iſle, where we found all covered with ice; tho' at the ſame time there was ſcarce any ice to be ſeen within half a mile of the northern ſhore; it was a ſtar-light night. The 30th the wind blew from the ſame corner, and ſeeing ſome bears, we made what haſte we could after them, but in vain, not being able to overtake them; the wind continued as before, with violent rains.

The 1ſt of *Dec.* a ſouthern wind produced ſome rain, but turned to the S. E. at night. The 2d the wind continued the ſame, with rainy weather, which carried the ice from the ſhore to the N. at ſea: It continued thawing all that night, the weather mild. The 3d the wind at S. with rainy weather and ſtrong winds at night. The 4th the wind continuing day and night the ſame, with cloudy weather, we heard ſome bears near our huts, and purſued two or three of them, but could take none. The 5th the wind ſtill ſouth, with mild calm weather, ſo that to the beſt of our judgment, it could ſcarce be better in *Holland* at that time of the year: We ſhot one bear as we perceived by the track of blood; but he had ſtrength enough to get upon the ice, out of our reach. The 6th the wind blew from the S. E. cloudy ſky, but mild weather, with a ſtar-light night; the wind as before. The 7th the wind continued the ſame with foggy weather; but the wind turning to the ſouth, at night it began to ſnow, and the froſt return'd. The 8th a N. E. wind produced

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a dark and frosty day, but at night it turn'd to the west: Which continued thus the 9th, with very clear and cold weather, there being nothing but ice to be seen as far as our eyes could reach. It was a frosty star-light night. The 10th was a bright day, the wind still at west; we found our selves surrounded on all sides with nothing but ice, it being a moon-shiny night, we discovered three or four bears, one of which we wounded in two places, yet he escaped our hands upon the ice: We went upon the hill, from whence we could discern nothing but ice; the wind continued at west all night, and the 11th with fair weather, but could discover nō bears that day; those that had once heard or felt the effects of our guns, beginning to be very shy; it was a very frosty night. The 12th in the morning, we had the good fortune to shoot a bear on the head, who dropt immediately; we roasted a leg of him immediately, which happened to be a young one, it relish'd exceedingly well with us, having fed upon nothing but salt meat for a considerable time. The wind held still in the west, with very cold weather, and a calm moon-light night. The 13th was a cloudy dark day, the wind at S. W. we went cross the hill to the *Red-Hill*, but saw nothing but vast heaps of ice in the sea, to the north-side; at night the wind turned to the S. E. with snow. The 14th proved a clear frosty day, the wind at the south, and a bright moon-light night; we found the ice removed from the shore, a great way into the sea. The 15th the wind being the same, it proved a dark day, and the ice was forced back into the bay: In the night (which was exceeding dark) the wind changed to the S. W. The 16th, the wind continuing as before, we went up the hill, but observed nothing; it was a moon-light night. The 17th prov'd a very cloudy dark day, the wind still at south. We went again up the hill, but saw nothing; it snowed and thawed very hard at night, with the same south wind, which brought us abundance of sea-gulls (as it frequently does) to the sea-side; these make the same noise, here, as they do at *Holland* in *May*, but retire every night among the mountains, their ordinary receptacle. The 18th was a rainy dark day; the wind still at south, which changed to the E. the 19th with a hard frost, and a calm and cloudy night; the wind as before, which continued the 20th with calm weather, and a dark night. The 21st, the wind kept still in the same corner, with dark snowy weather, the snow lying so high upon the ground, that we could not stir out without boots; it froze and snow'd severely, the wind at north. The 22d in the morning, we found the bay fill'd with ice again, but the cold was so severe, that this was the coldest day we had met with as yet; we had still four hours day-light; the night was star-light and calm. The 23d an easterly wind produced a bright frosty day and stormy night, with so much snow, that we durst scarce venture out of our huts, but could see the ice turn'd back into the bay; the wind still at east, which continued the 24th, with a foggy air; yet the latter part of the night was star-light, with a hard frost and storm from the N. E. The 25th, a south wind produced a fair day, but at night the wind turned to the north. The 26th it was a clear frosty day, the wind at E. but turn'd to the N. W. at night. The 27th, the wind and weather as before, but the night proved dark and calm, with an easterly wind, which continued thus the 28th, with very dark snowy weather: In the night it blew hard out of the west, with so violent a snow, that we could not stir out of our huts; weather and wind as before. The 29th the wind veering about to the west, produced a clear and excessive cold day, the fore-part of the night prov'd star-light and calm, but the wind turning afterwards to the S. E. it snowed very hard; we found the bay clear of ice in the morning. The 30th it blew hard from the S. W. it was a cloudy but calm day; we saw neither bears nor fish. The 31st proved an indifferent good calm day. a S. W. wind produced a great deal of snow in the night, but the cold was very tolerable.

In the year 1634, the 1st of *January*, having wished one another a happy new year, and good success in our enterprise, we went to prayers to disburthen our hearts before God; the weather was dark, cold and frosty, and the wind as before; two bears came near our huts, but being a dark day and a very deep snow, it was impossible to take them. The 2d of *January* a N. E. wind produced a clear day; and the ice was forced out of the bay to sea, yet remained within sight; the fore-part of the night was star-light, but afterwards an east wind brought a cloudy sky along with it. The 3d it rained a little, the wind at S. E. which encreased at night, the wind blowing hard from the S. W. The 4th we had a fierce westerly wind and cold weather; the bay was so filled with ice again, that we could see no water. The night was pretty mild, with an easterly wind; which continued the 5th with a thick fog and frost; the night was star-light, the wind at W. The 6th was a clear frosty day, the wind at N. which increased all night with some snow. The 7th the wind and weather continued

tinued as before, but with abundance of ſnow, more than we obſerved before, ſince our coming hither; beſides which, it froze hard all the day and night, that we durſt not venture to ſtir abroad, for fear of being ſwallow'd up in ſome pit or other fill'd with ſnow. The 8th the wind blew from the N. E. with very frоſty weather, but turned cloudy afterwards; the night was exceſſive cold and ſtormy; whereof we now began to feel the effects in our bodies. The 9th the wind and weather continued as before, and the bay was fill'd with ſuch vaſt ice-ſhoals, that at a diſtance they appear'd from the tops of our huts, (where we uſed often to make our ſpeculations) like white hills or land-ſkies; it was a clear moon-light night, tho' we never got ſight of the moon, before ſhe was ſeven or eight days old, by reaſon of the high hills betwixt her and us; the wind and weather continued as before. The 10th, a N. E. wind produced a bright, calm and pleaſant day, but exceſſive cold, whereof we found the effects. The bay continued full of ice; the greateſt part of the night was ſtar-light, but very cold, which ſeem'd likely to hold. The 11th the forenoon proved clear and calm, but the wind turning to the ſouth in the afternoon, it was cloudy, but nevertheleſs cold, which not a little annoy'd us, eſpecially after the wind brought with it a vaſt quantity of ſnow from the S. E. The 12th, the ſame wind and ſnow continued, ſo that we could not ſtir out, tho' the cold was not altogether ſo exceſſive as for ſome days before; in the night the wind and the weather continued as before; and in the morning the ice was forced out to ſea, quite out of ſight. The 13th a S. E. wind brought abundance of ſnow, and ſeeing a bear near our huts, we kill'd him with a fuſee upon the ſpot, and ſo drawing him with roaps into our tent, flay'd him, the weather being ſo cold, and ſnow ſo high, that we could not do it without doors; the night was very clear. The 14th it being a tolerable clear day, the wind at eaſt, we went croſs the hill to the *Red-hill*, but ſaw nothing; it was a moon-light night, and the ſtars appeared ſometimes; the wind as before. The 15th it was a ſtrong eaſterly wind with ſnow, we ſaw the ice about a mile from the ſhore; the night was moon-light, the wind at N. E. The 16th a ſouth wind produced good tolerable weather; for we made this obſervation during our ſtay here, that with a ſouth wind the weather was not ſo cold as otherwiſe; in the night the wind turned to the eaſt; it was a dark but frоſty night. The 17th the wind continued as before, with cold foggy weather; at night the wind turning to the north, it froze ſo fiercely that the whole bay was cover'd with ice, there being not the leaſt water to be ſeen in the morning. The 18th was a cold foggy day; in the afternoon the wind turned to the weſt, and in the night it began to ſnow, the wind as before, which continued thus the 19th, with abundance of ſnow, ſo that we were not able to ſtir abroad. The 20th the ſnow continued with a weſterly wind, which lay ſo high, that we ſcarce peept out of our tent or hut; tho' for the reſt, it was not quite ſo cold, as ſome days before; and in the Night an eaſterly wind brought us more ſnow. The 21ſt the ſame wind continued very ſtrong, with a violent ſnow; in the night the wind turn'd to the weſt. The 22d the ſnow and weſterly wind continued with great vehemency, which was follow'd by a very hard froſt at night. The 23d it was a clear frоſty morning, which made us get a little way out of our huts, (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) to the ſouth ſide of the iſle, to obſerve the heighth of the ſun; but growing cloudy ſoon after, could not make an exact obſervation; however, we ſaw in the bay thereabouts, the ice and ſnow at leaſt 6 foot high; the wind was eaſt all night, ſometimes we could ſee the ſtars; the weather as before. The 24th a weſt wind had blown the ice a great way into the ſea; it was firſt clear weather, then ſnowy and ſtar-light in the beginning of the night; but in the morning a ſouth wind produced a cloudy ſky. The 25th the ſtrong ſouth wind and clouds continued, with a very cold night. The 26th it ſnow'd hard, the wind at weſt: At night we ſaw the ice again all over the bay; at night (which was cloudy) the wind turn'd to the ſouth. The 27th the wind being weſt, it proved a mild cloudy day, and more ice was forced into the bay; the night was dark and ſnowy, with an eaſt wind. The 28th the wind was at weſt at firſt, but veering about to the S. E. it began to ſnow; the ſame night the ice was carried a good way into the ſea again. The 29th the wind turn'd to the S. W. and to the W. at night, with dark rainy weather: In the morning the bay was full of ice again; the wind and weather as before. The 30th proving a calm, clear and frоſty day, we went (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) upon the hill; and looking to the ſouth, obſerved (according to gueſs) the ſun about an hour and half high. In the night the wind turn'd to the eaſt, with fair weather; the ſtars appeared ſometimes; the wind and weather as before. The 31ſt a weſterly wind brought us abundance of ſnow, in the night the wind turn'd to the north, with ſtar-light frоſty weather.

The

The 1ſt of *Feb.* the wind continuing as before; it was clear and calm weather, which made us go upon the hill, where we ſaw the body of the ſun very clear; and on the north-ſide of the iſle nothing but ice as far as we could ſee; the night was very calm and ſtar-light. The 2d, a N. E. wind produced clear but very cold weather, with a bright moon-light night, to our no ſmall ſatisfaction; we found the bears to grow very ſhy of us, for we ſeldom ſaw any; the wind and weather as before. The 3d the wind was eaſterly, the weather the ſame, but the night was ſomewhat cloudy, with a S. E. wind; it was not ſo cold as before. The 4th the wind continued as the day before, in the forenoon, when the ice was carried out of the bay into the ſea; in the afternoon the wind turn'd to the ſouth, with ſnowy weather, but was not ſo cold as before; it was a ſtar-light night. The 5th it was a ſullen day, the wind at S. E. and at the eaſt in the night, with ſome ſnow; but the cold was ſomewhat abated. The 6th the wind continued as before; the weather calm and cloudy; the wind turning to the S. W. it proved a very clear and moon-ſhiny night. The 7th it blew ſtrong from the E. the weather cloudy. The 8th was a very calm day, the wind at ſouth; the ice was carried away quite from the ſhore, beyond the reach of our eye-ſight; it was a clear moon-light night. The 9th the wind being northerly, it ſnowed ſo violently, that we could not ſtir abroad, it continued thus all night; the wind at ſouth. The 10th proved a pretty mild day, tho' the wind was at the N. but turn'd to the S. W. at night, which was very dark and ſtormy. The 11th was a cloudy day, the wind at the ſouth, but turned to the eaſt at night, but tolerable good weather. The 12th the wind continued the ſame, with ſome ſnow; it was a dark night, but not exceſſive cold, conſidering the climate and ſeaſon. The 13th the wind ſtood ſtill in the ſame corner, with ſnowy but calm weather; and it was a moon-light night. The 14th we had the ſame wind, and a clear day; but in the night it thawed and grew very ſtormy. The 15th the wind blew as yet from the eaſt, and the ſnow was ſo high, that we ſunk to the waſte in it, ſo ſoon as we ſtir'd out of our huts. The ſame wind continued the 16th, the weather pretty mild, but cloudy: This day we got ſight of two wild-fowls, which in reſpect of their bigneſs, did appear to us not unlike geeſe, but were ſo ſhy, that they would not come within reach of our guns, we alſo eſpied a faulcon, but could likewiſe not come near enough to hit him. The 17th the wind blew ſtill from the eaſt, and had a great deal of ſnow: In the night the ſtars appeared ſometimes. The 18th the wind continued the ſame, with cloudy but mild weather. The 19th it was eaſterly wind ſtill; and being a fair day, we made ſhift to get over the hill to the *Red-Hill*, but ſaw nothing worth taking notice of, not ſo much as any ice; the weather as before. The 20th the weather and wind continued with very little alteration, and was tolerably mild. The 21ſt the wind turned to the N. E. with very bright weather, which made us again get up the hill (tho' not without a great deal of trouble) but could ſee nothing worth mentioning. The night proved fair and calm, but afterwards froſty with ſome ſnow. The 22d the wind continued N. E. with much ſnow; the night was dark and froſty. The 23d the wind blew out of the ſame corner; the weather was very cold, which brought abundance of ice into the bay, but the main ſea was clear of it as far as we could ſee; the night was dark and froſty. The 24th an eaſterly wind produced a moſt violent froſt; the day cloudy, but the night clear, with a north wind, which held the 25th, with a cloudy ſky; in the afternoon it clearing up in the weſt, we ſaw the ſun again the firſt time from our huts, and found it to ſet at S. W. by W. the night was very dark. The 27th it was very calm and mild weather, but at night a ſouth wind brought us a thaw. The 28th the ſouth wind and open weather continued, the ice being forced out of the bay into the main ſea, yet not quite out of ſight, the night was very dark, the wind at S. W.

The 1ſt of *March* the wind and weather continued as before, with ſome ſunſhine in the forenoon, but afterwards it changed and proved rainy: We ſaw the ſun-beams on the S. W. of our hut; the night was very dark, with a S. W. wind. The 2d it blew hard from the W. the weather clear and cold; the night was dark and froſty, and the wind very high from the N. E. The 3d the wind and weather continued with little alteration; a violent north wind forced the ice into the bay, but in ſmall pieces. The 4th the wind turned to the N. E. with cloudy, but calm weather; the cold very tolerable. The 5th was cloudy, the wind at N. E. the night the ſame. The 6th the wind and weather continued as the day before; the night proved very calm and pleaſant, yet by reaſon of the ſnow we could not as yet ſtir from our huts. The 7th it was cloudy but calm, and the night ſtormy from the N. E. The 8th the wind continued as before, with dark and cloudy weather, but a ſtar-light night. The 9th the wind blew ſtill from the

the ſame corner; both the day and night were cloudy with a ſharp froſt. The 10th it froze very hard, the wind at N. E. with exceſſive cold weather; the night was very clear and froſty. The 11th the weather changed on a ſudden, being a calm pleaſant ſun-ſhiny day; the ſouth wind in the night brought us ſuch pleaſant weather, that we extremely rejoyced at it. The 12th the ſame wind continued, and the ice was carried out of the bay into the main ſea, beyond the reach of our eye-ſight; the night proved dark, but not very cold; the wind at S. E. The 13th was a cloudy day; in the night the wind and weather as before, very dark, but only moderately cold, the wind at N. E. The 14th it blew all day and all night, being very cold from the N. E. The 15th the wind turning to the ſouth, produced milder weather; and perceiving a bear near our huts (a thing we had not ſeen many days before) we let fly at him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he dropt down dead upon the ſpot; being glad to find our ſelves ſome imployment, and to feed upon freſh meat (having lived upon powdered beef for a conſiderable time) we ſoon flay'd him, and having hung his ſkin up in the air to dry, we feaſted upon part of the fleſh, and ſprinkled the reſt with a little ſalt only, by reaſon we were exceedingly afflicted with the ſcurvy; the night proved dark, the wind at S. W. The 16th the wind continued the ſame, but the weather was very cold; we fix'd ſome traps to catch foxes, and in the night the wind turn'd to the N. which held thus the 17th, with cloudy weather, and fill'd the bay with ice from the ſea; at night the wind was as before, which continued thus the 18th, being a cloudy, but froſty day, but a ſtar-light night. The 20th proving a calm ſun-ſhiny day, we went upon the hill, but could diſcover nothing, (as far as we could ſee) but ice; the night was cloudy, the wind in the ſouth, which held thus the 21ſt, with dark rainy weather, the ice was all caried out to ſea again; the night was cloudy, the wind ſtill in the ſouth. The 22d the wind turn'd to the S. E. with thick clouds; for want of refreſhments we began to be very heartleſs, being afflicted with the ſcurvy to that degree, that our legs were ſcarce able to bear us; the night was cloudy, and the wind as before. The 24th proved a pretty pleaſant ſun-ſhiny day; in the afternoon the wind ſhifted to the S. E. with ſome ſnow clouds; the night was exceeding dark. The 25th was a ſun-ſhiny and calm day, from morning till night; towards evening a ſoutherly wind produced ſome clouds, but the night proved clear again and calm. The 26th the ſea had forced the ice into the bay again; the day was very bright, the wind at S. E. and S. the night was very clear. The 27th the ſame wind continued with fair and clear weather both day and night. The 28th proved a cloudy day, the wind at S. E. The ice was carried ſo far into the ſea, out of the bay, that we could ſcarce ſee it. The ſame day we ſaw a whale, a huge beaſt, in the bay, but could not come at him: This day going alſo over the hill to the *Red-Hill*, we ſpied from thence five whales near the ſhore, and towards evening four more in the bay, being ten in all we had ſeen that day; had we had hands enough, and been provided with inſtruments for ſuch a purpoſe, we might have taken as many of theſe fiſh, as would have freighted a good fleet immediately, without being obliged to ſtay for the taking of them after their arrival, as they generally do: The wind and weather was in the night as before. The 29th a ſoutherly wind produced a cloudy, but very mild day: Innumerable whales appeared near the ſhore that day, ſo that had we not wanted men and tools, we might have made a conſiderable advantage, which we now durſt not ſo much as attempt, being but ſeven in all, and diſabled by the ſcurvy: In the night the wind and weather as before, which continued the 30th, when we ſaw abundance of fiſhes, as we did almoſt every day after; the night was very dark, the wind as before. The 31ſt it blew a briſk gale from the N. E. with ſome ſnow; we got ſight of four or five whales again, which came ſo near the ſhore, that they were likely to have been caſt upon the ſands; but if they had, we had not ſtrength enough to have catch'd them: We ſaw likewiſe a ſhe bear with three young ones, about the bigneſs of a ſmall ſheep: We did what we could to kill them, but our firſt ſhot failing, they all got of, to our grief, tho' it was no unpleaſant ſight to ſee the young ones follow the old: In the night the wind and weather as before.

The firſt of *April* was a cloudy day, the wind at E. We ſaw four or five whales again at the entrance of the bay, but had only the pleaſure of looking at them; the night was ſtar-light, the wind in the ſouth. The 2d proved a ſnowy day, the wind at S. E. but not very cold; the night was dark, the wind as before. The 3d the wind turning to the W. produced a cloudy day; there being at this time no more than two of us in health, (the reſt being very ill and crippled by the ſcurvy) we killed the only two pullets we had left, at their requeſt, and they fed pretty heartily upon them, in hopes it might prove a means to recover part of their ſtrength, which was much decayed

cayed, and which we heartily wiſhed, being ſorry we had not a dozen more for their ſake: In the night the weather and wind was much the ſame as before, which continued thus all day and all night. The 4th a weſterly wind produced a ſun-ſhiny day. The 5th we ſaw two very large whales in the bay; the night was dark, the wind at S. E. The 6th it was clear weather, but the night dark, the wind N. E. we ſaw four or five whales more in the bay; at night the wind and the weather as before, which continued the 8th, with cold ſun-ſhiny weather; we ſaw innumerable whales both at ſea and in the bay: In the night the wind and the weather continued as before, and ſo it did the 9th, when we ſaw abundance of whales again; the night was cold and froſty, the wind at north. The 10th, the wind continued the ſame, with very clear weather; the bay was full of ice, and we ſaw ſome whales, in the night the wind and weather as before. The 11th we ſaw neither fiſhes nor bears, having not ſeen any of the laſt theſe ſeveral days; it continued to be very cold weather; in the night the wind as before. The 12th the wind turning to the N. E. it proved a very clear froſty day; at night the wind and weather as before, which continued the 13th; the bay was full of ice, the night very cold and dark. The 14th the wind held ſtill in the ſame corner, with ſun-ſhine; at night the wind turning to the ſouth, the ice was carried out of the bay, a great way from the ſhore. The 15th proved a calm mild day, we ſaw four whales in the bay, tho' we don't now ſtir out ſo often as formerly, our clerk being very ill; the greateſt part of the night the wind was at weſt. The 16th being *Eaſter-day*, our clerk died, the Lord have mercy upon his ſoul, and upon us all, we being all very ſick; the wind was at W. with a clear day and dark night. The 17th the wind continued as the day before, but was very cloudy, the bay was full of ice again; the greateſt part of the night weather and wind as before. The 19th both wind and weather proved as the day before; and now having not the leaſt refreſhment left, we grew worſe and worſe every day, and that without any hopes of recovery, partly for want of neceſſaries, partly by reaſon of the exceſſiveneſs of the cold; for being ſcarce able, whilſt in health, to keep ourſelves tolerably warm, by exerciſing our bodies, we were but in little hopes of doing it now we were ſick, and not able to ſtir out of our cabins, all our dependence being on God's mercy; the wind and weather as before. The 20th proved a cloudy day, the wind at S. we ſaw the ice forced a great way to the N. at ſea, the night was ſnowy, with an eaſterly wind. The 21ſt was a bright calm and ſun-ſhiny day, but we could make but ſlender obſervations, being not able to ſtir from our huts, by reaſon of the ſcurvy, which encreaſes upon us every day; the night was cloudy, the wind at N. E. which continued thus the 22d; the ice was forced ſo near the ſhore, that we could ſcarce ſee any water; at night a ſouth wind carried the ice quite out of ſight again. The 23d the wind blew from the ſame corner with ſmall rain; we were by this time reduced to a very deplorable ſtate, there being none of them all, except myſelf, that were able to help themſelves, much leſs one another; ſo that the whole burthen lay upon my ſhoulders, and I perform my duty as well as I am able, as long as God pleaſes to give me ſtrength: I am juſt now a going to help our commander out of his cabin, at his requeſt, becauſe he imagined by this change to eaſe his pain, he then ſtruggling with death; the night was dark, and the wind as before. The 24th was a cloudy day and night, the wind at S. which continued the 25th with ſome ſun-ſhine: The ice kept about half a mile from the ſhore to the north-ſide, but on the ſouth-ſide of the ſame bay, no ice was to be ſeen. We had ſight of many whales again; the night was dark, with a ſtrong N. W. wind; the ice was forced nearer to the ſhore, tho' there remained a good interval of water betwixt both; the wind and weather as before. The 26th it was a calm, but cloudy day, the night fair, the wind at W. The 27th it was thawing weather: That day we kill'd our dog for want of other refreſhment; the night was cloudy, yet without rain, the wind at E. which continued thus the 28th, with cloudy weather: The ice was this day carried to ſea, quite out of ſight; the night was cloudy with a ſtrong N. wind. The 29th the wind and weather as before, but turn'd to blow hard from the N. E. at night. The 31ſt was a clear ſun-ſhiny day, with the ſame wind: [*Die*] *Memorandum.* This word *DIE*, was the laſt, queſtionleſs he writ, intending probably to ſet down afterwards his obſervation concerning the night, according to his uſual way. This perſon being one, who (according to the report of others) had learned to write of the other ſix, he writ as long as he was able, *viz.* to the laſt day of *April*; when perhaps, being ſeized by a fainting fit, he was forced to retire to his cabin, where he delivered up his ſoul to his creator, as will appear more fully by the following additions.

AMong all the ſhips that were ſent the next year from *Holland* to *Greenland*, thoſe of *Zealand* being the firſt that came in ſight of the iſle of *St. Maurice*, ſome of the ſeamen being eager to know what was become of their comrades, went aſhore in a boat, ſtriving who ſhould be the firſt to come to their huts, tho' by their not appearing upon the ſea-ſide, they did not preſage any good to themſelves. They were no ſooner entred the hut, but they found they were not deceived in their gueſs, every one of the poor wretches, left there laſt year, lying dead in their cabins, the news whereof they brought to their commander.

The firſt of theſe ſeven unfortunate fellows, died the 16th of *April* 1634, whom they had put in a coffin, and depoſited in one of the huts. The other ſix died in the beginning of *May*, as we believe by the concluſion of the journal at the end of *April*.

The before-mention'd ſhips of *Zealand* came to an anchor in the bay of *St. Maurice*'s iſle the 4th of *June* 1634, where they found the dead carcaſſes of theſe unfortunate wretches, each in his own hut; near one of them ſtood ſome bread and cheeſe, upon which probably he had fed not long before his death; another had a box with ointment by his cabin-ſide, wherewith he had rubb'd his teeth and joints, his arm being ſtill extended to his mouth; there alſo lay a prayer-book near him, wherein he had been reading; the reſt being found each in his cabin.

If we ſeriouſly reflect upon the condition of theſe wretches, it muſt needs have been very miſerable, eſpecially after all were fallen ſick, ſo as not to be able to aſſiſt one another; eſpecially in reſpect of him that out-lived the reſt, being the ſame, who according to his own teſtimony, attended them to the laſt; and had learn'd to write from the others, as did appear by his hand-writing, till the concluſion of the journal, who, as we gueſs, lived ſome days after he left off writing; it being very probable, that ſome might grow ſooner ſtiff, by the exceſſive cold, than others, in proportion of the quantity of natural heat they had left; tho' it is beyond all queſtion, that the ſource of their diſtemper was the ſcurvy, occaſioned by their ſalt food, without any manner of refreſhment, which having put the cramp into their limbs, and rendred them incapable of exerciſe, they ſoon grew quite ſtiff, and were quite overcome by the cold; it being certain, that without the ſcurvy they needed not have dreaded the cold, which was not ſo exceſſive, but that once within three or four days they could ſtir abroad, after the ſnow was a little ſettled.

Our commodore had no ſooner received the diſmal news from the ſeamen that had been aſhore, but he order'd the ſix dead carcaſſes to be put in coffins, and to be buried with the ſeventh under the ſnow, till the ground ſhould become more pliable; which being done, they were afterwards, *viz.* on St. *John*'s day, honourably interr'd (according to the circumſtances of time and place) under a general diſcharge of the cannon of the whole fleet.

It is furthermore left to the conſideration of the courteous reader, that he was appointed clerk for this deſign, having never been in that ſtation before, his want of ability ought to plead ſtrongly for the ſimplicity of theſe obſervations; which having (at the requeſt of ſome friends) been put to the preſs, were publiſhed, and made as intelligible as the nature of the matter would allow of, without impoſing upon the publick, which has been done with the utmoſt ſincerity, after the true original, which ſtill remains in my cuſtody, in oppoſition to divers fabulous relations, which have been publiſhed upon the ſame ſubject.

A SHORT

A SHORT JOURNAL OF Seven other SEAMEN, who being left in 1634, AT SPITZBERGEN,

To paſs the Winter, died there in 1635.

IN the year 1633, ſeven perſons being left much at the ſame time as well at *Spitzbergen*, as in the iſle of *St. Maurice*; the ſhips that were ſent thither in 1634, had orders from the *Greenland* company, to releaſe thoſe that had ſtay'd there, and to leave in their room ſeven others, who ſhould offer their ſervice for that purpoſe. Accordingly the following ſeven were (with their conſent) appointed to remain the next following winter at *Spitzbergen*; *Andrew Johnſon* of *Middleburgh*, *Cornelius Thyſſe* of *Rotterdam*, *Jerome Carcoen* of *Delfts-Haven*, *Tiebke Jellis* of *Friſeland*, *Nicholas Floriſon* of *Hoorn*, *Adrian Johnſon* of *Delft*, *Fettje Otters* of *Friſeland*.

Theſe being provided with all manner of neceſſaries, as meat, drink, phyſical preparations, herbs, &c. were left aſhore to continue all the winter there; during which time, they kept a journal of all remarkable occurrences; the chief heads whereof I thought only fit to inſert here, leaving out the more unneceſſary obſervations, ſuch as of the wind and weather, &c. to avoid prolixity. The 11th of *September* 1634, the ſhips being ſail'd thence for *Holland*, they got ſight of abundance of whales, at whom they diſcharged their guns, but could not take any; they went alſo in ſearch for green herbs, foxes and bears, but met with none. The 20th or 21ſt of *October*, they had no more ſight of the ſun. The 24th of *November* the ſcurvy beginning to appear among them, they ſearch'd very earneſtly after green herbs, bears and foxes, but to their great grief could find neither of them; ſo they comforted one another with hopes that God would provide for them ſomething or other for their refreſhment. The 2d of *December Nicholas Floriſon* took a doſe of a ſcorbutic potion, and they ſet ſome traps to catch foxes. The 11th, *Jerome Carcoen*, took ſuch another potion; and they reſolved for the future, every one to eat ſeparately from the other, ſome being not ſo much afflicted with the ſcurvy as the reſt. They went often in queſt after ſome refreſhments, but meeting with none, they recommended themſelves to God's providence. The 12th *Cornelius Thyſſe* did likewiſe take a medicinal potion againſt the ſcurvy. The 23d, as the cook was throwing out ſome water, he ſaw a bear juſt by the hut, but he run away at the noiſe, before they could come at their guns. The 24th they diſcovered another bear; three of them advancing towards him, he roſe upon his hindermoſt legs, and being ſhot through the body by one of our guns, he began to bleed and to roar, and to bite one of our halberts with a great deal of fierceneſs; but finding us too hard for him, he betook to his legs; being exceſſive eager after ſome freſh meat, (of which we ſtood in great need for the recovery of our health) we purſued him with lanthorns and candles a great way, but to our ſorrow could not overtake him; which made us ſay to one another, that in caſe we were not ſupply'd by God's peculiar providence, with ſome refreſhments ſpeedily, the pain we endured muſt needs kill us before the return of our ſhips; but God's will be done. The 25th *Cornelius Thyſſe* took another potion againſt the ſcurvy, being in a deplorable condition. The 14th of *Jan. Adrian Johnſon* of *Delft* died, being the firſt of the ſeven, tho' the other ſix were full of pain, and very ill. The 15th *Fettje Otters* died likewiſe; and on the 17th *Cornelius Thyſſe*, being the man of all the reſt, in whom they had

had put their moſt hopes next to God. The remaining four were very weak, and had ſcarce ſtrength left to ſtand upon their legs, yet they made ſhift to make coffins for theſe three, and put their bodies into them. The 28th they ſaw the firſt fox, but could not take him. The 7th of *February* they had the good fortune to take a fox, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction, tho' in effect they were too far gone to receive any benefit thereby.

They ſaw many bears, three or four, nay ſometimes ſix or ten together, but had not ſtrength enough to manage their guns; or if they had had, they could not have purſued them, being not in a condition to ſet one foot before another, nay not even to bite their biſcuits, for they were ſeized with moſt cruel pains, eſpecially in their loins and belly, which encreaſed generally with the cold; one did ſpit blood, and another was afflicted with the bloody-flux, *Jerome Carcoen* was ſtill ſomething better than the reſt, being ſtill able to fetch them ſome fewel for firing. The 23d they began to be ſo weak, that they kept cloſe in their cabins, recommending themſelves to God's mercy. The 24th they ſaw the ſun again, which they had not ſeen ſince *October* 20 or 21 in the preceeding year. The 26th, being the laſt day (as we gueſs) they were able to write, and lived not long after; they left this following memorial behind them: Four of us that are ſtill alive, lie flat upon the ground in our huts; we believe we could ſtill feed, were there but one among us that could ſtir out of his hut to get us ſome fewel, but no body is able to ſtir for pain; we ſpend our time in conſtant prayers, to implore God's mercy to deliver us out of this miſery, being ready whenever he pleaſes to call us; we are certainly not in a condition to live thus long without food or fire, and cannot aſſiſt one another in our mutual afflictions, but muſt every one bear our own burthen.

When the ſhips from *Holland* arrived there in 1635, they found them all dead, ſhut up cloſe in their tent, to ſecure their dead bodies againſt the bears and other ravenous creatures. This being the tent of *Middleburgh*, a baker who got a ſhore firſt, happened to come to the back door, which he broke open, and running up ſtairs, found there upon the floor, part of a dead dog that was laid there to dry; but making the beſt of his way down again, he trod upon the carcaſs of another dead dog (for they had two) at the ſtair foot in the buttry. From hence paſſing thro' another door, towards the fore-door, in order to open it, he ſtumbled in the dark over the dead bodies of the men, whom they ſaw, (after the door was opened) altogether in the ſame place, *viz.* three in coffins, *Nicholas Floriſon* and another, each in a in a cabin, the other two upon ſome ſails ſpread upon the floor, with their knees drawn up to their chins. Coffins being ordered to be made for the four that had none; they were buried with the other three under the ſnow, till the ground becoming more penetrable, they were buried one by another, and certain ſtones laid upon their graves, to hinder the ravenous beaſts from digging up their carcaſſes: Theſe were the laſt that pretended to paſs the winter at *Spitzbergen*.

A TRUE and SHORT ACCOUNT OF FORTY TWO PERSONS

Who periſhed by ſhipwreck near SPITZBERGEN,

In the year 1646.

JOHN CORNELIUS of *Muniken*, being ordered to *Spitzbergen*, to catch whales, he ſet ſail from the *Texel* in a galliot, the 6th of *May* 1646, and arrived the 3d of *June* following near *Spitzbergen*, with an intention to anchor in the bay, but was by the vaſt floats of ice-ſhoals forced to keep out at ſea. After having in vain cruized up and down among the ice-ſhoals, they got into the bay, but perceiving two whales farther at ſea, they ſent out their ſloop in purſuit of the whales.

Whilſt they were rowing up and down to watch the motion of theſe creatures, they diſcovered at a diſtance a great ice-ſhoal, with ſomething white upon it, which at firſt ſight they imagined to be bears, (they being generally white here;) but one *Ellert Johnſon*, (who was in the ſloop to manage the harpcock or iron wherewith they ſtrike the whale) judging by the motion that it was ſomething elſe, perſuaded them to row that way, which being done accordingly, they not long after perceived the ſame to be a piece of a rope belonging to the ſails of a ſhip, which was held up by a man as a ſignal of their utmoſt diſtreſs; ſo they rowed up to it with all the oars they had, and coming near them, found (to their great ſurprize) four living men, and one dead one, (all *Engliſhmen*) upon the ice-ſhoal, who upon their bended knees expreſs'd their joy and thankfulneſs for ſo unexpected a deliverance from the jaws of death. They were taken into the ſloop, and carried into the bay aboard the ſhip.

They had cut a great hole, in the nature of a ſubterraneous cave, into the ice, and round the entrance thereof had placed the pieces of ice that were cut out of the concavity, to defend themſelves againſt the violence of the winds and waves. In this hole they had ſpent fourteen days, (it being ſo long ſince they had loſt their ſhip.)

At firſt there were in all forty two of them, and they had ſaved ſome victuals and tools with their ſloop. The commander perceiving, after a little while, that it was impoſſible for them to hold out long upon the ice-ſhoal, reſolved to go aſhore in the ſloop, with ſeventeen of his men, if he could, and to ſend them word afterwards, how matters ſtood there. This was done accordingly, but it blowing very hard, and they having not heard the leaſt tidings of them ſince, they were afraid that they were drowned before they reached the ſhore.

There were then twenty four left upon the ice-ſhoal, but the want of proviſions encreaſing daily among them; and they being reduced to a ſtarving condition, and expecting nothing but preſent death, reſolved to divide themſelves, and to get upon ſeveral other ice-ſhoals, in hopes by ſome chance or other, to come near to the ſhore; but whether ſome of them got aſhore, or whether they were taken up by ſome ſhip or other, or whether they were ſwallowed up by the mercileſs waves, they were not able to tell.

Certain it is, that we found four of them (the miſerable remnants of forty two) ſitting together upon this ice ſhoal, overwhelmed with affliction, without any hopes of being ſaved, from the laſt extremity they were reduced to by froſt and hunger, before we came in full ſight of them with our ſloop, having had nothing to feed upon for ſome time, but a leather-belt, (belonging to one them) which they had divided and eat, ſhare and ſhare alike, till all was conſumed.

After they were brought to our ſhip, our ſurgeon took all imaginable care for their recovery; notwithſtanding which, three of them died in a few days after; ſo that of forty two wherewith their ſhip was manned, no more than one eſcaped with life, who arriving in *September* 1646, in the galliot the *Delft* upon the *Meuſe*, from thence return'd to his native country in *England*.

A N

AN ACCOUNT OF ISELAND,

SENT TO

Monſieur *de la MOTHE de VAYER.*

SIR,

PUrſuant to your requeſt, I am going to give you the beſt account I am able of what I could learn concerning the condition of *Iſeland* and *Greenland*, during our ſtay in the north. As nothing is more agreeable to my ſentiments than to ſerve you to the utmoſt of my power, ſo I will treat of both one after another.

Iſeland is a large iſle, and *Greenland* of a vaſt extent: I will begin with the firſt, and give you an account of all the moſt material paſſages I have met with concerning it, in their beſt authors, eſpecially in *Angrim Jonas*, (erroneouſly call'd *Arngrim* by ſome) and by converſing with ſeveral perſons of note and learning in *Denmark*; upon which ſcore I am particularly obliged to *Olaus Wormius*, a doctor of phyſick of *Copenhagen*, a perſon very curious in all the affairs of the north. I will alſo not paſs by in ſilence, what I have read in *Blefkenius*, a *Dane* by birth, and who has been in *Iſeland* himſelf, at leaſt as far as relates to thoſe things he has been an eye-witneſs of; for which I have the ſame regard, as for what *Herodotus* aſſures us to have ſeen with his own eyes; it appearing very improbable to me, that men of honour and learning ſhould be ſo careleſs of their reputation, as to impoſe things upon the world, never ſeen by them, under a falſe notion of their own experience. To be ſhort, I will follow the footſteps of *Saluſt*, and rehearſe to you what I have either read in *Blefkenius* or *Angrim Jonas*, or heard from Dr. *Wormius* and others, upon whoſe authority we are obliged to rely in this point.

The iſle of *Iſeland* lies in the *Deucalidonian* ocean, at 13 deg. 30 min. longitude, and 65 deg. 44 min. latitude, according to the elevation taken in the biſhoprick of *Hole*, the moſt northern part of the iſle, as *Angrim Jonas* tells us in his *Crimogea*; adding, that he had the ſame of *Gundebrand de Thorlac*, biſhop of *Hole*, his familiar friend, and once a diſciple of the famous aſtronomer *Tycho Brahe*.

Iſeland is to the eaſt waſhed by the *Hyperborean* ſea, and on the ſouth ſide by the *Deucalidonian* ſea; to the weſt it lies oppoſite to *Greenland*, towards the cape *Farewell*, and on the north ſide is incloſed by the frozen ſea of *Greenland*. Its length from eaſt to weſt, is computed to be twenty days journey; and its breadth, where it is broadeſt, at four days journey, from the ſouth to the north. But *Angrim Jonas*, who has given us this account, does not mention whether theſe days journeys are to be perform'd on foot or on horſeback.

It is generally believed to be twice as big as the iſle of *Sicily*; and by its elevation and the globe, you will ſoon be convinced of the truth of what I am going to tell you, *viz.* That about the ſummer ſolſtice, whilſt the ſun is in the *Twins* and *Cancer*, the ſun does never go entirely below the horizon for two months, in the north of *Iſeland*; but ſome part of it remains above it, and one half of it whilſt the longeſt days laſt, from ten at night till two in the morning, when it riſes quite above the horizon; whence it appears, that about the winter ſolſtice, whilſt the ſun is in the ſigns of *Sagittary* and *Capricorn*, the whole body of the ſun does for two months ſucceſſively not riſe above the horizon; and in the ſhorteſt days not above

half of it, from ten a clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, the ordinary time of ſun-ſet here at that ſeaſon.

This iſle has got its name from the whiteneſs of its ice, *Quaſi Iceland*; it was formerly reputed fertile in wheat, and well ſtored with wood, fit for the building of large ſhips; the roots whereof being of a vaſt bulk, are to this day found underground where theſe foreſts ſtood, and are as black as ebony-wood. But now-a-days *Iſeland* produces no wheat, nay not ſo much as a tree, except ſome few ſhrubs. And were it not that they are furniſhed with grain from the neighbouring countries, and ſupplied with ſufficient quantities of wood, both for fuel, and their buildings, (which are like thoſe of other parts in the north) by the ice, which in the month of *May* is, together with the wood, forced from the more northern parts on this ſhore, they muſt periſh with hunger and cold. In their building they alſo make uſe of the bones of whales and other great fiſhes; and for firing, of two ſorts of turfs, (or *Ceſpes Bituminoſus*, called *Gleba Foſſilis* by *Angrim Jonas*) which they dig and dry in the ſun. Theſe ſhoals of ice, which come from the north thither, bring along with them ſuch vaſt trunks of trees, that according to the *Iſeland* chronicles, a tree was carried thither of ſixty three cubits long, and ſeven in compaſs.

For no ſooner come the ice ſhoals from the north to the *Iſeland* coaſt, but the inhabitants go in queſt of theſe trees, and of ſeveral beaſts, which are carried along with it thither; ſuch as white and red foxes, ſtags, wolves, white and black bears and unicorns. For that fine and large horn preſerved in the king of *Denmark*'s palace at *Frederickſburgh*, (the *Fontainbleau* of that kingdom) belonged to a fiſh taken upon the ice near *Iſeland*; it is much larger than that of St. *Denys* in *France*. Count *Ulefeld*, great marſhal of *Denmark*, ſhew'd me another of theſe unicorns, which was entire, but not above two foot long, likewiſe taken upon the ice near *Iſeland*; he told me, that when he firſt had it, there was to be ſeen ſtill part of the fleſh and ſkin.

Iſeland is a ſtrong and mountainous countrey: their paſtures are of ſuch goodneſs, that they are fain to remove the cattle for fear they ſhould burſt themſelves; the graſs having ſo agreeable a ſcent here, that foreigners tranſport and dry it, to lay it among their linen. However, their beef is not reckoned of the beſt ſort, and their mutton is rank; which the *Iſelanders* don't much regard, becauſe they dry their meat in the ſun and wind, which preſerves it better than ſalt, and takes away much of its rankneſs. Butter they make in abundance, and keep it in tubs, or for want of ſuch, only pile it up in the houſe. Their ordinary drink is milk or whey, ſometimes with water, ſometimes without. They don't want good horſes; theſe feed during the winter upon dry'd fiſh, as well as their oxen and ſheep, when hay begins to fall ſhort: Of theſe dry'd fiſh they alſo make flour and bread, when by the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, they can't ſometimes be ſupplied with grain from abroad.

Iſeland is full of clear and fine ſprings, the water whereof is not only very wholeſome to drink, but ſome of them have alſo a nouriſhing quality like beer: they are alſo not deſtitute of hot ſprings for bathing; of ponds and lakes, they have great abundance, which furniſh them with great quantities of fiſh; as alſo great numbers of brooks and navigable rivers, the names whereof, as well as of their bays and capes, I will not inſert here, they being to be found in other authors.

Bleſkenius tells us of a certain lake in the weſtern part of the iſle, which always ſmoaks, and yet is ſo cold, that it petrifies every thing that is put into it; for, ſays he, if you put a ſtick into the ground near it, the ſtick changes into iron as far as it is under ground; as far as it lies under water it turns into ſtone, and that part above the water remains wood as before. *Bleſkenius* ſays, he ſaw this try'd twice, and that part which ſeem'd to be iron, being put into the fire, it burnt like charcoal. He alſo tells us of another lake in the middle of the ſame iſle, the exhalations whereof are ſo malignant, that they kill the birds in an inſtant that fly over it. This lake ſeems to be of the ſame ſtamp with the *Avernus* of the *Greeks* mentioned by *Virgil*, *lib.* 6. *Æneid.*

Quam ſuper haud ullum poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis: tali ſeſe halitus atris
Faucibus effundens, ſupera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graji dixerunt nomine Aornum.

Bleſkenius adds, (beſides what *Angrim Jonas* relates of the hot ſprings of *Iſeland*) that certain ſprings are ſo hot here, that the water thereof burns the ſkin; and after it is ſet to cool, it leaves a ſulphur upon its ſurface, as the ſea water leaves a ſaline ſubſtance in the ſalt pits. Upon the ſurface of the water of theſe ſprings, ſwims alſo a certain red ſubſtance, which plunges under water as ſoon as you come near it, but no ſooner do you turn your back, but it appears again above water. The ſame author aſſures us, that in a certain place of

this iſle, named *Turleſkhaven*, there are two fountains or ſprings, one very cold, the other exceſſive hot; the waters whereof being conveyed by two different pipes or channels, and mix'd together in one trunk or baſin, make a convenient and moſt excellent bath. Near it (ſays he) is another ſpring, the water whereof having the taſte of wheat, is a good remedy againſt the venereal diſtemper, which, according to *Blefkenius*, is very common here.

Iſeland affords not any mines of metal or minerals, except brimſtone, whereof there is abundance in moſt parts of the iſle, but eſpecially in the mount *Hecla* in the eaſt of the iſle, extending towards the ſouth, and which ſometimes appears all in flames like mount *Veſuvius*. *Blefkenius* ſays, that mount *Hecla* not only ſends forth flames, but alſo whole torrents of ſulphureous liquor, which burns like ſpirit of wine: ſometimes theſe eruptions are followed by vaſt quantities of black aſhes and ſtones. Theſe eruptions ceaſe commonly with a weſt wind; which makes the inhabitants living thereabouts, who know the avenues of the mountains, to chuſe that time to go to the top of it, and throw great ſtones into the hole, through which the flames break forth: it being otherwiſe very dangerous to approach ſo near it, there being divers inſtances that men have been ſwallow'd up by the earth that has given way as they were going up the mountain.

It is a received opinion among the *Iſelanders*, that this mountain is the place where the ſouls of wicked perſons are tormented with fire; for they will tell you, that they ſee ſometimes whole troops of infernal ſpirits carrying the damn'd ſouls into the abyſs of this mount, and returning back again to fetch more. *Blefkenius* ſays, this is generally obſerved after ſome bloody battle has been fought in ſome place or other. Thus the *Iſelanders* believe, that the noiſe which ariſes from the many ſea ſhoals forced againſt the ſhore, are the groans and lamentations of the damn'd ſouls, by reaſon of the exceſſive cold they endure; it being their opinion, that ſome ſouls are condemn'd to ſuffer eternal cold, as well as everlaſting fire.

The ſame *Blefkenius* tells us, that whilſt he was in *Iſeland*, there aroſe ſo prodigious a fire about midnight in *November*, on the ſea near the mount *Hecla*, that it was ſeen all over the iſle, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants; the moſt ſenſible among whom were however of opinion, that the ſame proceeded from mount *Hecla* itſelf. Within an hour after they perceived an earthquake all over the iſle, which was followed ſoon after by ſo dreadful a noiſe, (like a thunderclap) that every one expected the day of judgment to be at hand. Some few days after, the ſea was found dry near the place where the fire had appear'd, and was retreated at leaſt two leagues within its old bounds from the ſhore.

As the uſe of corn is unknown among the *Iſelanders*, ſo they neither buy nor ſell; but what commodities are brought to them, ſuch as flour, beer, wine, ſtrong-waters, iron, woollen and linen cloths, *&c.* they exchange for the products of their country; ſuch as dry'd fiſhes, butter, tallow, courſe woollen cloths, brimſtone, foxes, bears, ſtag and wolves ſkins. *Blefkenius* ſays, that the *Germans* who traffick thither, ſet up their tents upon the ſhore, where they expoſe their commodities, as cloaks, ſhoes, looking-glaſſes, knives, and ſuch like toys, which they exchange for what the *Iſelanders* bring to them. He further adds, that the young women of *Iſeland* (who are handſome enough, but miſerably clad) come to theſe ſtrangers to proſtitute themſelves for ſome bread, biſcuit, or ſome other trifle; nay, their fathers often carry them to theſe foreigners, and look upon it as a lucky chance, if they happen to be with child by them; they being afterwards in greater eſteem among, and ſooner married by the *Iſelanders* than others.

So ſoon as an *Iſelander* has bought (or rather exchanged) ſome wine or beer from theſe ſtrangers, he invites his kindred, relations, and friends, to make merry with him; when they ſeldom part as long as any ſtrong liquor is left. During the merriment, they ſing the atchievements of their ancient warriours, but without any art, order, or rule. It is accounted a ſingular piece of ill breeding among them, to go away from the table to piſs, whilſt they are drinking. The young wenches (who as I told you are not ugly) commonly creep under the benches, to reach them the chamber-pots.

Angrim. Jonas is very angry with *Blefkenius* upon this account, and accuſes him of falſhood, in reflecting upon the reputation of his country-women, and accuſing them of barbarity; as alſo, in regard of what he ſays concerning their waſhing their mouths and teeth every morning with their own urine, tho' the ſame has been obſerved in the *Celtiberians* by *Catullus*:

Nunc Celtiber in Celtiberiâ Terra,
Quod quiſque minxit, hoc ſibi ſoleat mane
Dentem, & ruſſam defricare Gingivam.

To tell you my opinion upon this matter; it's poſſible the *Iſelanders* are not now ſo barbarous as formerly, tho' it may rationally

nally be ſuppoſed, that a nation living ſo near the north pole, may not be ſo refined and poliſhed as ſome others, eſpecially among the vulgar ſort, for people of faſhion ought to be exempted of this rule (leſs or more) in moſt places.

Blefkenius aſſures us, that the *Iſelanders* have familiar ſpirits, who attend them like ſervants, and give them notice from time to time when they ſhall be ſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. *Ortelius* adds, that they call theſe dæmons or ſpirits *drolla's*; which ſeems to have ſome reference to the *Daniſh* word *troll*, which ſignifies a *devil*. *Blefkenius* further tells us, that the *Iſelanders* ſell what wind they pleaſe to ſtrangers. *Angrim Jonas* ridicules this ſtory called *Ging*, that the *Iſeland* ſeamen being very expert in diſcerning in the evening, by the diſpoſition of the air, what wind is likely to blow the next day; which if they find ſuitable to the wiſh of ſuch ſtrangers as lie ready to ſail near the ſhore, they pretend to ſell them ſuch a wind, which (to cover the deceit) they do thus: They aſk the ſtranger to give them his handkerchief; which done, they pretend to mutter certain words into it, and immediately after tie it into knots, for fear the words ſhould evaporate into the air. Afterwards he returns him his handkerchief thus knotted, with a ſtrict charge to keep it thus with extraordinary care, till he arrives in the deſired port: ſometimes it happens, that the wind proves according to wiſh, but much oftner it proves quite otherwiſe. So ſoon as the poor ſtranger is got out to ſea, if he be overtaken by a tempeſt, he is put to no ſmall nonplus what to do, imagining that he carries the devil in his pocket, and conſequently thinking it a point of conſcience to keep it, yet is unwilling to part with it. If, ſays *Angrim*, once in a great many times the wind proves according to what the *Iſelander* has foretold the ſtranger, this is a ſufficient precedent in oppoſition to many other experiments made to the contrary; the perſon who fancies to have bought his favourable wind, not failing to tell it where-ever he comes, that with the aſſiſtance of the wind he purchaſed in *Iſeland*, he was happily carried to the deſired port.

Tho' ſuch like ſtories are not likely to make any impreſſion upon men of judgment, they may ſerve for variety's ſake, there being ſome pleaſure in underſtanding what is ſaid and believed by other people. *Blefkenius* tells us alſo, that there are ſorcerers in *Iſeland*, who can ſtop a ſhip under full ſail; againſt which (ſays he) they make uſe of certain ill-ſcented ſuffumigations, (deſcribed by him) as counter charms, by virtue of which they force the dæmon that retains them, to let the ſhip purſue its former courſe. But it's time to return to more ſerious matters relating to the hiſtory of *Iſeland*.

Iſeland was in ancient times divided into four provinces, according to the four corners of the world; each whereof was ſubdivided into three bailliages, called *repes* by the *Iſelanders*, except the northern province, which being the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of all, had four bailliages; each of which was again ſubdivided into ſix, ſeven, eight, or ten diſtricts or judicatures, in proportion to their extent. Every year there was an aſſembly held of the bailliages in each province, who were convened by certain ſmall croſſes of wood, ſent by the governour of the province to his reſpective bailiffs, who were to diſtribute them among the judges, and theſe among ſuch of the heads of families, as had a right to appear at this aſſembly. Beſides which, the lord chief juſtice, or preſident of the whole iſle, who being the interpreter or conſervator of the laws of the land, who was alſo conſidered as the ſovereign of the four provinces, uſed at certain times to call together the general eſtates of the whole iſle; which was done by four wooden hatches, ſent to the four governours of the provinces.

Each bailliage had three principal *pagodes*, or pagan temples, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and their devotion; whence the office of *bailiff* was honoured with the ſurname of *godorp*, i. e. *divine*. The principal care of theſe bailiffs was to provide for the poor, whereof there were great numbers in ſo deſolate a countrey; to take care that the poor of one *repe* did not go thence to another; and to refrain the licentiouſneſs of ſturdy beggars, againſt whom the laws were very ſevere; for they had liberty to kill, or to emaſculate them, to prevent their multiplication. They had alſo a law, forbidding (under pain of baniſhment) not only a poor fellow to marry a poor woman, but alſo any man, who had but juſt enough for his own ſuſtenance, to marry a woman without ſomething to maintain herſelf.

This ariſtocratical form of government, and manner of adminiſtring juſtice, continued in this iſle till the year of *Chriſt* 1263. when the kings of *Norway* conquered the ſaid iſle, and forced them to pay them an annual tribute; being invited thereunto by the inteſtine broils ariſen among the great ones, about the adminiſtration of the government. The kings of *Denmark*, after having made themſelves maſters of *Norwegen*, did ſend into *Iſeland* their governours

or

or viceroys; from which time on, they had nothing but the ſhadow left of their antient liberty. Theſe governours have their reſidence in a certain caſtle, called *Beſeſtat*, ſeated in the weſtern part of the iſle. They are however not obliged to reſide there conſtantly, unleſs in caſe of neceſſity, and when they gather the yearly tribute, which is paid in the ſame commodities I had occaſion to mention before, and which they exchange with ſtrangers; which ſerve in ſome meaſure the king of *Denmark* to provide his navy with proviſions, and clothing for the ſeamen.

The laſt viceroy, or governour of *Iſeland* (ſince our coming into the north) was Mr. *Proſmoel*, admiral of the *Daniſh* fleet, lately defeated by the *Swedes* in the *Baltick* ſea. The admiral fought with incredible courage, and died upon the deck of his ſhip with ſword in hand, having refuſed to accept his life from the hands of his enemies.

Angrim Jonas dates chriſtianiſm in *Iſeland*, from the thouſandth year after the birth of Chriſt; not but that there were chriſtians there a conſiderable time before; but that paganiſm was not abſolutely aboliſhed till that time. The *Iſelanders*, whilſt pagans, did, beſides other gods, adore *Thor* and *Odin*. The firſt was to them inſtead of *Jupiter*, and *Odin* in lieu of the *Mercury* of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Hence they call to this day their Thurſday *Thorſday*, and their Wedneſday *Odin's Daguir*. The altars conſecrated to their gods were covered with iron plates, upon which they kept an everlaſting fire. Upon the altar ſtood a certain veſſel of tin, containing the blood of the ſacrifice, wherewith they beſprinkled the ſpectators. On one ſide of this veſſel lay a ſilver ring, of about twenty ounces weight, which they uſed to beſmear with the blood of the ſacrifice, and lay their fingers upon it when they were to take a ſolemn oath. The chronicles of *Iſeland* tell us, that they uſed to offer ſacrifices of men to their idols. Theſe they threw down from the rocks, or into deep pits made for that purpoſe near the gates of their temples. The pagan *Iſelanders* had their two principal temples, one in the north, the other in the ſouth part of the iſle. In lieu whereof the *Iſeland* chriſtians have erected two, and the only two biſhopricks in theſe parts of the iſle, *viz.* that of *Hole* in the north, and that of *Scalhold* in the ſouth. They at preſent profeſs the *Lutheran* religion, as well as in *Denmark*.

The antient *Iſelanders* were tall, and well made, robuſt, nimble, and active, famous gladiators, and much addicted to pyracies. *Monomachies*, or ſingle duels, were publickly allowed among them; nay, even their law-differences were decided by duels, the vanquiſhed loſing their pretenſions, as did likewiſe he who refuſed to accept the challenge, and was uſed in the ſame manner as if he had been vanquiſhed. This was the chief method of acquiring poſſeſſions among them; for, if two gladiators entred upon a ſingle combat, the conqueror became by his victory maſter of the whole eſtate of his conquered enemy, againſt which his heirs had but one remedy, which was to bring a large bull or ox to the conqueror, which he was to kill with one ſtroke, which if he fail'd to do, he loſt his whole pretenſion upon the eſtate of his conquer'd adverſary.

Beſides that the *Iſelanders* were very ſtrong and couragious, they had alſo a ſufficient ſhare of wit, and were ſo curious in their annals, that they not only carefully preſerved their own hiſtory from oblivion; but alſo embelliſhed the ſame with the moſt memorable tranſactions that happened in the neigbouring kingdoms. Hence it is, that *Angrim Jonas*, in his *Specimen Iſelandicum*, ſpeaking of his countrymen, calls them *ad totius Europæ res hiſtoricas lynciæ*, i. e. quickſighted in the whole hiſtory of *Europe*. Certain it is, that *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his preface to his *Daniſh* hiſtory, confeſſes to have made uſe with good ſucceſs of the *memoirs* taken out of the *Annals of* Iſeland, called *Tylenſes*. Dr. *Wormius*, I remember, told me concerning theſe Annals, that they were curiouſly written, and contained many exquiſite matters (not to be found elſewhere) relating to the iſles of *Orcades*, the *Hebrides*, *Scotland*, and *England*, nay, even in the dukedom of *Normandy*: The reaſon whereof might probably be, that theſe *Iſelanders* were very powerful in the *Deucalidonean* or *Scots* ſea, and perhaps carried from thence their commerce as far as *Normandy*.

The moſt antient hiſtories of *Iſeland*, and ſuch as are moſt in eſteem among them, were written in verſe; it being obſervable upon this head, that the antient kings and heroes of the north uſed conſtantly to carry ſome poets along with them to the wars, who uſed to celebrate their hiſtories in verſe. Theſe were ſung by the ſoldiers in their armies, and conſequently divulged in the adjacent countries. The *Iſelanders* were ſo famous for their poetry among the neighbouring nations, that it was generally believed that there was a certain kind of magick hidden in their verſes, whereby they could ſummon the dæmons from the infernal regions, and change the influence of the planets. Their poets are born, and not made ſuch; for the moſt ingenious perſon among them cannot write a verſe, without his natural genius prompts him to it, the rules of their

their poetry being moſt ſtrict and ſevere; whereas ſuch as are endowed with this qualification by nature, write them with ſuch facility, that they can ſpeak ſcarce any thing but in metre. They are commonly ſeized with this poetical frenzy in the new moon, when their faces appear dreadful, with a pale countenance, and hollow eyes; not unlike as the ſybil of *Cumæ* is deſcribed by *Virgil*. At that time it is very dangerous to converſe with theſe furious fellows, the wound given by a mad dog being ſcarce more dangerous than their venomous ſatires.

I cannot forbear to tell you what Dr. *Wormius* related to me upon this head: Some years before, when he was *rector magnificus*, (or vice-chancellor of the univerſity of *Copenhagen*) a certain young ſtudent, a native of *Iſeland*, made his complaint to him againſt one of his countrymen, who, as he ſaid, had moſt highly affronted him in one of his ſatires. *Wormius* having ſent for the poet, he did not diſown the poem, but denied that it was intended againſt his countryman; and in effect, the vice-chancellor, according to the knowledge he had of the *Iſeland* tongue (being a dialect of the antient *Runic* language) could not find out any great reaſon of complaint in the ſaid poem. The plaintiff, finding the vice-chancellor inclinable to his adverſary's ſide, burſt out into tears; telling him, with a mournful countenance, that if he did not aſſiſt him, he was loſt for ever. Then rehearſing to him the fables, figures, and other malicious deſigns, under which the malignity of this ſatire was couched; he further told him, that he muſt be looked upon as an infamous perſon in his country, if this poem ſhould ever come thither; that all his welfare lay at ſtake; nay, that the malicious deſign of it reached even his life, and that the charms contained therein would purſue him, and have their effects upon him wherever he went. Dr. *Wormius*, not a little moved in compaſſion, when he ſaw him in this agony, took the poet aſide, repreſenting to him the duty and charity of a chriſtian, and likewiſe the ſeverity of the *Daniſh* laws againſt ſorcerers; with ſevere threats to deliver him into the hands of juſtice, if the other ſhould happen to fall ſick, tho' only out of fear: Which made ſuch impreſſion upon the poet, that at laſt he confeſſed the malicious deſign of his ſatire, tore it to pieces, and promiſing never to write it, or ſpeak of it again, embraced the young ſtudent, who was raviſhed with joy, becauſe he had made his peace with the poet.

The *Iſeland* poets have a certain mythology or explanation of their fables, called *Edda*. Among other matters, they ſuppoſe a certain giant, named *Immer*, the firſt principle of things. They ſay, that the chaos produced dwarfs, who getting upon the giant, took him to pieces. Out of his ſkull they made the heavens, out of his right eye the ſun, out of his left the moon, out of his ſhoulders the mountains, the rocks of his bones, the ſea of his bladder, and the rivers of his urine; and ſo with the other parts of his body: Whence it is, that theſe poets call the heavens *Immer*'s ſkull, the ſun his right eye, the moon his left eye, the rocks his bones, the mountains his ſhoulders, the ſea his bladder, the rivers his urine, and ſo forth. Dr. *Wormius* did ſhew me a very antient copy of this *Edda*, written in the *Iſeland* tongue by an *Iſelander*, and interpreted it to me, whence I have taken what I have related to you now.

The Edda.

If we may believe the *Iſelanders* annals, they uſed in former ages to be ſo formidable at ſea, that both the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* were jealous of their naval ſtrength; whereas now they have not wood enough to build a fiſher-boat. They formerly traffick'd into all the circumjacent countries, whereas now they ſcarce ever leave the iſle, unleſs ſome few of them who come to *Copenhagen* to ſtudy, and are generally ſo eager to return to their native countrey, that there is not ſo much as one inſtance to be given of their ſtaying in *Denmark* afterwards, tho' good livings have been offered them there, there being ſome among them who have applied themſelves to their ſtudies with very good ſucceſs. They are ſo bigotted to their miſery, that whatever you tell them concerning the advantage of the *Daniſh* climate beyond theirs, has not the leaſt effect upon them. There were at that time about fourteen or fifteen ſtudents at the univerſity of *Copenhagen*, who were generally ſpeaking of a low ſtature, and ſlender; tho' I remember, *Blefkemius* ſays in one place, that he ſaw an *Iſelander* in *Iſeland* of ſuch a prodigious ſtrength, that he could lift a *Hamborough* barrel of beer (holding forty-eight gallons) to his mouth.

The *Iſelanders* retain to this day ſome relicks or rather a ſhadow of their antient government; their laws being now ſo interwoven with thoſe of *Norway* and *Denmark*, that whilſt they are fond, not quite to part with their own, and at the ſame time are obliged to obey the others, they entangle themſelves into no ſmall difficulties concerning the concordance betwixt their and the *Daniſh* laws; which has made *Angrim Jonas* ſay, that there are as many *Pantinomies* in the laws of *Iſeland*, as there are *Antinomies* in the *Roman* law.

The *Iſelanders* retain to this day their antient

tient cuſtom of building their houſes at a conſiderable diſtance from one another, without any order or rule, for fear of fire, being all of wood: They have no other windows but a hole on the top; their houſes being very low, and ſometimes half under ground, by reaſon of the high winds that often blow here. They are commonly covered (like thoſe in *Sweden*) with the bark of beech-tree covered with turfs, much after the ſame manner as *Virgil* deſcribes the hut of *Tityrus* in his *Bucolics*:

Pauperis & Tuguri congeſtum ceſpite culmen.

Theſe are their dwelling-houſes, wherein they live to a hundred years of age, and more, without making uſe of any phyſick or phyſicians.

The whole iſle of *Iſeland* has no more than two villages, which are the ſeats of their two biſhops, *viz.* *Hole* and *Schalholt*; the firſt whereof, being the biggeſt, has only a few houſes; and as they have neither towns nor villages, ſo they have no high-ways; which obliges thoſe that travel here from one province to another, to make uſe of the needle and compaſs (as they do at ſea) for their guide; and near thoſe pits or holes, which by reaſon of their being filled with ſnow, might prove dangerous to travellers, they ſet up marks to forewarn them of the danger. The *Iſelanders* ſeldom inhabit but near the ſea ſhore, or near a river, for the conveniency of fiſhing and paſture, ſo that the inland country is in a manner a deſart. At *Hole* there is a college or ſchool for boys, till they come into rhetorick, when they are ſent to *Copenhagen* to ſtudy philoſophy and divinity. Here is alſo a printing-preſs, where they did ſometime ago print the Old Teſtament, tranſlated into the *Iſeland* tongue. The New Teſtament is ſtill in the preſs for want of paper, which is a dear commodity in that country.

There have been divers biſhops of note in *Iſeland*, eſpecially in the ſee of *Hole*, a catalogue of whom you may ſee in the *Crimogee* of *Angrim Jonas*. *Gundebrand Torlac* was biſhop of this ſee, a perſon of great probity and learning. *Angrim Jonas* being his coadjutor, had the ſurvivance of this biſhoprick granted him by the king of *Denmark*; but after the death of *Gundebrand*, refuſed to accept of the ſame, having for ſome time before devoted moſt of his time to his private ſtudies. He is ſtill living; and, as Dr. *Wormius* told me, above ninety years of age, notwithſtanding which he married a very young woman about four years ago. He is both a man of learning and probity, and much conſider'd for his knowledge in the affairs of the north, as his writings ſufficiently teſtify.

I had almoſt forgot to mention one thing, worth our obſervation among the *Iſelanders*, *viz.* that they are great cheſs-players, there being not a peaſant in the country, but what has a ſet of it, which they make themſelves out of fiſh-bones. The whole difference betwixt theirs and ours, being only that our fools ſtand for their biſhops; becauſe, ſay they, the clergymen ought to be near the king's perſon. Their rooks repreſent little captains, whence the *Ieland* ſcholars call them *Centuriones*. They are repreſented with ſwords on their ſides, with bloated cheeks, as if they were blowing the horn they hold in both their hands. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more concerning the horns uſed by the northern generals in the wars, which are not unlike that of our *Rowland*, or the horn, or rather trumpet of *Miſenus*, whom *Virgil* ſtyles *Hectoris magni comes*, or, *Hector*'s companion; it being certain, that in *Germany*, as well as the northern parts, trumpeters are not conſidered as ſervants, but officers of the troop; but of this more another time. We return to our cheſs-game.

Cheſs-play much uſed in the north.

This game is not only of antient ſtanding, and generally uſed, in *Iſeland*, but all over the north. The *Norwegian* chronicle tells us, that *Drofen* the giant, foſter-father of *Herald* ſurnamed the *Hairy*, (as *Chiron* was of *Achilles*) having underſtood the great actions of his pupil, then king of *Norway*, ſent him, among other preſents (mention'd in that chronicle) a very fine and rich cheſs-table. This *Herald* reign'd about the year of Chriſt 870. And if *Encolpius* in *Petronius* could brag that he had ſeen *Trimalcion* play at draughts upon tables made of turpentine wood and chryſtals, with men of gold and ſilver; I may boaſt to have play'd at cheſs with the counteſs *Eleonore*, natural daughter to the king of *Denmark*, married to count *Ulefeld*, great marſhal, and chief miniſter to the king of *Denmark*. The tables were inlaid with a white and yellow amber; the pieces of gold, curiouſly wrought, and enamell'd with the ſame colours as the tables. The kings and queens were dreſſed in their royal robes, ſeated upon a throne, with a crown on the head. The biſhops had their mitres and habits, richly adorned; and the knights were mounted on horſes, with fine trappings. The rooks were repreſented by elephants with towers on their backs. The men were little muſqueteers, preſenting their guns cloſe to their cheeks, as if they were expecting the word, to fire.

Iſeland *a dialect of the* Runick.

I told you before, that the *Iſeland* tongue was founded upon the antient *Runic* language; and Dr. *Wormius*, who is well verſed

ſed in the *Runic*, and has writ a whole treatiſe of it, has aſſured me, that the *Iſeland* tongue is the pureſt dialect of the *Runick* that is to be found now. For a farther proof whereof it is to be obſerved, that the alphabet given us by *Blefkenius* are *Runick* characters; adding, that ſome of them being deſigned for hieroglyphicks, expreſs entire words. *Angrim Jonas* has alſo a whole chapter of it in his *Crimogea*. And ſince this book is very ſcarce to be had here, and conſequently much more in *France*, you will I hope not take it amiſs, if I entertain you with ſome things I have obſerved there, it being certain, that by explaining to you the antiquity of the *Iſeland* tongue, I ſhall at once give you a conſiderable inſight into the antient ſtate of the north.

Angrim Jonas tells us, that the *Iſeland* chronicles, ſpeaking of the firſt inhabitants of the northern part of the world, deduce their origin from a certain *Aſiatick* prince, named *Odin* or *Ottin*, who being forced out of the *leſſer Phrygia* by the victorious arms of *Pompey the great*, retired with the remainder of his *Phrygian* forces into the north. *Angrim* is forced to confeſs, that the *Iſeland* chronicles don't begin but with *Odin*, though at the ſame time ſome other northern countries trace their origin much further, *viz.* of a certain prince, named *Norus*, who firſt erected *Norway* into a kingdom, and provided them with wholeſome laws. This *Norus* was ſon to *Therre* king of *Gothland* and *Finland*, the moſt potent, brave, and moſt virtuous prince of that age; for which reaſon he was by his ſubjects reverenced like a God; and the *Norwegians* to this day call the month of *January Therre*, after his name. King *Therre* had a moſt beautiful daughter, named *Goa*, who being raviſhed by a foreign prince, her brother *Norus* went in purſuit of the raviſher; and the name of *Goa* was given to the month of *February*, to her memory, the ſame being retained to this day among the *Iſelanders*. *Angrim* has given us the genealogy of all the anceſtors of *Norus*, who were reckon'd among the number of the gods by the northern nations; one whereof repreſented the god of the ſea, another of the winds, another of ſnow, another of the winter. Among the reſt they worſhipped one under the name of the god of fire, whoſe ſtatue was extremely fine and handſome; whence they gave him the name of *Halogie*, i. e. *a fierce and glorious flame*. This genealogy reaches to *Giloe*, a nephew of *Norus*, in whoſe reign (as the chronicle tells us) the great *Odin* came out of *Aſia* into the north.

Angrim Jonas finding ſuch a diverſity in the chronicles, ſaw himſelf obliged to look farther backwards, beyond the firſt kings of *Norway*, for the firſt original of the northern nations, which he deduces from the antient giants that were forced out of the land of promiſe by *Joſhua*, and afterwards ſettled their habitations in the northern parts, from whom the *Goths* derive their race, the word *Got* ſignifying as much as a giant; wherefore I think it not amiſs to ſay ſomething as well in reference to theſe giants as of *Odin* the *Aſiatick* prince.

This famous *Odin* was worſhipped as a God all over the north, under the name of *Mercury*, by reaſon of his excellent wit. It is he who laid the firſt foundation of the northern poeſy, and of their *magi*, ſo much celebrated in other parts of the world. Of the firſt I have ſaid ſomething already, and upon the *magi* I could ſay much more, were it not that it both deſerves and requires a moſt particular account, which I intend to reſerve for another opportunity. I can't however forbear to put you in mind upon this occaſion, of the negligent temper of many of our modern authors, who, without making any ſerious reflection upon the circumſtances of things impoſed upon the world (without the leaſt ſenſe or reaſon) by antiquity, are not only taken by them for granted, but alſo improved by them, in order to make them paſs current in the world. I would deſire any body to conſider how little coherence there is betwixt the fabulous relations of *Odin* their *Aſiatick* prince, and the time of *Pompey*, ſo much celebrated in hiſtory?

Is it not a moſt ſurprizing thing, to ſee moſt of the antients, repreſent the founders of nations, or other great men, like giants? Thus they make *Hercules* three times bigger than other men. And *Virgil* repreſents his *Æneas* and *Turnus* like mountains, *quantus Athos, aut quantus Erix*; and compares *Sandarus* and *Bitias* to two tall oaks. Thus all the pictures and ſtatues of *Charles the great* (in the *German* churches) are much beyond the ſize of an ordinary man. I remember that I ſaw the ſtatue of a *Rowland* in the market-place of *Bremen*, of the heighth of a pike. *Saxo Grammaticus* makes his *Danes* to be deſcended from giants. *Joh.* and *Olaus Magnus*, two brothers, and both *Swediſh* hiſtorians, do the ſame with their countrymen, as *Angrim Jonas* deſcribes his firſt *Iſelanders* as giants, the word *Got*, as he ſays, ſignifying a giant, and that the antient *Goths* were actually ſuch. And becauſe the giants of *Canaan*, who were drove thence by *Joſhua*, were the firſt giants mentioned in the holy ſcripture after the deluge, theſe muſt be brought into the north, becauſe *Paleſtine* was too hot for them to abide in.

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The two before-mentioned *Swediſh* hiſtorians (who being brothers, ſucceeded one another in the archbiſhoprick of *Upſal*) outdo even *Angrim Jonas* himſelf in deducing the origin of the *Swedes* from the children of *Japhet*; and take a great deal of pains to perſuade the world, that the city of *Upſal* was built in the time of *Abraham*. I wonder how *Angrim Jonas* happened not to follow their footſteps, in deducing the origin of his *Iſelanders* from the race of *Japhet*; ſeeing it is ſaid of the children of *Japhet*, in the tenth chapter of *Geneſis*, *Ab his diviſæ ſunt inſulæ gentium in regionibus ſuis, unuſquiſque ſecundum linguam ſuam, & familias ſuas in nationibus ſuis*; *By theſe were the iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families in their nations.* For it being a general and orthodox opinion, that the children of *Noah* did repeople the world after the deluge, and that thoſe of *Japhet* in particular, ſettled in the iſles: *Angrim* might with much better pretence affirm, that of the firſt inhabitants of his iſle, than *Olaus Magnus* had told us of the *Swedes* being deſcended from the race of *Japhet*; for beſides that *Angrim* has the hiſtory of *Geneſis* on his ſide (which the *Swedes* have not) it ſaves the trouble of tracing the original of the *Iſelanders* from the giants of *Canaan* coming into the northern parts.

To tell you my real opinion concerning thoſe gentlemen, who have taken ſo much pains in making ſo nice a ſcrutiny into the firſt inhabitants of the world, after the deluge, they have taken a great deal of pains in vain; it being certain, that ſince we are deſtitute of true hiſtories concerning theſe moſt antient times, all their relations are founded only upon conjectures, or ſome fabulous chronicle or account ill digeſted and worſe explained. I don't apply this only to Mr. *Angrim Jonas*, for whom I have a ſingular reſpect: The error is general, he having not been the firſt who traced the original of the northern nations from the giants of *Canaan*; beſides that, he has no inſignificant plea for his aſſertion, becauſe he found ſome *Iſeland* words to have no ſmall congruity with the *Hebrew*, which was called the language of *Canaan*, after the *Jews* had made themſelves maſters of the *land of promiſe*, by chacing the giants thence. Our author had unhappily forgot, that theſe giants did not ſpeak *Hebrew*, which being foreign to them, they could not poſſibly introduce it in the north, if we would take it for granted, that they actally inhabited there.

Many errors of this nature are to be met with in the writings of moſt of the beſt authors, who have run upon the ſame miſtake in looking for the true origin of nations among the interpretation or etymology of certain *German* or *Hebrew* words, which to them ſeem'd to have a near relation to the language of thoſe nations they were treating of. Thus Mr. *Grotius*, in his treatiſe of the origin of the *Americans*, deduces their race from the *Germans*, becauſe, ſays he, many of their words terminate in *Lan*, *Land* being a *German* word. Mr. *Sact* ſays, that there is a certain nation in *America*, called *Alavardes*, who have got their name from one *Alvarado*, a *Spaniſh* commander, who conquered them. But *Grotius* traces the origin of the *Alavardes* from the *Lombards*, by a corruption of the word; as to this day the *French* call *Hallbards*, certain arms of the *Lombards*, called *Lombards* by the antient *French*.

Mr. *Bechard*, a perſon not inferiour in learning to *Grotius*, takes the ſame road in his treatiſe called *Phaleg*, of the partition and inhabitants of the earth after the deluge, his reaſons being founded upon conjectures of the ſame nature; tho' I muſt confeſs I could not but be ſurpriſed at his ſtupendous knowledge in the eaſtern languages, in finding out the interpretation of the *Carthaginian* verſe in *Plautus* his comedy, called the *Carthaginian*, out of the *Hebrew*. I told you juſt now, that his invention is full of ingenuity; but can't however agree with him, that the *Carthaginian* tongue had any relation to the *Hebrew*; for *Dido*, (who founded *Carthage*) being a native of *Phœnicia*, (which language was very different from the *Hebrew*) the *Carthaginians* queſtionleſs were ſo far from ſpeaking *Hebrew* in the days of *Plautus*, that it is moſt likely they retained the ſame language that *Dido* had introduced there, *viz.* the *Phœnician*. Mr. *Samuel Petit*, a learned man and great critick, having before Mr. *Bechard* found out quite another interpretation of the ſame words in *Plautus*, I am apt to imagine, that if a third perſon (as well skill'd as they in the *Hebrew*) ſhould undertake the ſame task, he would find out another interpretation of the ſame *Carthaginian* verſes in *Plautus*, by virtue of the tranſpoſition of the letters and points, which theſe two gentlemen have made uſe of to attain their end, according to the liberty allowed to the criticks in the *Hebrew*; by which rule they are able to give almoſt what ſenſe they pleaſe to a ſentence, juſt as we can make our chimes ſound a tune at pleaſure.

I hope, Sir, you will pardon this digreſſion, which I thought not altogether foreign to our preſent purpoſe, when I obſerved Mr. *Angrim Jonas* to be miſguided by the ſame error, as many others have been

been beſides him, in looking for the origin of the *Iſelanders* among the *Hebrew*, it being certain, that nothing can be more fallacious than conjectures founded upon ſuch like etymologies.

I am apt to believe, that *Angrim Jonas* would have acknowledged the ſame giants, who, according to his opinion, firſt peopled the north, for the firſt founders of the *Iſelanders*, were it not that he believes that iſle not to have been inhabited till for a conſiderable time after; wherefore it will not be amiſs to relate the chief heads of his relation upon that account. He ſays, that *Iſeland* was firſt of all diſcovered by one *Naddocus*, who, as he was going to the iſles of *Faro*, was caſt by a tempeſt on the eaſtern part of *Iſeland*, unto which he gave the name of *Sneeland*, i. e. *Snowland*, from the vaſt heaps of ſnow he ſaw there, which made *Naddocus* not to ſtay there long. The next who went in queſt after this iſle, was a certain *Swede*, named *Garderus*, who hearing *Naddocus* ſpeak of this iſle, found it, and landed there in the year 864; and having paſs'd the whole winter there, called it *Garderſholm*, i. e. *Garders iſle*. The third perſon who came into this iſle, was a famous *Norwegian* pirate named *Flocco*, who having underſtood ſomething of the ſituation of this iſle, made uſe of a peculiar invention for his direction, the compaſs being then a thing as yet unknown in the world. As he was going from *Hittland*, (one of the *Orcades* or *Orkney* iſlands) he ventured boldly into the main ſea, and having taken three ravens along with him, he let one of them fly as ſoon as he thought himſelf at a good diſtance from the ſhore; but finding the raven returning towards *Hittland*, from whence he was come, he kept on his courſe farther at ſea; and then letting go the ſecond raven, he ſoon found by her return to the ſhip, that ſhe could diſcover no land; ſo ſteering his former courſe for ſome time, he ſent forth the third raven, which diſcovering the *Iſeland* ſhore, *Flocco* followed her with all the ſails he could make; and thus with a favourable wind landed in the eaſtern part of *Iſeland*, then call'd *Garderſholm*, where he paſs'd the winter, and finding himſelf againſt the ſpring ſurrounded with whole mountains of ice, (called the *Greenland* ice by the inhabitants) he gave it the name of *Iſeland*, i. e. *Iceland*, which name it has retained ever ſince; *Flocco* paſs'd another winter in the ſouth part of the iſle; but being as little pleaſed with that part as with the other, he return'd to *Norway*, where they gave him the name of *Refnaſloke*, i. e. *Flocco the Raven*, becauſe he had made uſe of that creature in the diſcovery of *Iſeland*.

The true founder of the *Iſelanders*, was a certain baron of *Norway*, named *Ingulph*, who having with his brother-in-law *Hiorleifus*, killed two of the greateſt men of that countrey in a duel, were baniſh'd for that fact. And it being the cuſtom of this countrey for exiles to take along with them the doors or gates of their houſes, *Ingulph* having caſt anchor near the *Iſeland* ſhore, threw his gates over-board, in order to facilitate his landing upon them. But being forced to another part of the iſle, *viz.* in the ſouthern part, he landed there; but finding his gates caſt aſhore three years after, he thought fit to fix his habitation thereabouts. *Ingulph* and his brother-in-law firſt landed in this iſle in the year 870, but did not ſettle there till four years after, *viz.* 874, whence the *Iſeland* chronicles take their epocha; this being the time of the firſt peopling of this iſle, which the ſame chronicle ſays, *Ingulph* found deſart and uncultivated. However, it is ſaid, that ſome *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* miners were before that time caſt aſhore here, the ſame having been diſcovered by ſome bells, croſſes, and other pieces made in *England* and *Ireland*, and ſome books they had left behind them. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Iriſh* had been aſhore in this iſle ſeveral times before the time of *Ingulph*; for their chronicles ſay, that the ancient *Iſelanders* called theſe *Iriſh*, *Papa's*, and the weſtern part of the iſle, *Paper*, from the *Iriſh* who uſed to land there.

Becauſe the *Iſeland* chronicle calls *Iſeland*, *A wilderneſs and uncultivated*, at the time of the arrival of *Ingulph*, *Angrim Jonas* aſſures us boldly, that it was not inhabited before that time; nay, is angry with thoſe who diſagree with him in this point, as *Pontanus*, and others, who would have *Iſeland* be the *Thule* of the ancients mentioned by *Virgil*, who ſpeaking of *Auguſtus*, ſays,

——— *Tibi ſerviat ultima Thule.*

For (ſays he) in his *Specimen Iſelandicum*, if *Iſeland* is ſuppoſed to have been the *Thule* of the ancients, it muſt have been inhabited in *Auguſtus*'s time; which is contrary to our *Iſeland* chronicles, which tell us, that it was not inhabited till *Auguſtus* his time.

But I would have this gentleman to call to mind, what he himſelf has alledged in another place, *viz.* That the *Iriſh* uſed to come aſhore in *Iſeland* before the time of *Ingulph*, and that theſe *Iriſh* were called *Papa*'s by the ancient *Iſelanders*. I would fain know of him, who were theſe ancient *Iſelanders*. I agree with *Angrim*, that *Iſeland* was not converted to the chriſtian religion till ſome years after *Ingulph* landed there;

there; but on the other hand, he will, I hope, eaſily allow me, that there were a conſiderable number of chriſtians at that time in the northern countries: 'tis certain that the *Iriſh* were ſuch, the marks they had left behind them, and found by *Ingulph*, ſufficiently teſtify the ſame. *Angrim* mentions in his *Crimogea*, that *Ingulph*'s brother-in-law, who came along with him into *Iſeland*, had many ſentiments which inclined to chriſtianity, if he was not an abſolute chriſtian. And it is certain, that the chriſtian religion was at that time ſpread all over the northern countries, and among the reſt in *Iſeland*, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew anon. This being granted, what time is it that *Angrim* pretends to allow to the pagan *Iſelanders*, who were, as he ſays, ſo zealous in their idolatry, and eſpecially in their adoration of *Odin*, by whom they uſed to ſwear, and call him the grand protector of *Aſia*. It is beyond all diſpute, that among all the heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, the ſacrifices of men are of the moſt ancient date, which, that they were practiſed among the ancient *Iſelanders*, I have ſufficiently demonſtrated before. Their own chronicle tells us, that in the weſtern part of the iſle there was a certain cirque, in the center whereof ſtands a high rock, from whence they tumbled down the miſerable wretches deſign'd for the ſacrifice, the blood whereof was afterwards offered to their Gods. The ſame chronicle mentions, that after the ſaid cuſtom was aboliſhed here, as well as in other places, the rock retained ſtill a red tincture, the remnants of the blood ſpill'd there before. I muſt, I ſay, upon this account, once more aſk *Angrim*, where he will fix theſe many ages mentioned in his annals? And from whence he dates the introduction or invention of their mythology call'd *Edda*, which are of ſuch antiquity, and ſo peculiar to the *Iſelanders*, that the other nations have but very little knowledge of it, and all the other *Europeans* none at all.

Add to this, *Sir*, that the *Iſeland* chronicles, when they ſpeak of the voyages of *Naddocus*, of *Garderus*, and *Flocco* (all which happened before the time of *Ingulph*) don't make the leaſt mention of the iſle of *Iſeland* having been a deſert at that time: certain it is, that *Flocco* lived there for two whole years, and in all probability, not without ſuch proviſions as are the products of a countrey not deſtitute of inhabitants. Beſides this, how will *Angrim Jonas* come off of what he had ſaid of the *Iſelanders*, that they were very exact and curious, in recording the hiſtories of all other nations of *Europe*; *ad totius Europæ res hiſtoricas Lyncæi*, ſays he: *Herodotus* and *Plato* mention the ſame of the ancient *Egyptians*: For (ſays he) they preſerve in their libraries, the moſt ancient monuments of the hiſtory of foreign nations, looking upon it as the beſt argument they can alledge for the antiquity of their own nation. To add as much weight as I can unto what *Angrim Jonas* ſays upon this head concerning his *Iſelanders*, I muſt tell you, that Dr. *Wormius* ſhew'd me a copy of a chronicle of the weſtern part of *Iſeland*, wherein (by his interpretation) I found many remarkable paſſages in the hiſtory of *Norway*, *Denmark*, *England*, the *Orcades*, *Hebrides*, and among the reſt, of the invaſion of that part of *France* by the *Normans*, unto which they gave that name after their conqueſt. The arrival of *Ingulph* being not mentioned till afterwards, it ſeems very probable, that there were certain people that took care of the records of *Iſeland*, and that conſequently that iſle was inhabited before that time. I am of opinion, that the *Iſeland* chronicles (which ſpeak of *Ingulph*) cited by *Angrim Jonas*, are authentick, and that the ſaid *Ingulph* did not come into *Iſeland* till about the year 874. But it is poſſible, that the ſouthern parts, where he landed, were at that time diſpeopled either by mortality, or the ravages of certain pirates; yet does it not follow from thence, that the whole iſle was deſtitute of inhabitants. It is not likely, that *Ingulph* could ſettle a ſufficient colony there to people the whole iſle; beſides, that the *Iſeland* chronicles tell us, that divers neighbouring nations did ſettle in divers parts thereof. *Angrim Jonas* himſelf, makes mention of a certain inhabitant of the *Hebrides*, named *Kalman*; who, he ſays, was the firſt who made a ſettlement in the weſtern part of *Iſeland*, where it is worth our obſervation, that *Angrim Jonas* does not tell us the time when this *Kalman* came thither, no more than when the *Iriſh*, *Scotch*, thoſe of the *Orkney* iſles, and others, who inhabited there, fix'd their firſt habitations in *Iſeland*. 'Tis for this reaſon, that I imagine, that a conſiderable difference ought to be made betwixt the iſle of *Iſeland*, whilſt inhabited by pagans, and betwixt that ſince chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed there: the chronicles of the chriſtian *Iſeland* don't trace their origin beyond the time of *Ingulph*; which, according to the chriſtian *Æra* of this countrey, begins with the year 874. whereas the chronicles of the pagan *Iſeland* have no certain beginning.

Taking this for granted, (as it eaſily may be) nothing is more eaſy than to reconcile the chronicles in reference to the pagan and chriſtian *Iſeland*; and conſequently to make *Angrim Jonas* to agree with himſelf; and to allow what *Pontanus* ſays, *viz.* that

the modern *Iſeland* is the *Thule* of the ancients, which he proves from the authority of divers *Greek* and *Latin* authors, from the hiſtory of *Adam* of *Bremen*, who writ in the year 1067. of *Saxo Grammaticus*, who lived ſoon after, and of *Andreas Vellejus*, who has tranſlated *Saxo* into the *Daniſh* tongue, and in his tranſlation always takes the *Tyleaſſes* for the modern *Iſelanders*. *Angrim Jonas*, as I remember, alledges, that *Adam* of *Bremen* has inſerted many fabulous relations in his hiſtory, and among the reſt, that in his time it was received as an ancient tradition, that the ice in *Iſeland* was ſometimes found ſo old and dry, that if thrown into the fire, it would burn as fierce as a certain kind of coal, called *Hoville* by the *Flemings*. But to anſwer this objection, it is not ſo much the queſtion here, whether the ancients were not guilty of certain follies; but rather, whether the more ancient the hiſtory is, the more it favours of folly; which ſeems to be an argument for the antiquity of *Iſeland*, and its being known in other parts. Perhaps *Angrim Jonas* will tell us, that if the ancient authors did take the modern *Iſeland* for the ſame they called *Thule*, they are much out in its true ſituation; but to this I anſwer, that the ſame authors have committed many errors of this nature in reference to other places; the queſtion being not at this time, whether the ſaid authors have given us an exact deſcription of *Iſeland*, either as it was then, or as it is now; but, whether the iſle they deſcribed to us was the ſame with our *Iſeland*.

What confirms me in this opinion is, that *Caſaubon* declares for it; for in his commentaries upon *Strabo*, he tells us expreſsly, that the *Thule* mentioned in this great geographer, is our modern *Iſeland*: and, to confeſs the truth, the thing argues in its own behalf; the modern *Iſeland* being now as well as in former ages, placed by the joint conſent of all the geographers, at the extremity of the *Deucalidonian* ſea, or that of *Scotland*, or the *Britiſh* ſea; and the ancient *Thule* has always been accounted the furthermoſt of the *Britannick* iſles. 'Tis a thing beyond all diſpute, that the *Scots* ſea has been formerly called the *Caledonian* ſea, from that vaſt *Caledonian* foreſt, whereof there is not ſo much as a ſingle tree to be ſeen at this time in *Scotland*. *Selden* ſays, that the *Scots* inhabiting the northern parts of that kingdom, were called *Deucalidonians*, which in their language ſignifies as much as *Black and Swarthy*, as the ocean which waſhes the northern ſhore of *Scotland*, and the adjacent iſles has been called the *Deucalidonian* ſea, from the dark and cloudy air which is generally obſerved thereabouts. *Pliny* calls it for the ſame reaſon, *mare pigrum*, or the *Lazy Sea*; and *Adam* of *Bremen*, *Mare Jecoreum* and *Pulmoneum*, becauſe it has a heavy motion like thoſe troubled with an aſthma, in the ſame ſenſe as *Plautus* ſpeaks of aſthmatick legs; *pedibus pulmoneis mihi adveniſti*.

Angrim Jonas, as it ſeems, would not be ſo averſe, to allow that *Iſeland* is the ſame with the ancient *Thule*, provided he could be convinced, that that iſle was inhabited before the time of *Ingulph*; wherefore, though I have ſaid enough upon this head for the ſatisfaction of unbyaſs'd perſons; yet will I not think it beyond the purpoſe, to alledge ſome undeniable reaſons for the proof thereof, *viz.* that *Iſeland* was inhabited before that time. I have by me two chronicles of *Greenland* written in *Daniſh*, one in verſe, the other in proſe. That written in verſe, begins with the year 770. when it ſays, *Greenland* was firſt diſcovered. The other aſſures us, that the perſon that went firſt from *Norway* into *Greenland*, paſs'd through *Iſeland*, and tells us expreſsly, that *Iſeland* was inhabited at that time; whence it is evident, that *Iſeland* was not firſt of all inhabited in the year 874.

Angrim Jonas will perhaps object, that my *Daniſh* chronicles don't agree with that of *Iſeland*, which ſays, that *Greenland* was not diſcovered till the year 982, nor inhabited till 986. But I muſt tell him, that my *Daniſh* chronicles are founded upon the authority of *Anſgarius* a great prelate, a native of *France*, who has been acknowledged the firſt apoſtle of the northern world. He was made archbiſhop of *Hamburgh* by *Lewis the Mild*, his juriſdiction extending from the river *Elbe*, all over the north, as far as the frozen ſea; the emperor's patents, conſtituting the ſaid *Anſgarius* the firſt archbiſhop of *Hamburgh*, are dated in the year 834, and were confirmed by pope *Gregory* IV's bull in 835. The true copy, both of the patent and of the bull, may be ſeen in the 4th book of *Pontanus* his *Daniſh* hiſtory of the year 834. where it is expreſsly ſaid in the patent, that *the gates of the Goſpel are ſet open, and that* Jeſus Chriſt *had been revealed both in* Iſeland *and* Greenland; for which the emperor gives his moſt humble thanks to God.

Two inferences are to be made from thence: firſt, that *Iſeland* was inhabited by chriſtians in the year 834; and conſequently forty years before the arrival of *Ingulph* there: ſecondly, that *Greenland* was inhabited by chriſtians in the ſame year 834, which agrees with my *Daniſh* chronicle, where

where the firſt diſcovery of *Greenland* is fix'd to the year 770. *Angrim Jonas* being put to a nonplus, tells us, that he queſtions the authority of the bull of *Gregory* IV. alledged by *Pontanus*, which he would fain make us believe is ſuppoſititious; but to be plain with him, I think he has taken a notion of maintaining the credit of his native countrey, by adhering too ſtrictly to the authority of its chronicles; whereas it would have been more for his reputation, not to have inſiſted ſo much upon that authority, than to rob this iſle of the glory of its antiquity; who is ſo ignorant as not to know, that the age wherein *Ingulph* lived was very barbarous? The *Goths* having carried the ſame together with their arms throughout all *Europe*; whoever ſhould go about to perſuade me into a belief of all what is inſerted in the ancient chronicles of theſe barbarous ages, might as ſoon make me believe the romances of *Oger* the *Dane*, or the four ſons of *Aymon*, of the archbiſhop of *Turpin*, and other ſuch like nonſenſical ſtories relating to the ſame time.

I could wiſh, *Sir*, you had the opportunity of reading the writings of *Angrim Jonas*, which I had ſcarce time to peruſe. Perhaps you might diſcover ſome reaſons for the antiquity of *Iſeland*, which I have either not diſcovered or neglected. His *Specimen Iſelandicum*, was printed at *Amſterdam* 1643. Perhaps his *Crimogea* is not ſo eaſy to be had; that which I ſaw was printed at *Hamburgh* in 1609. As I don't queſtion but you will take abundance of pleaſure in reading of them, ſo I will refer myſelf to them for a more ample account, of what I have related to you now by way of an epitome; it being all I was able to learn, and thought worthy your knowledge concerning *Iſeland*. If I find this to have met with a favourable reception at your hands, I will ſend you a farther account of *Greenland*, though at the ſame time I am ready to acknowledge, that conſidering your merits and reputation you have acquired, by thoſe excellent treatiſes you have obliged the world with of late, I ought for the future not to offer any thing but what is more polite than this; the defect thereof you will, I hope, attribute in a great meaſure to the want of time, and my readineſs to obey your commands, which muſt at this juncture ſerve as a plea to you to excuſe its errors; in hopes of which I beg you to be perſuaded that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient ſervant,

Copenhagen, Dec. 18. 1644.

LA PEYRERE.

AN

AN ACCOUNT OF GREENLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the

MAP of *GREENLAND.*

AS I dare aſſure my ſelf, that monſieur Chaplain *is the true author of this map; having judg'd the ſame abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding this hiſtorical account; ſo I thought I could not do amiſs, in following the advice of a perſon ſo highly and ſo univerſally eſteemed.*

I have compiled this map anſwerable to four elevations, particularly known to me, viz. *that of cape* Farewell, *of* Iſeland, *of* Spitzbergen, *and of that part of the* Chriſtian's-Sea, *where captain* Monk *being ſtopt by the ice, gave it the name of* Monk's Winter-haven.

I have computed the longitude of all thoſe places, from the meridian of the Iron *iſland of the* Canaries, *by the advice of Mr.* Roberval, *a famous mathematician; and of Mr.* Sanſon, *an excellent geographer, whoſe ſteps I have follow'd in that map.*

A great lunar eclipſe.

The longitude of Monk's Winter-Haven, *was more exactly diſcover'd to me beyond the reſt, by an eclipſe of the moon, mention'd in the journal of that captain, who declares to have ſeen it in that harbour, about eight a clock at night, the* 20*th of* December *in the year* 1619. *This eclipſe muſt have been ſeen at* Paris, *(according to the tables of the celeſtial motions) about three in the morning, the* 21*ſt day of that month. But in regard, that eclipſe continued above three hours, and that captain* Monk *did not ſee it, either in its beginning, middle or end, I have conſulted Mr.* Gaſſendus, *concerning this doubt; whoſe abilities and learning being ſufficiently known to all, who make profeſſion of theſe ſciences, I thought I might with probability enough, ſuppoſe this eclipſe diſcovered at* Monk's-Haven, *between its beginning and end; that is to ſay, about the middle of its duration, or about the hour that it muſt have been ſeen at* Paris; *whence it is evident, that when it was three a clock in the morning at* Paris, *it was no more than eight a clock of the preceeding evening at* Monk's-Harbour; *and that conſequently there are ſeven hours difference between the one place and the other. Now ſuppoſing* 15 *degrees for every hour, (according to the rules of aſtronomy) the meridian of* Monk's-Harbour *muſt be diſtant from the meridian of* Paris 105 *degrees, and* Paris *being at the* 23 *degree and a half of longitude,* Monk's-Haven *ought to be placed in the* 178 *degree and a half; that is to ſay, in the* 81 *degree and half beyond the meridian of the* Canaries: *And conſequently allowing twelve ordinary leagues of* France *for every degree of this parallel, the degrees (whereof are one leſs than the degree of the great circles moity) this haven muſt be diſtant from* Paris *about* 1260 *leagues. I have divided the ſouthern part of* Greenland, *taken at cape* Farewell, *into two iſlands, in the manner they are repreſented here. This I have done, not from the* Daniſh *accounts I made uſe of to compoſe this hiſtory (for they don't mention it) but from a map communicated to me out of the library of my lord cardinal* Mazarin, *by monſieur* Naude, *(the ornament of that excellent collection of books, and other rarities that make up that renowned library.) Theſe are the words in* Latin, *written at the bottom of the ſaid map:* This delineation was made by *Martin,* the ſon of *Arnold,* born at the *Briel,* a city of *Holland*; who twice, *viz.* 1624, and 1625, went as commodore to the iſle, known by the name of *Old-Greenland. This* Martin, *the ſon of* Arnold, *calls* Greenland *an iſland; tho' it is not certainly known, whether it be an iſland or part of the continent, or made up of ſeveral iſles. He declares it to be the map of* Old-Greenland; *tho' he might rather have call'd it both the old and new, for none elſe has been diſcovered; and that which we know, ought rather to be called the new* Greenland, *than the old. Becauſe, tho' the old* Greenland *muſt undoubtedly be fix'd hereabouts near the weſt of* Iſeland; *nevertheleſs, this certain place is not known to this day, even not to the inhabitants of* Norway, *tho' their fore-fathers were the firſt diſcoverers of it, and dwelt in it ſome entire ages, as will more fully appear out of the following relation.*

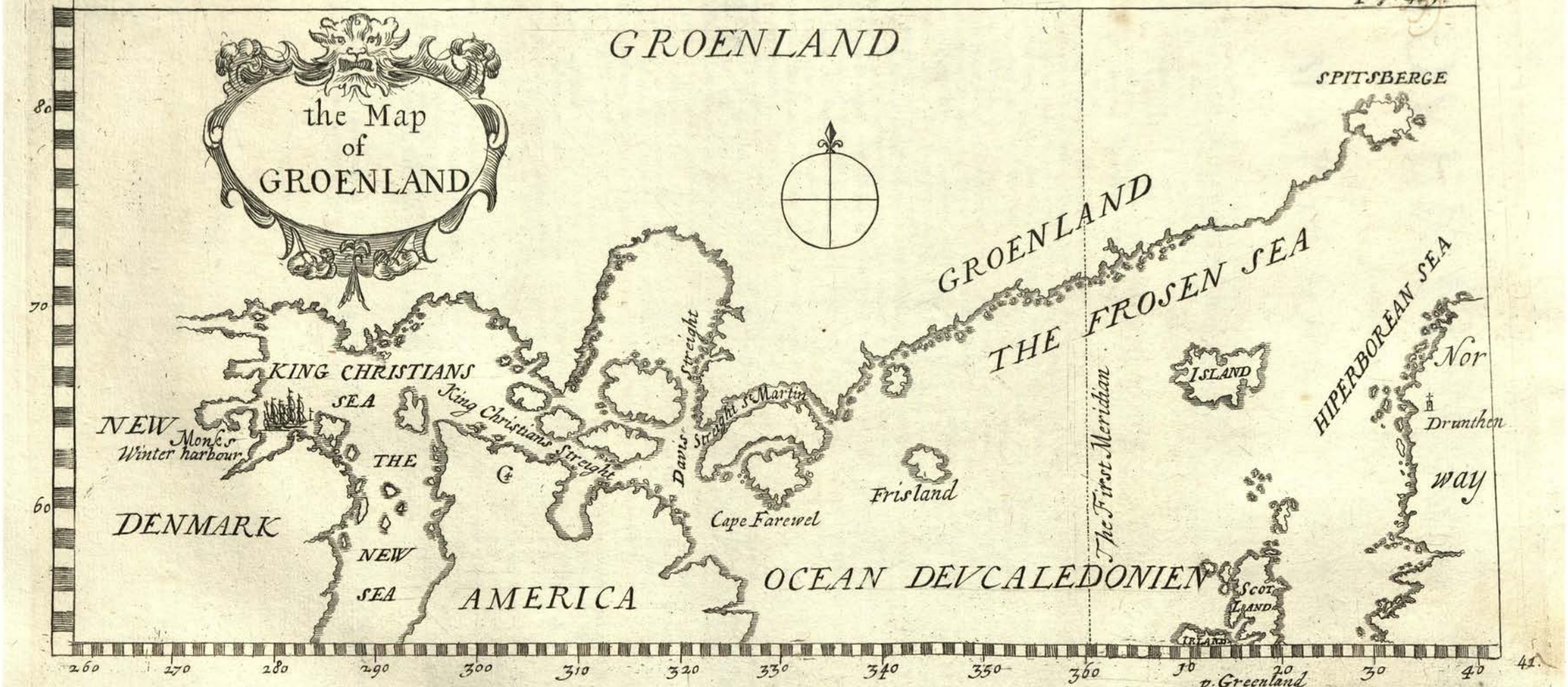
Monſieur Gaſſendus.

The old new and Green-land.

The nearneſs of their ſituation between cape Farewell, *and the ſtreights called* Chriſtian's-Streights, *with the ſea of that name, and* Monk's Winter-Haven, *has been repreſented according to the map captain* Monk *cauſed to be made of his voyage, and was annexed to his journal. I was the rather inclined to follow his foot-ſteps, for as much as it agrees with that of captain* Hudſon, *who firſt diſcovered theſe ſtreights and this ſea; which map Mr.* Chaplain *was pleaſed to communicate to me, in order to compare it with that of captain* Monk.

I dare not affirm, that all the coaſt of the Chriſtian's-Sea, *and ſo weſterly from thence, between the Gulph of* Davis, *and* Monk's Winter-haven, *belongs to* Greenland, *becauſe perhaps ſome great river or ſtreight unknown, may ſeparate* Greenland *from* America. *What makes me more doubtful upon this, is, that I never heard in* Denmark, *that all this coaſt did belong to* Greenland, *as I have heard it declared of all the coaſt on the N. E. between cape* Farewell *and* Spitzbergen. *I refer the ſolution of this queſtion to thoſe who have got a better inſight into this matter, from the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *relations; my only deſign being to give an account of what I underſtand of this country out of the* Daniſh *books, and from the converſation I have had in* Denmark.

The Ambaſſador, mentioned in this relation, was *Monſieur de la THUILLERIE,* who was ſo inſtrumental in concluding that famous peace between the two northern crowns.


the Map
of
GROENLAND
GROENLAND
SPITSBERGE
GROENLAND
THE FROSEN SEA
HIPERBOREAN SEA
Nor
Drunthon
way
ISLAND
KING CHRISTIANS
SEA
King Christians Streight
Davis Streight
St Martin
NEW
Monks
Winter harbour
THE
NEW
SEA
DENMARK
AMERICA
Cape Farewel
Frisland
The First Meridian
OCEAN DEVCALEDONIEN
SCOT
LAND
IRELAND
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p. Greenland

AN ACCOUNT OF GREENLAND, TO Monſieur *de la MOTHE le VAYER.*

SIR,

I Perceive that I have not ſatisfied your curioſity, in writing to you a long letter concerning *Iſeland:* 'Tis but juſt therefore, that I ſhould perform my promiſe, to ſend you a relation of *Greenland.* Don't wonder at the time that I have taken to paſs between theſe two iſlands. If you weigh the difficulties and the dangers that attend ſuch a voyage, you will be ſatisfied that I ought to inform my ſelf with leiſure of the true condition of this northern country, which deſerves rather the name of *Incognita, unknown,* than the ſouthern part of the world. Nevertheleſs, it has been inhabited by the *Norwegians,* during the ſpace of five or ſix hundred years, who traffick'd and ſettled their colonies there. But that I may not confound matters, I will tell you what I have underſtood of this country, (which is almoſt inacceſſible,) with all imaginable exactneſs, from whatever I could learn either by converſation, or from the moſt confuſed writings, I will not ſay that ever I read, becauſe they were explained to me out of a tongue I underſtood not, as were the *Daniſh* books, and which Mr. *Rets,* a *Daniſh* gentleman, was ſo kind to read and to interpret to me, whom you will ſee ſpeedily at *Paris*; the king of *Denmark* having named him, in conſideration of his merits, his reſident in *France.*

Of Greenland.

Greenland is that northern tract of land which extends from the ſouth to the eaſt, and thence to the north from cape *Farewell,* to the *Deucaledonian* ocean, all along the coaſts of the frozen ſea towards *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla.* Some are of opinion, that it joins to the *Great-Tartary*; but this is uncertain, as you ſhall ſee anon.

On the eaſt it hath the *Frozen-Sea,* on the ſouth the *Deucaledonian* ocean, on the weſt the ſtreights of *Hudſon* or *Chriſtian,* and the *Chriſtian* or *Hudſon's-Sea,* that divides it from *America.* Its extent towards the north is unknown hitherto. The *Daniſh* chronicle informs us, that it is the fartheſt part of the world towards the north, and that beyond it, there is no land on that ſide. Some believe, that *Greenland* is join'd to *America,* becauſe the *Engliſh,* who have attempted to paſs the *Streights of Davis,* to ſeek a paſſage that way to the eaſt, have found, by experience, that what *Davis* fanſied to be the ſtreights, is nothing but a gulf; tho' according to the account of a certain *Daniſh* captain, named *John Monk,* who ventured to find a paſſage to the eaſt, by the north-weſt of the *Gulf of Davis,* there is great likelyhood, that this country is altogether ſeparated from *America,* as will appear in its proper place, when we ſhall diſcourſe of this voyage. The elevation of *Greenland* taken at cape *Farewell,* (the moſt ſouthern part of it) according to the computation of captain *Monk,* a moſt expert ſeaman, is ſixty degrees and thirty minutes: The other part extending much nearer to the pole. The elevation of *Spitzbergen,* which the *Danes* judge to belong to *Greenland,* is according to their computation 78 degrees or thereabouts. I don't ſay any thing concerning the longitude of that country, becauſe my accounts being ſilent here, I have learn'd nothing more than what our maps inform upon this head. It will be ſufficient for me to take notice in this place, that cape *Farewell* is beyond the *Canaries,* and our firſt meridian: As to the hiſtory of *Greenland,* I have chiefly made uſe of two chronicles,

Its latitude.

one

one of *Iſeland*, the other of *Denmark*; the firſt being very ancient and in proſe, the other of a later date in verſe, but both in the *Daniſh* language. However the original of that of *Iſeland* was written in the *Iſeland* tongue, by one *Snorro Storlefonius* an *Iſelander*, who was *Nomophylax*, as *Angrim Jonas* call him; that is, chief juſtice of that iſland, in the year 1215. the ſame who compil'd the *Edda*, or the *Iſeland* fables in verſe I have formerly mentioned to you. The *Daniſh* chronicle was written in *Daniſh* verſe, by a *Daniſh* prieſt, named *Claudie Chriſtopherſon*; within theſe 15 years, or thereabouts. This *Daniſh* chronicle ſays, that ſome *Armenians* being long toſs'd at ſea by a furious tempeſt were forced into the northern ſea, at laſt got aſhore in *Greenland*, from whence they paſs'd over into *Norway*, where they inhabited the rocks of the *Hyperborean-Sea*: But this relation is founded only upon ancient fables and cuſtoms, to deduce the original of remote places and nations: But thus much is certain, that the *Norwegians* did firſt diſcover and inhabit *Greenland*.

Snorro Storlefonius, author of the Edda.

Torwald and his ſon Erick.

A certain gentleman of *Norway*, named *Torwald*, and his ſon *Erick*, ſurnamed the *Red-hair'd*, having committed a murder in his country, fled over into *Iſeland*, where *Torwald* died. His ſon *Erick* being a cholerick perſon, kill'd ſoon after another man in *Iſeland*; ſo that to eſcape the ſeverity of the law, he reſolved to ſeek for ſhelter in a country which one *Gundebuirne* had told him he had ſeen to the weſt of *Iſeland*; *Erick* landed by his direction, in a certain harbour, made by two capes or points of land, *viz.* one at the end of an iſland, oppoſite to the continent of *Greenland*, the other on the continent. The cape of the iſle was named *Huidſerken*, that of the continent *Huarfs*; having between both a very good harbour call'd *Sanſtaffin*, where ſhips may ride ſafely at anchor, even in the greateſt ſtorm.

Huidſerken is a prodigious high mountain, without compariſon much bigger than *Huarf*. *Erick* called it *Mukla-jokel*, i. e. the *Ice-mountain*; but it has been ſince named *Bloſerken*, i. e. the *Blue-Shirt*; and a third time *Huidſerken*, i. e. the *White-Shirt*. The reaſon of theſe two laſt alterations, ſeems to be founded upon the change of its colour; for the ice that melts and freezes at the ſame time, appears in colour at firſt not unlike the moſs or graſs or little trees growing upon theſe rocks. But when by a long continued ſnow, vaſt heaps are gathered, the ice becomes extraordinary thick and returns to its former colour and natural whiteneſs. This I can affirm by my own experience in *Swedeland*, where we have ſeen rocks, ſome whereof appeared to us of a bluiſh, and others of a white colour for the ſame reaſon. I will aſſure you, and my lord embaſſador can teſtify, that in our return the ſame winter from *Swedeland* to *Denmark*, as we paſs'd in a coach over the ſea, betwixt *Elſenore* and *Copenhagen*, we met vaſt ſhoals of ice piled upon one another; ſome whereof appeared to our ſight very white; others of the fineſt azure, which being not able to give a ſufficient reaſon for this difference, as being produced by the ſame water; and ſituate in reſpect of our eyes, at no ſuch diſtance as to cauſe ſo remarkable a difference: This put me in mind of what *Virgil* ſays concerning the frozen *Zones*.

Ice of ſeveral colours.

Cærulea glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris.

Tho' I am apt to believe that the words *Cærulea glacie* ought to be interpred in this paſſage, the *Black Ice*, as *Virgil* fancies to be in theſe dark and black countries; in the ſame ſence he ſays in another place,

Olli cæruleus ſupra caput adſtitit imber.

And in another place,

——— *Stant manibus aræ,*
Cæruleis mæſtæ vittis atraq; cupreſſo.

In both which paſſages the word *Cæruleus* ſignifies *black*, without all diſpute.

But to return to our purpoſe, *Erick* before he would venture on the continent, thought it adviſeable to land in the iſle unto which he gave the name of *Erickſand*, i. e. *Erick's Iſle*, and continued there all the winter. In the ſpring he paſſed over to the continent, which he called *Greenland*, i. e. the *Green-Country* from the verdure of its paſtures and trees. Unto the place where he landed, he gave the name of *Ericksfiorden*, i. e. *Erick's-Haven*, at a ſmall diſtance from whence he built certain habitations, called *Oſtraburg*, i. e. the *Eaſt-borough* or plantation. Next *Autumn* he went to the weſtern-ſide, where he erected another plantation called *Veſtreburg*, i. e. the *Weſtern-Borough*. But whether the continent ſeem'd to him colder and ſharper than that of *Iſeland*; or whether he found it leſs ſecure, he returned the next winter to *Erickſand*; yet returned from thence next ſummer to the continent, taking his courſe towards the north, to the foot of a great rock which he named *Sneefiel*, i. e. the *Snow-Rock*, and thence to a certain harbour, upon which he beſtowed the name of *Ravensfiorden*, i. e. *Rookeſhaven*, from a great number of crows or ravens he found there. *Ravensfiorden* lies directly oppoſite to the north-fine of the *Ericksfiorden*, which is ſeated on the ſouth-

ſide, being divided only by a branch or arm of the ſea. About the end of autumn, *Erick* returned to his iſland, where he paſs'd the third winter. In the ſpring he reſolved to go in perſon to *Iſeland* to engage the inhabitants of that iſle (with whom he had good correſpondence) to follow him into *Greenland*; he was not backward in telling them wonders of this new diſcovered country, of its plenty of great and ſmall cattle, of excellent paſtures, of fiſhes and all ſorts of game. His rhetorick proved ſo prevailing, that a good number of them croſſed the ſea with him into *Greenland*.

Olaus Trugger *King of* Norway, a *chriſtian.*

Erick had a ſon named *Leiffe*, accompanied his father into *Iſeland*, and from thence croſſed over to *Norway*; where, as my chronicle of *Iſeland* tells us, he gave a favourable account to king *Olaus Trugger* of the country diſcover'd by his father. The king of *Norway* having then but lately embraced the chriſtian religion, cauſed *Leiffe* to be inſtructed in the ſame, and to be baptiz'd, who continued at his court all the winter. The next ſummer he ſent him back to his father into *Greenland*, in company of a certain prieſt, to inſtruct *Erick* and his people in the chriſtian faith. *Leiffe* being returned to his father in *Greenland*, had the name of *Leiffdenhepne*, i. e. *Leiffe the fortunate* beſtow'd upon him, becauſe he had eſcaped great dangers in his voyage: On the other hand, he met with but an indifferent reception from his father, becauſe he had brought along with him certain ſtrange ſeamen, who being ſhipwrecked during the ſame tempeſt he ſo narrowly eſcaped, he found upon the keel of their ſhip, caſt upon the ice-rocks, and receiv'd them into his ſhip, and carried them into *Greenland*. *Erick* was diſpleaſed becauſe *Leiffe* had, as he alledged, ſhew'd to the ſtrangers the way to a country he deſired not to diſcover to all the world: But the generous *Leiffe* knew ſo well how to manage his father's ſavage temper, by repreſenting to him the true duty of humanity, and of charity the chief ornament of chriſtians, that he began to reliſh his and the prieſt's advice, ſent to him by the king of *Norway*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was perſuaded to ſuffer himſelf to be baptized, as did all the inhabitants under his juriſdiction. This is all I could learn concerning *Erick*, his ſon *Leiffe*, and thoſe firſt *Norwegians* that inhabited *Greenland*. The *Iſeland* chronicle mentions the departure of *Torwald* and of *Erick* his ſon from the harbour of *Jedrem* in *Norway* to have happened under the reign of *Hakon Jarle*, ſurnamed the *Wealthy*, where this chronicle begins under the reign of *Olaus Trugger* king of *Norway*, who reign'd about the year of our lord 982. But the *Daniſh* chronicle put it about the year 770. I have proved to you in my relation of *Iſeland*, that this computation is more probable than the firſt, by a bull of pope *Gregory* IV. granted about the year of our Lord 835, to biſhop *Anſgarius*, to encourage the propagation of the chriſtian religion in the northern countries, and particularly in *Iſeland* and *Greenland*. I will not pretend in this place to weigh all the arguments alledged on this head, but will content my ſelf to mention two particulars only, in relation to this opinion. The firſt is, that the ſame *Daniſh* chronicle ſays, that the kings of *Denmark* being continued chriſtians, during the reign of the emperor *Lewis the Mild*, *Greenland* was much talk'd of in thoſe days. The ſecond is, that Mr. *Gunter*, ſecretary to the king of *Denmark*, a perſon of more than ordinary learning and ingenuity, and my intimate friend, has aſſured me, that he himſelf ſaw among the records of the archbiſhoprick of *Bremen*, an ancient MS. chronicle containing a copy of a bull, by vertue whereof the archbiſhop of *Bremen* was conſtituted metropolitan of all the north, and particularly of *Norway*, and of the iſlands thereunto belonging, *viz.* thoſe of *Iſeland* and *Greenland*. He had indeed forgot the date of the bull, but remembred very well that it was granted before the year of our lord 900.

Archbiſhop of Bremen *metropolitan of the north.*

The *Daniſh* chronicle ſays, that as the ſucceſſors of *Erick* increaſed in number in *Greenland*, they ventured deeper into the countrey, and met with a fruitful ſoil, meadows and rivers in the valleys between the mountains. They divided *Greenland* into eaſt and weſt *Greenland*, according to the different ſituation of the two boroughs. *Oſtreburg* and *Veſtreburg* built by *Erick*. In the eaſt they laid the foundation of a town named *Garde*, whither (as the chronicle tells us) the *Norwegians* tranſported every year, divers merchandizes, and ſold them to the inhabitants.

Garde *a town in* Green-land.

Their poſterity went farther in, and built a city, unto which they gave the name of *Albe*. And as their zeal increaſed, they built a monaſtery upon the ſea-ſhore, dedicated to St. *Thomas*. The city of *Garde* was the reſidence of their biſhops, and the church of *St. Nicholas* (the patron of ſeamen) built in the ſame town, the cathedral church of *Greenland*. A catalogue, together, with the ſucceſſion of thoſe biſhops, is to be ſeen in that part of the *Specimen Iſeandicum* of *Angrim Jonas* which treats of *Greenland* from the time of their ſettlement there, 'till the year 1389. And *Pontan* obſerves in his hiſtory of *Denmark*, that

Green-land *firſt receives chriſtianity.*

St. Nicholas *Church.*

in the ſame year 1389, one named *Henry* biſhop of *Garde* was preſent at the aſſembly of the ſtates of *Denmark* held at *Nieuburg* in the iſle of *Funen*, at the entrance of that part of the *Baltick* ſea, commonly call'd the *great Belt*. As *Greenland* was under the juriſdiction of the kings of *Norway* in temporal matters, ſo their biſhops acknowledg'd the ſuperiority of the biſhops of *Drunthen* in *Norway*, in eccleſiaſtical matters; and the biſhops of *Greenland* uſed frequently to croſs the ſea into *Norway* to adviſe with the biſhops of *Drunthen* about ſuch difficulties as ſometimes intervened in points of religion. *Greenland* was then governed by the laws of *Iſeland*, under certain governours, appointed by the kings of *Norway*. The names of whom, with the actions performed by ſome *Iſeland* heroes in *Greenland*, you may read in the *Specimen Iſelandicum*, where good *Angrim* their affectionate countryman has remembred them to the beſt advantage.

Magnus *K. of* Norway, *and* Erick *of* Denmark *conquers* Greenland.

The *Daniſh* chronicle tells us, that in the year 1256, *Greenland* revolted and refuſed to pay their tribute to king *Magnus* of *Norway*; which induced king *Erick* of *Denmark* (at the requeſt of king *Magnus* who had married his neice) to equip a fleet againſt them; but they no ſooner ſaw the *Daniſh* flags diſplay'd on the coaſt of *Greenland*, but they were ſeized with ſuch fear, that they ſued for pardon, and deſired peace. The king of *Denmark* (in reſpect of the love he bore to his niece, and her children) would not take any advantage of the weakneſs of the king of *Norway*, but left him in full poſſeſſion of *Greenland*. This peace was concluded in the year 1261. *Angrim Jonas* further mentions the names of the three principal inhabitants of *Greenland*, who were inſtrumental in concluding the treaty of peace in *Norway*. By virtue thereof thoſe of *Greenland* were for the time to come to ſwear fealty, and to pay tribute to the kings of *Norway*.

The chronicle of *Iſeland* being only a collection of other ſtories; has among the reſt a chapter entituled a deſcription of *Greenland*, which as it ſeems to relate to its moſt flouriſhing ſtate during the ſettlement of the *Norwegians* there; ſo I will tranſcribe to you *verbatim* the whole chapter, as it was interpreted to me from the *Daniſh* tongue into *French*. But don't require from me either time or method in this relation, for I can warrant neither.

Skageſiord.

In the moſt eaſtern part of *Greenland* lies the city of *Skageſiord*, ſeated near an inacceſſible rock; and further at ſea, a ſand-bank hinders ſhips from entring the road, except at high water, when if the wind blows hard, many whales and other fiſh come into the bay, and are taken in great abundance. A little higher towards the eaſt, there is another harbour called *Funchebuder*, having borrow'd its name from a certain page of St. *Olaus* king of *Norway*, who was with ſeveral others ſhipwrecked there. A little higher nearer the *Ice-mountains*, there is an iſland called *Roanſon*, well ſtor'd with all ſorts of wild beaſts, and particularly with white bears, but beyond it nothing is to be ſeen but ice, both on the ſea and land ſide. *Old* Greenland *deſcrib'd.* On the weſtern coaſt lies the bay of *Kindelfiord*, inhabited all along the ſhore. On the right hand of this bay ſtands a church called *Korskirk*, i. e. the *Croſs-Church*; the land whereof reaches to *Petreſuik* near *Vandaleburg*; and beyond it monaſtery of monks, dedicated to St. *Olaus* and St. *Auſtin*. The juriſdiction of a monaſtery extends to *Bolton*. Next to *Kindelfiord* is *Rumpeſinfiord*, where is a nunnery, and near it ſeveral little iſlands, having divers hot ſprings of ſuch an exceſſive heat in the winter, that no body can endure it, tho' in the ſummer they are pretty cool and temperate; theſe waters are very wholeſome, and proper for the cure of divers diſeaſes. A little beyond them is *Eynetsfiord*: Between *Eynetsfiord* and *Rumpeſinfiord*, ſtands a royal palace call'd *Fos*; and a great church dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. Near the bay of *Lunesfiord* is the cape of *Klining*, and beyond it another bay called *Grantevig*, and beyond that a houſe named *Daller*, that belongs to the cathedral of *Greenland*. To this cathedral appertains all the country about *Lunesfiord*, and particularly the great iſland beyond *Eynetsfiord* called *Reyatſen*, becauſe of the many *Renes* (a kind of ſtags frequent in the north) found there. This iſland produces a certain ſtone called *Talgueſtein*, of ſuch ſolidity as not to be corrupted by fire, and ſo eaſy to be cut, that drinking veſſels, kettles, and vats containing ten or twelve ton, are made of it. *A hard ſtone.* More towards the weſt is an iſland called *Langen*, where are eight farms. This iſland belongs to the cathedral. Near to the church of *Eynetſfiord* is a royal palace named *Halleſtad*. Not far from it is the bay of *Ericksfiord*; at the entrance whereof lies an iſland called *Herrieven*, i. e. the *Lord's-iſland*, one half whereof belongs to the cathedral, the other half to the church called *Diurnes*, the firſt church you meet with in *Greenland*, as you enter on *Ericksfiorden*. To the church of *Diurnes* belongs all the country as far as *Midfiord*, and the whole track of land from *Ericksfiord* to the north eaſt. Near it is *Bondefiord* to the north, where are many iſlands and good harbours. The country is not inhabited, but altogether deſart between *Oſtreburg* and *Veſtreburg*. Near to this deſart is a church named

named *Stroſnes*, formerly the cathedral, and reſidence of the biſhop of *Greenland*. The *Skreklinguers* or *Skreklingres* inhabit all the country about *Veſtrebug*. Theſe deſarts produce horſes, goats, oxen, ſheep, and all manner of wild beaſts, tho' not inhabited either by chriſtians or pagans. The author of this account was one *Iver Ben*, who was a long time ſteward of the biſhop of *Greenland*, and an eye-witneſs of what he ſays, having been with others employed by the judge of *Greenland* to ſuppreſs the *Skreglingres*. At their arrival they found no living men, but abundance of cattle, of which they took as much as their ſhip could carry. Beyond *Veſtrebug* is a great rock call'd *Himmelradsfield*; beyond this rock there is no ſafe paſſage for ſhips, by reaſon of the many whirlpools on that coaſt.

Of the Skreglingres.

Theſe are the contents of the whole chapter which I have ſet down here with as much exactneſs as I was able; and as I had neither map, nor any other hiſtory of *Greenland*, to juſtify or contradict this account, I have given it you in the ſame manner as I had it. What puzzles me moſt is, what is ſaid of the church of *Stroſnes*, between *Oſtreburg* and *Veſtreburg*, to have been ever ſince *Greenland* began to be inhabited, the cathedral and the biſhop's reſidence; there being not the leaſt doubt but that the city of *Garde* has always had that prerogative. The *Daniſh* chronicle lamenting the loſs of this countrey, aſſures us, that if the city of *Garde*, the reſidence of the biſhop, were yet in being, and the paſſage thither could be recovered, we might from thence be ſupply'd with ſufficient memoirs for the comprizing of a good hiſtory of *Greenland*. *Angrim Jonas*, a native of *Iſeland*, ſpeaking of this reſidence, ſays expreſsly, *Fundata in Bordum* (we muſt read *Garden*) *epiſcopali reſidentia in ſinu Eynetſfiord Greenlandiæ Orientalis*; An epiſcopal ſee was ſettled in the city of *Garden* in the bay of *Eynetsfiord*, on the eaſtern coaſt of *Greenland*. The author of that relation may perhaps have been a good ſteward, but has proved himſelf but an indifferent hiſtorian, having not given us the leaſt account who were theſe *Skreglingres*, againſt whom he was ſent. I will therefore tell you what Mr. *Wormius*, the moſt curious perſon that ever I met with in the affairs of the north, has communicated to me by word of mouth, and in writing. They were ſavages, the original natives of *Greenland*, unto whom 'tis probable, the *Norwegians* gave that name, but for what reaſon I know not. 'Tis likely they inhabited the weſt ſide of the bay of *Kindelfiord* in *Greenland*; the other being inhabited by the *Norwegians*. What this author ſays concerning the *Skreglingres* being in poſſeſſion of *Veſtreburg* muſt be underſtood of the weſt ſide; the eaſt part being poſſeſſed by the *Norwegians*. 'Tis very probable that ſome few of the *Norwegian* adventurers having paſſed the other ſide of the bay of *Kindelfiord*, were worſted by thoſe *Skreklingres*. The viceroy or governour of *Greenland*, called the judge of *Greenland* (according to the *Iſeland* idiom) being reſolved to revenge this affront, ſent againſt them a ſhip well equipp'd, and mann'd with land-forces, which thoſe ſavages no ſooner ſaw approach their ſhore, but according to their uſual cuſtom (when they find they are too weak to reſiſt) they fled into the woods and rocks. The *Norwegians* finding no living body upon the coaſt, plunder'd the country, and carried the booty aboard their ſhip. This did induce our author to tell us, that amongſt the *Skreklingres* were horſes, goats, oxen, ſheep, *&c.* but neither chriſtians nor pagans.

Mr. *Wormius* is of opinion, that thoſe *Skreglingres* were not far diſtant from the gulph of *Davis*, and perhaps were *Americans*, or the native inhabitants of *New Greenland*, diſcover'd by the *Danes* in the reign of *Chriſtiern* IV. their king; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter: That they lived near the *Old Greenland*, inhabited by the *Norwegians*, and that they peopled part of *Veſtrebug*, before ever *Erick* poſſeſſed himſelf of the other part.

To tell you my opinion, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould tranſplant the *Americans* hither; Mr. *Wormius*'s opinion is more reaſonable; unto which I ſhall add only, that by the ſame reaſon that *Veſtreburg* was inhabited by the natives of that country, when the *Norwegians* came thither, *Oſtreburg* had likewiſe its inhabitants. And as the eaſtern ſhore was nearer to the *Frozen Sea*, it was leſs fruitful, and by conſequence more deſart than the weſtern coaſt. The *Norwegians* finding leſs reſiſtance on that ſide than on the other, took poſſeſſion of *Oſtreburg* with leſs reſiſtance than *Veſtreburg*; and according to all the relations that I have ſeen, they were not ſo reſolute in attempting a paſſage on the weſtern coaſt, but to the north where they travell'd eight days together, without diſcovering any thing but ſnow and ice in the valleys. From whence you may infer, that the track of land inhabited by the *Norwegians* in *Greenland* was incloſed between the ſouthern and eaſtern ſeas; to the north by inacceſſable ice-mountains, and to the weſt by the *Skreglingres*, who ſtopp'd their farther progreſs on the ſide of *Veſtreburg*. It is alſo obſervable, that the *Iſeland* chronicle affirms it for a certain truth, that the *Norwegians* were poſſeſſed of ſo ſmall a

track

track of land in *Greenland*, as would not amount to above a third part of a biſhoprick in *Denmark*, notwithſtanding their biſhopricks are no larger than thoſe of *France*. The *Daniſh* chronicle declares the ſame, tho' in different words, *viz.* that the *Norwegians* did not inhabit the hundredth part of *Greenland*; that it was inhabited by divers nations, governed by their peculiar lords, moſt of whom were never known to the *Norwegians*.

Greenland *barren.*

The *Iſeland* chronicle ſpeaks variouſly concerning the fruitfulneſs of *Greenland*, according to the different relations that compoſe it. It ſays in one place, that there grows the beſt wheat in the world, and high and lofty oaks, which bear acorns as big as apples. In another place he tells us, that nothing grows in *Greenland*, becauſe of the cold, and that its inhabitants know not what bread is. This agrees with the *Daniſh* chronicle, which affirms, that when *Erick* firſt came into this country, his people were forced to live altogether upon fiſh, by reaſon of the ſterility of the land. Nevertheleſs the ſame *Daniſh* chronicle relates, that *Erick*'s ſucceſſors, who went farther into the countrey, found between certain mountains, fruitful lands, meadows, and rivers, not diſcover'd by *Erick*. The contradictions in the *Iſeland* chronicle are not to be regarded, when it declares that nothing grows in *Greenland*, becauſe of the cold, the reaſon itſelf alledged to back this aſſertion, rendring it very dubious; it being moſt certain, that that part of *Greenland*, inhabited by the *Norwegians*, was ſituate under the ſame degree of elevation with *Upland*, the moſt fruitful province of *Swedeland*, which produces very good and fine wheat. Add to this what the ſame chronicle obſerves in another place, *viz.* that the cold is not ſo violent in *Greenland* as in *Norway*. Now 'tis moſt certain, that *Norway* produces very good wheat; and what I am going to tell you upon this head, would perhaps ſeem ſtrange to you, if the ſame was not founded upon the authority of creditable perſons, who have informed me that there are certain places in *Norway*, where they have two crops within the ſpace of three months. This muſt be underſtood of the plains betwixt the rocks, which being continually enliven'd by the reverberated ſunbeams againſt theſe rocks, in the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, become ſo fertile, that in ſix weeks time they ſow and reap good corn. The ſoil being ſo fat and moiſt there by reaſon of the great quantity of ſnow melted and carried into the plains from the mountains, that immediately after they ſow again, and at the end of another ſix weeks, never fail of a ſecond harveſt as good as the former.

Norway *wonderfully fruitful.*

'Tis very likely, that in *Greenland*, as well as other countries, are ſome good and ſome bad grouuds; ſome plains, ſome mountains. 'Tis certain it has many rocks; the *Iſeland* chronicle tells us expreſsly that it produces marble of all colours. And it is agreed on all hands, that their paſture grounds are excellent, and maintain abundance of great and ſmall cattle, many horſes, hares, ſtags, renes and other deer, ordinary wolves, and ſtag-wolves, foxes, bears white and black; and if credit may be given to the *Iſelandian* chronicle, they have taken caſtors and martins alſo, the furs whereof were not inferior to the martin ſable of *Muſcovy*. *Greenland* abounds more in falcons (white and grey) than any other place in the world. Formerly theſe birds uſed to be ſent to the kings of *Denmark* as rarities, becauſe of their extraordinary goodneſs; and the kings of *Denmark* preſented them frequently to other kings and princes, becauſe falcons and hawks are not uſed in *Denmark*, nor in any of the northern countries. Greenland *beaſts.*

The ſea produces great plenty of fiſhes all along the coaſts of *Greenland*; as likewiſe ſea-wolves, ſea-dogs, and ſea-calves, and an incredible number of whales. I know not whether I ought to reckon the white bears of *Greenland* amongſt the terreſtrial or marine creatures; for, as the black bears never forſake the land, and live altogether upon fleſh; ſo white bears never leave the ſea, and live upon what fiſh they catch. They are much larger and wilder than the black. They hunt after the ſea-wolves and dogs, who ſave their young ones upon the ice for fear of the whales. They are greedy after the young whales, their fleſh being a greater dainty to them than that of any other fiſh. They never of their own accord venture into the main ſea when the ice is melted. 'Tis not but that they can ſwim, and live in the water as well as the fiſh, but they much dread the whales purſuing them by the ſcent, out of a natural antipathy, and becauſe they devour their young ones. It happens ſometimes that vaſt ice ſhoals are from the north part of *Greenland* driven towards the ſouth, ſo that the bears not daring to venture from the ice are carried along with it, either into *Iſeland* or *Norway*, and being enraged with hunger, *Its fiſhery.* *White bears.*

(Heu male cum ſolis Norwegum erratur in oris.)

deſtroy all they meet in their way, whereof they tell you ſtrange ſtories in theſe countries.

Greenland has ever yielded plenty of horned beaſts, *Unicorns.*

beaſts, called unicorns. In *Denmark* we have frequent opportunity to ſee many of them entire, and ſome pieces of theſe horns. If you enquire what ſort of animals bear theſe horns, I muſt tell you, Sir, that they are horned creatures, improperly named unicorns, having nothing common with that ſo much celebrated horn of the creature which bears that name, of what nature ſoever it be. And as this name is ambiguous, ſome do yet queſtion whether the creatures that have them are fleſh or fiſh. You may obſerve, that the horns of the unicorns which I ſaw in *Denmark*, (whether whole or in pieces) are of the ſame ſubſtance, faſhion, and virtue, as thoſe ſeen in *France* and elſewhere. That beautiful entire horn I have ſometimes ſpoken of to you, in the king of *Denmark*'s palace at *Fridericksbourg*, is without diſpute bigger than that at St. *Denys*. I confeſs, 'tis not ſo ſtreight, and bends within two or three foot of the point; but for the reſt, 'tis of the ſame colour, ſhape, and weight as that of St. *Denys*; for the pieces of thoſe horns I have ſeen in divers places at *Copenhagen*, are eſteemed great preſervatives againſt poiſon, as thoſe in *Paris*, and elſewhere are. Now taking it for granted, that all thoſe horns in *Denmark* are altogether the ſame with thoſe of *France*, and that theſe of *Denmark* are brought thither from *Greenland*, the main queſtion is, What ſort of animals bear theſe horns in *Greenland?* Mr. *Wormius* being the firſt who informed me that they are fiſhes. This occaſioned a ſmart diſpute betwixt us at *Chriſtianople*, this opinion being contradictory to the ſentiments of all the naturaliſts, who have diſcourſed of it; who repreſent the unicorn as a terreſtrial four-legg'd creature, which agrees with divers paſſages of holy Scripture, which cannot be underſtood but of four-legg'd unicorns. A curious and learned perſon having had the goodneſs to give me a farther account thereof in his letter from *Copenhagen*, I will inſert the copy thereof here.

" SOME years ago being at Mr. *Friſe* " the lord chancellor of *Denmark*'s " houſe (the predeceſſor of Mr. *Thomaſ-* " *ſon*, the preſent lord chancellor) I took an " occaſion to complain to that great man, " of the negligence and want of curioſity " of our merchants and ſeamen that fre- " quented *Greenland*, in not enquiring in- " to the nature of thoſe animals, the horns " whereof they brought in ſuch plenty " to us, without giving themſelves the " trouble of bringing along with them " ſome part of their fleſh or ſkin, for the " better diſcovery of the whole. The " lord chancellor anſwer'd, they are more " curious than you imagine, and inſtantly " ſent for a great piece of a dry'd ſkull, " with part of that kind of horn on it, " of about four foot long. Being ex- " tremely rejoyced to ſee me hold in my " hands ſo great a rarity, and could " ſcarce ſufficiently feaſt my eyes with " the ſight of it, as not underſtanding " at firſt what it was, I entreated my lord " to give me leave to carry it home to " my houſe, to look upon it there at my " own leiſure, which he readily granted. " I found this *cranium* or ſkull much like " that of the head of a whale, having two " holes on the top, and which penetrate " to the palate or throat; theſe two holes, " being doubtleſs the two paſſages thro' " which this fiſh ſpouts up the water it " drinks: I took alſo notice, that what " they called the horn, proceeded out of " the left-ſide of its jaw. I invited the " moſt curious and ingenious of my au- " ditors, to be eye witneſſes of ſo extra- " ordinary a ſight in my cloſet, and among " the reſt ſent for a painter, who in the " preſence of all the company drew the " picture of that ſkull, with the horn, " as it really was in figure, and anſwer- " able to its bigneſs, according to the o- " ginal.

" My curioſity ſtopt not here; but un- " derſtanding that ſuch another creature " had been taken near, and carried into " *Iſeland*; I writ to the biſhop of *Hole*, " whoſe name was *Thorlac Schalonius*, and " who had been formerly my diſciple at *Co-* " *penhagen*, to ſend me the draught of that " animal, which he did accordingly; and " ſent me word at the ſame time, that the " *Iſelanders* call it *Narhual*, that is, a whale " that feeds upon dead carcaſſes; for *Hual* " ſignifies a whale, and *Nara* a dead car- " caſs. 'Twas really the picture of a true " fiſh, like a whale; I promiſe to ſhew " it to you in your return from *Chriſtia-* " *nople*, with that of the ſkull I had from " my lord chancellor *Friſe*.

Narhual; *a great Fiſh.*

Mr. *Wormius* fail'd not at our return to fulfill his promiſe and even beyond it; for not ſatisfied to ſhew me the draughts of thoſe fiſhes, he led me into his cloſet, where I ſaw upon a table the ſkull it ſelf of that animal, which my lord chancellor had formerly delivered to him. He had got it, (at his requeſt) from a *Daniſh* gentleman, a kinſman of monſieur *Friſe*, who being one of his co-heirs, had got it for his ſhare, and valued it at 8000 rixdollars, and had brought it 20 leagues to *Copenhagen*, to ſhew it to my lord embaſſador. I muſt confeſs, that I could not ſufficiently admire

admire ſo exquiſite a piece of curioſity. After he had carried it to my lord embaſſador, he was deſirous to look upon it in the ſame cloſet. His excellency viewed it with more than ordinary ſatisfaction, and intreated Mr. *Wormius* to lend it him, in order to have a draught made of it, which he intended to carry with him to *Paris*. This great man, who has a great veneration for all vertuoſoes, will be glad to ſhew this draught among his other curioſities he brings along with him from the north. As he has a particular affection for you, and for all thoſe gentlemen of the famous and ingenious ſociety of the library of monſieur *Bourdelot*: So I am certain that his cloſet (which he deſigns to furniſh and accompliſh, if God grants him life) will after his return into *France*, be free for you, and for all thoſe gentlemen.

Unicorns. There is no doubt, but that the name of unicorn is equivocal, and belongs to ſeveral animals, as to the onyx and *Indian* aſs, mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, and to that wild beaſt, deſcribed by *Pliny* to have the head of a ſtag, the body of a horſe, and the feet ſolid, all of a piece, like the elephant; and beſides this, of a wonderful ſwiftneſs and ſtrength, being the ſame unicorn, mention'd in ſeveral places of the holy ſcripture. As to its its ſwiftneſs, the ſame is repreſented as ſo marvellous that God will cauſe *Syrion* (a mountain of *Libanus*,) to ſkip as the foal of an unicorn, and its ſtrength ſo exalted that the power of God is compared to it. The ſtrength of God, (ſaith *Moſes*, the leader of the children of *Iſrael*,) is like that of the unicorn. Whence it appears that our unicorns of the north, which we know to be fiſh, muſt be of a different kind from the unicorns believed to be in the ſouth or eaſtern parts of the world, and are without doubt terreſtrial animals, when the prophet *Iſaiah* foretells the *Jews* that God would drive them and their kings (whom he names unicorns) from *Jeruſalem*. The unicorns, ſaith he, ſhall deſcend with them: This cannot be underſtood but of a terreſtrial creature; if the prophet had ſuppoſed thoſe unicorns to be fiſhes, 'tis likely he would have ſaid, they ſhall ſwim, inſtead of, they ſhall deſcend. I will therefore call them a kind of ſea-unicorns, as others have done with ſea-dogs, ſea-calves and ſea-wolves. This name is not new, ſeeing *Bartholine* a *Daniſh* author hath inſerted a peculiar chapter of ſea-unicorns, in his treatiſe of unicorns. Notwithſtanding which, there remains ſtill another difficulty, *viz.* whether theſe ſea-unicorns (of which we are now ſpeaking) be really unicorns, and whether that we call their horns, be truly horns, or rather their teeth. The reſolution of the firſt doubt depends upon the ſecond; for if they be teeth, thoſe fiſhes cannot properly be called unicorns, becauſe they have no horns; and if they be horns, they are doubtleſs unicorns, becauſe they have but one horn. Mr. *Wormius* affirms, that they are teeth and not horns. And I find that *Angrim Jonas* calls them *Dentes* in that place of his *Specimen Iſelandicum*, where he ſpeaks of a biſhop of *Greenland* named, *Arnoldus*, being ſhipwrack'd as he was ſailing to *Norway*; the ſhip being ſhatter'd to pieces by a ſtorm in the *Iſthmus* to the weſt of *Iſeland*. This ſhipwreck happened in the year 1126: He mentions the ſeveral things taken up out of this ſhipwreck; *Reperti ſunt*, ſaith this old man, *Dentes Balenarum*, &c. There were caſt aſhore by the tide, precious and rare teeth of whales, *Runick* letters done upon them, with a red gum, not to be blotted out, that every one of the ſeamen at the end of their voyage might know their own. And 'tis certain, that this *Angrim Jonas* underſtands by theſe precious teeth of whales, the ſame which in *Denmark* they call, and ought to be underſtood of, thoſe horns we attribute to unicorns, and of which we now treat; what makes me ſuppoſe them to be teeth and not horns is, that *Ariſtotle* lays it down as an undoubted truth, that all unicorns carry their horns in the middle of their foreheads; but theſe fiſh have that which we name horns, at the end of their ſnout or under-jaw or gum, in the ſame place where teeth are fixed: That the horns are growing in the forehead *per ſymphyſim*, *i. e.* by an adjunction or natural union with the bone, but the teeth are ſunk into the gums *per Gomphoſim i. e.* as a wedge or nail that enters the ſubſtance. This was plainly to be ſeen in that ſkull monſieur *Wormius* ſhew'd us, which was ſunk into the jaw near a foot deep, and ſtretch'd out in length like a lance, laid flat in the ſame manner as the fiſh named *Priſtis* carries its ſythe, and the *Xiphias* or ſword-fiſh wears its ſword.

Laſting Runick letters.

I have taken notice of a very good reaſon, or rather obſervation in *Ariſtotle*, concerning the horn of theſe unicorns. He ſays, that all the animals that have two horns, are cloven-footed; but all unicorns have but one ſolid claw: That nature had made the ſame union, and the ſame conjunction of claws in the feet, as of the horns in the head of the unicorns, as it has made the ſame diviſion of claws and horns in the feet and hands of other animals. From whence it follows, that the

the only diſtinction of the unicorns from the other animals, conſiſts in the unity and ſolidity of their claws and horns; and by the ſame reaſon that the unicorns have their claws in their feet, as the other animals, they bear their horns in the ſame place of the head, namely in the forehead: And as the other beaſts that have two horns, carry them on both ſides of their front, they that have but one, have it in the middle of the fore-head. But as the fiſh we are ſpeaking of, that have neither claws nor feet, cannot have any horns in their head, we may from hence conclude, that what ſome ſuppoſe their horns, being fixed deep into their jaws, and not faſtned to their front, cannot properly be ſaid to be horns, and therefore are to be reckon'd as teeth.

At firſt I my ſelf was not of this opinion, but as I was diſputing about it with monſieur *Wormius*, the great marſhal of *Denmark*, (of whoſe high birth, eminent vertues and dignities he poſſeſſes next to the king, my letters have informed you before.) This great perſon, who has honoured me with his particular favour, and taken a ſingular ſatisfaction to ſatisfy my curioſity in every thing I could deſire, told me in relation to this matter ſomething that confirm'd me in my firſt opinion, that they were horns and not teeth. He acquainted me, that the king of *Denmark*, his maſter, deſigning to make a preſent of a piece of this ſort of horns, that ſhould be extraordinary beautiful and handſome, he order'd him to cauſe an entire horn to be ſawed near the root, where 'tis biggeſt and moſt beautiful. As ſoon as he had ſawed a little of the horn, (which he fanſied to be ſolid) he found it hollow within, and what ſurpriſed him moſt, in the ſame concavity, another leſs horn, of the ſame figure and ſubſtance as the great one. He order'd the great horn to be ſawed round, without touching the little one, and found it to be grown in the inſide of the great one, about a foot long within the concavity, the remainder of the great one being ſolid. This made me imagine that the animals which bear thoſe horns, caſt them as the ſtags do theirs, that their great horns fall off, and others come in their ſtead; and that it was doubtleſs for this reaſon, that ſo many horns ſeparated from their heads, were carried by the ice-ſhoals unto the coaſt of *Greenland* over *Iſeland*? But I was ſoon convinced to the contrary, when I ſaw the ſkull before mentioned, and obſerved that long root that was fixed in its jaw-bone, and that the very ſame thing that the ſaid miniſter told me he had cauſed to be ſawed, was a tooth and no horn. That alſo 'tis poſſible that the teeth fall, and others grow in their ſteads, in theſe fiſhes, as well as they fall and grow again in children, and ſome perſons of a more advanced age. 'Tis very frequent that ſuch teeth as fall are put out and forced away by other new teeth that begin to appear before the old ones fall away. The like never happens to the ſtags, whoſe heads, after having caſt their horns, remain as bare as if they never had any, until ſuch time as their new horns grow again.

The horn of St. Denys.

But for fear ſo long a diſcourſe of horns ſhould ſeem tedious, I will conclude it with ſaying ſomething of the pretended unicorn's horn of *St. Denys*. I have told you that it is altogether, and every where like that of *Denmark*. I will add to this, that the *Danes* are of opinion, (as moſt certainly it is) that all thoſe kind of horns found in *Muſcovy*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, came originally out of *Denmark*, where this ſort of merchandize was very frequent, whilſt there was a paſſage between *Norway* and old *Greenland*, and that they conſtantly croſs the ſeas from one coaſt to the other. The *Danes*, who brought them to ſale in foreign countries, had no reaſon to declare them to be fiſhes teeth; but ſold them for unicorn's horns, to ſell them at the higher rate; this they have not only practiſed formerly, but alſo continue to do it this day. 'Tis not long ſince, that the company of *New-Greenland* at *Copenhagen*, ſent one of their agents into *Muſcovy*, with ſeveral great pieces of theſe kind of horns, and amongſt the reſt, one end of a conſiderable bigneſs, to ſell it to the great duke of *Muſcovy*. The great duke being extremely taken with the beauty thereof, he ſhew'd it his phyſician, who underſtanding the matter, told the great duke, 'twas nothing but the tooth of a fiſh; ſo that this agent returned to *Copenhagen* without ſelling his commodity. After his return, giving an account of the ſucceſs of his journey, he exclaimed againſt the phyſician, who had ſpoiled his market by diſgracing his commodities: Thou art a half-headed fellow, replied one of the directors of the company, (as he told me ſince) why didſt thou not offer two or three hundred ducats to the phyſician, to perſuade him that they were the horns of unicorns? You need not doubt, ſir, but that the horn of *St. Denys*, did come originally from the ſame place, and was ſold in the ſame manner. I can't exactly tell you the time ſince I ſaw it; but if the remembrance of the idea that remains in me, deceives me not, 'tis a tooth like

Fiſhes teeth ſold for horns of an unicorn.

thoſe they ſhow in *Denmark*; for it has the ſame root as the reſt, hollow and worm-eaten at the end like a rotten tooth; this being granted, as it is really true, I will poſitively affirm it to be a tooth fallen out of the jaw-bone of the ſame fiſh known in *Iſeland*, by the name of *Narhual*, and that conſequently it is no horn.

But it is time to return into *Greenland*: The chronicle of *Iſeland* tells us, that the air of *Greenland* is milder and more temperate than in *Norway*: That there is not ſo much, nor ſuch frequent ſnow, neither the cold ſo exceſſive; not but that it freezes very hard, and ſometimes they have grievous tempeſts; but thoſe violent froſts and great ſtorms happen not often, nor do they continue for any conſiderable time. The *Daniſh* chronicle mentions it as a very ſtrange thing, that in the year 1308, they were afflicted with ſuch dreadful thunders and lightening in *Greenland*, that a church named *Skalholt*, was burnt to the ground: That this thunder and lightening was followed by ſuch a prodigious tempeſt, that it overthrew the tops of ſeveral rocks, which caſt out ſuch abundance of aſhes that they fanſied it rain'd aſhes. This tempeſt was ſucceeded by an exceſſive cold winter, the like whereof had never been known in *Greenland*; the ice continuing a whole year without melting. One time as I was relating this ſtupendous rain of aſhes to my lord embaſſador, he informed me, that being at *Rochel*, a ſea captain lately come from the *Canaries*, aſſured him, that lying at anchor about ſix leagues from thoſe iſlands, there happen'd to fall juſt ſuch a ſhower of aſhes, which lay as thick upon the deck of his ſhip, as if it had ſnowed very hard. The cauſe of this ſudden accident was attributed to a violent earthquake, which having ſhaken the fiery mountains in the *Canaries*, the aſhes were by the wind carried ſix leagues into the ſea. 'Tis very probable, that the aſhes caſt out from the *Greenland* rocks proceeded from the ſame cauſe, and that there are in that countrey ſulphurous mountains and ſubterraneous places, which burn like theſe of the *Canaries* and elſewhere. This may be verified by the neighbourhood of mount *Hecla* in *Iſeland*, which lies much more northerly than this part of *Greenland*, as alſo by ſeveral inſtances of other fiery mountains in *Lapland*, much farther than the *Arctick* circle: Beſides, what queſtionleſs you may have taken notice of before, in the old deſcription of that country, *viz.* That there are baths there of ſuch an exceſſive heat, that they are uſeful only in winter.

Air of Greenland.

A violent ſtorm.

A ſtrange ſhower of aſhes.

The ſummer in *Greenland* is always pleaſant both night and day, if that continual twilight, that in ſummer abides all the night in the air, may be called night. As the days in winter are very ſhort, the nights are conſequently very long. Beſides that, nature produces there a wonder which I ſhould ſcarce relate upon my own credit, did not the *Iſeland* chronicle record the ſame as a miracle, and had I not an entire confidence in monſieur *Rets*, who did read and interpret it to me.

In *Greenland* with the beginning of the night, a certain light ariſes either with the new-moon, or juſt before it, which gives light to all the country, in the ſame degree and manner, as if it were full moon; and the darker the nights are, the more conſpicuous the light appears. It takes its courſe towards the north, whence it is called the *Northern-Light*. It appears like a flying fiery meteor, ſtreaming along in the air, as a high and long paliſado. As it moves from one place to another, it leaves behind it a ſmoak in thoſe places, through which it had paſſed; its ſwiftneſs being ſuch, that none but ſuch as have ſeen it are able to imagine it. It laſts all the night, and vaniſhes with ſun riſing. The enquiry into the true cauſe of this meteor, I will leave to thoſe who are better verſed in natural philoſophy than my ſelf, whether certain vapours ariſing out of the earth, enflamed by a continual motion, are not the moſt probable cauſe thereof, as we ſee with the ſame ſwiftneſs thoſe long fuzees or fiery tongues to kindle, which fall from, or paſs thro' the ſky, or in the ſame manner as the flaming meteors fly about the church-yards. I have been told for certain, that this northern light is plainly ſeen as far as *Iſeland* and *Norway*, when the air is clear, and the nights not clouded with any miſts: It gives light, not only to the people of this northern climate; but alſo diſcovers itſelf in our parts. Doubtleſs this light is the ſame which I have heard mention'd by the moſt learned and judicious philoſopher monſieur *Gaſſendi*, to have been frequently ſeen by him, and named *Aurora Borealis* or the *Northern Twilight*. The moſt remarkable that he ever ſaw, was that ſeen all over *France*, *ſilente Luna*, or about the new-moon, (for it was but one day old) in the night betwixt the 12th and 13th of *September*, *Anno* 1621. He has mentioned it only *en paſſant* in the life of monſieur *Pereſt*, but deſcribed it at large, more compleat in his learned obſervations, and at the end of his exercitations againſt Dr. *Flud*, whither I refer you, to avoid prolixity; and to return to my former relation.

A ſtrange light.

The

The *Daniſh* chronicle ſays, that in the year 1271, a violent wind from the north eaſt forced ſuch a vaſt quantity of ice ſhoals loaden with bears and wood to the coaſt of *Iſeland*, that from thence they conjectured, that what was diſcovered in the weſt of *Greenland*, was only a ſmall part thereof; and that it extended a great way farther to the north-eaſt. This perſuaded ſome ſeamen of *Iſeland* to venture upon this diſcovery, but could meet with nothing but ice ſhoals; ſome kings of *Norway* and *Denmark* having a long time before the ſame thought and deſign in their heads, they had ſent thither ſeveral ſhips, nay ſome of them went thither in perſon, but with no better ſucceſs than the ſeamen of *Iſeland*: What had induced them to attempt this voyage, was either the fame, or the general received opinion grounded upon certain reports that this countrey abounded in veins of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones. Or perhaps that paſſage in *Job* had made ſome impreſſion upon their mind, *Gold comes from the north.* Upon which account I can't forbear to tell you what the ſame *Daniſh* chronicle ſays upon that ſubject, *viz.* that in former times certain merchants return'd from thence with great riches. It ſays alſo, that in the reign of St. *Olaus* king of *Norway*, ſome mariners of *Frizeland* undertook that voyage for the ſame purpoſe; but being by violent tempeſts forced among the rocks of this coaſt, they were forced to ſhelter themſelves in ſome creek. He further tells us, that when they adventured aſhoar, they found not far from the ſea ſhoar ſome ill built huts or cabins half under ground; and about thoſe cabins a great many mineral ſtones, glittering like gold and ſilver ore, which made them reſolve to take a good quantity along with them. *Riches in the north.* In effect every one of them having taken as much as they could well carry away, as they were marching off to their ſhips, they ſaw coming out of theſe under-ground huts, a good number of ill ſhap'd and ill look'd fellows, reſembling more the devils than men, with their bows and ſlings, and great dogs at their heels. This oblig'd theſe mariners to haſten their pace, to preſerve both themſelves and their treaſure; but one of them loitering behind, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of thoſe ſalvages, who tore him immediately in pieces, in the ſight of his companions. This *Daniſh* author adds, that this countrey is full of riches, and therefore 'tis commonly ſaid, that Saturn has hid here his treaſures, and planted a ſet of devils here to guard them.

In the *Iſeland* chronicle he has a peculiar chapter intituled, *The courſe and navigation from* Norway *to* Greenland. The courſe into *Greenland*, according to the account given by the moſt ſkilful pilots, born either in *Greenland*, or returned from thence lately, is as followeth. From *Nordſtadenſundmur* in *Norway*, you direct your courſe towards the weſt, till ye come to *Horenſunt*, on the eaſtern ſide of *Iſeland*, is ſeven days ſail. From *Suofuels Jokel*, a ſulphureous mountain of *Iſeland*, to *Greenland*, the ſhorteſt way is to ſail towards the weſt. Half way between *Iſeland* and *Greenland*, lies *Gundebuirne ſkeer.* This was the old paſſage before the ice from the north rendred this navigation very dangerous. 'Tis alſo recorded (but in a ſeparate paragraph) from *Langueries* to *Iſeland*, (which is the moſt northerly part towards the pole) are eighteen leagues to *Oſtreborn*, which ſignifies the *eaſtern horn.* From *Oſtreborn* to *Hualsbredde*, is twice twenty four hours ſail. I would not have any body to undertake a voyage into *Greenland*, according to this direction; the ſame having always been, as far as I was able to learn, very difficult and dangerous; you may perhaps have taken notice of this from what I have ſaid before, of the return of *Leiffe* into *Greenland*, to his father *Erick*, ſurnamed the *red hair'd*, from the foremention'd ſhipwreck of biſhop *Arnold*, and the diſaſters that befel the mariners of *Friſeland.* The ſame *Iſeland* chronicle has another chapter, entituled, *A copy taken out of an old book, call'd*, Speculum Regale, *or*, the Royal Looking-glaſs. Concerning the affairs of *Greenland*, the contents whereof are plainer than the former; it ſays, that in former days three large ſea-monſters of a ſtrange ſhape, were ſeen in the ſea of *Greenland.* The firſt was by the *Norwegians* call'd *Haffſtramb*, which appear'd from the girdle upwards above water; its neck, head, face, noſe and mouth, were altogether like thoſe of a man, only the head was extraordinary high, and pointed towards the crown. It had very large ſhoulders, and at the extremities thereof two ſtumps like arms, but without hands. The body was but ſlender towards the middle, and keeping conſtantly under water, below the girdle, none ever ſaw the whole ſhape of this monſter. Its countenance appear'd like ice, and as often as it was ſeen above water, it prov'd the forerunner of violent ſtorms.

The ſtrait courſe to Greenland.

Three ſtrange monſters.

The ſecond monſter was call'd *Marguguer*; in ſhape (as far as the girdle) not unlike a woman with large breaſts, its hair hanging down behind, large hands, at the extremities of its ſtumps of arms with long fingers join'd together, with a ſkin like the feet of geeſe. Sometimes this monſter has been ſeen holding a fiſh in its hands upon which it fed. It always portended an ap-

The ſecond monſter.

proaching violent ſtorm; if it dived under water with the face towards the mariners, 'twas a ſign they ſhould not be ſhipwrack'd; but if it turn'd its back to them, 'twas an ill omen, foretelling that they ſhould be caſt away.

The third monſter. The third monſter was call'd *Hafgierdinguer*; being no monſter to ſpeak properly, but three mountains of water raiſed by violent ſtorms, which occaſioned a whirlpool, that ſwallowed up all the ſhips that had the misfortune to light within this triangular whirlpool, made by the poſition of theſe watery mountains, out of which ſeldom any eſcaped without ſhipwracking. This pretended monſter or whirlpool, was occaſioned by the currents of the ſea, which meeting with turbulent winds contrary to the current, uſed to ſurprize and ſwallow up the ſhips.

This ſame book declares, that in this ſea are great heaps of ice raiſed upon one another, appearing at a diſtance like huge ſtatues of ſtrange ſhapes: it adviſes thoſe that go into *Greenland*, to bend their courſe towards the ſouth weſt, before they come near the ſhoar of that countrey, by reaſon of the great quantity of ice that ſwims on theſe ſeas, at a great diſtance from the ſhoar, even in the ſummer. It adviſes thoſe that happen to be entangled among the great ice ſhoals, to put in practice what others have done in ſuch like emergencies, *viz.* to put their long boat upon the thickeſt part of theſe ice ſhoals, with all the proviſion they have, and to ſtay there till this ice carries them to ſome land or other, or elſe it diſſolves, when they may ſave themſelves in their long-boat.

How to eſcape from the ice ſhoals.

Here ends the hiſtory of old *Greenland*; but the hiſtory of *Denmark* tells us preciſely, that in the year 1348, a furious plague, call'd the *black peſtilence*, carried away the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the north, and among the reſt, the ſeamen and merchants of *Norway* and of *Denmark*, that were members of the *Greenland* company in both kingdoms. And it is obſervable, that from this time on, the voyages and traffick into *Greenland* were diſcontinued, and began to be loſt. Monſieur *Wormius*, as I remember, told me nevertheleſs, to have read in an old *Daniſh* manuſcript, that about the year 1484, in the reign of king *John*, there were in the city of *Bergen* in *Norway*, above forty ſeamen living that ſailed every year into *Greenland*, and brought from thence ſeveral commodities of great value: but having refuſed to ſell them to certain *German* merchants, come on purpoſe to *Bergen* to buy them, theſe *Germans* (without diſcovering their deſign) invited thoſe mariners to a ſupper, and deſtroyed them all in one night. This ſtory as 'tis related carries but little probability along with it; there being at that time no ſuch free and frequent paſſage betwixt *Norway* and *Greenland*; the narrative I am entring upon being moſt certain that the trade and traffick which *Norway* and *Denmark* formerly had with *Greenland*, was then either quite decayed, or totally ruined.

Of the tributes of Greenland. You muſt underſtand, Sir, that the tributes and cuſtoms of *Greenland* were anciently deſigned and employed to defray the charges of the table of the kings of *Norway*; and that not a mariner durſt ſail into *Greenland* without leave, upon pain of death. It happened in the year 1389, that *Henry* biſhop of *Garde*, went over into *Denmark*, to be preſent, as I told you before, at the aſſembly of the ſtates of this kingdom, then aſſembled in *Funen*, in the reign of queen *Margaret*, who united the two crowns of *Norway* and *Denmark*. It happened about the ſame time, that certain merchants of *Norway*, who had croſs'd the ſeas to *Greenland* without leave, were accuſed of having embezzled the tributes and cuſtoms belonging to the queen's table. The queen treated thoſe merchants ſeverely enough, for they had been infallibly hang'd, if they had not taken a ſtrict oath upon the holy Bible, that they had been carried over into *Greeenland*, not deſignedly, but by a ſtorm; and that what merchandiſes they had brought from thence were purchaſed with ready money, without meddling in the leaſt with the queen's revenues; they were diſcharged upon this oath. However the ſevere prohibitions made upon this occaſion, together with the danger of the ſeas, produced this fatal effect, that ſince that time, neither merchant nor mariner durſt venture on this voyage. The queen, ſome time after, ſent thither ſome ſhips, which were never heard of ſince, ſuppoſed to be caſt away, tho' it was never known either how or where, or in what manner they were loſt. This put ſuch a conſternation among the old mariners of *Norway*, that none of them could be prevailed upon to venture again upon thoſe ſeas. The queen being at that time engaged in a war with *Sweden*, and conſequently meeting no great account of *Greenland*, was not very forward to force them to theſe voyages.

The danger of adventurers into Greenland.

The cauſe of the interruption of the commerce with Greenland.

The *Daniſh* chronicle, unto which I ſtand indebted for this hiſtory, ſays, that about the ſame time, *viz.* in the year of our Lord 1406, *Eſkild* biſhop of *Drunthem* in *Norway*, willing to take the ſame care of *Greenland* as his predeceſſors had done before; ſent thither a certain perſon named *Andrew*, to ſucceed in the place of *Henry* biſhop

biſhop of *Garde*, in caſe he was dead, or to ſend him word if he was alive. But ſince this *Andrew* took ſhipping for *Greenland*, not the leaſt news could be heard of him; and notwithſtanding all the inquiry that could be made, it was impoſſible to hear the leaſt tidings, either of him or of biſhop *Henry*. This was the laſt biſhop that was ſent from *Norway* into *Greenland*.

Queen Margaret *of* Norway.

The ſame *Daniſh* chronicle gives us a catalogue of the names of all the kings of *Denmark*, ſince queen *Margaret*, to the reign of *Chriſtian* IV. the preſent king, with an exact account of what happen'd in reference to the recovery of *Greenland*, in their reſpective reigns. It is abſolutely requiſite, Sir, you ſhould not be ignorant of this ſucceſſion, and of the fatalities or misfortunes which have made us loſe even the knowledge of this renowned countrey, which in former days was ſo well known, inhabited, and frequented by the people of our world.

The kings of Denmark.

Erick of *Pomerania* ſucceeded to queen *Margaret*, but as he was a foreigner newly come into *Denmark*, he never took the pains as much as to enquire, whether there was ſuch a countrey in the world as *Greenland*.

Chriſtopher of *Bavaria* was crown'd next after *Erick*, but being all the time of his reign imployed in a war againſt the *Vandals*, then inhabiting *Pomerania*, had but little leiſure to look after *Greenland*.

The family of *Oldenbourg*, that now ſways the *Daniſh* ſcepter, began to reign in the year of our lord 1448. But king *Chriſtian*, the firſt of that name, and of that race, inſtead of bending his thoughts towards the north, employed them in the ſouth: for going in pilgrimage to *Rome*, he got from the pope the propriety of the countrey of *Dithmarſen*, to be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and leave to eſtabliſh an univerſity at *Copenhagen*.

Chriſtian II. ſucceeded *Chriſtian* I. and ſolemnly promiſed at his coronation, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for the recovery of *Greenland*: but inſtead of recovering a countrey loſt by his predeceſſors, he was forced to forſake his own kingdoms. His cruelties having cauſed him to be driven out of *Sweden*, which queen *Margaret* had united with the two kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and eſtabliſh'd in theſe three kingdoms but one government. He departed into *Denmark*, with the ſame furious ſpirit that had poſſeſſed him in *Sweden*, ſo that the *Danes*, not able to ſuffer him any more than the *Swedes*, depoſed him. Whence it is, that he is repreſented amongſt the kings of *Denmark*, with a broken ſcepter in his hand. His lord chancellor *Erick Valkanor*, a *Daniſh* gentleman, remarkable for his virtue, wiſdom and wit, being made archbiſhop of *Drunthem* after his maſter's diſgrace, retired to his archbiſhoprick, where he employed his mind and ſkill in the recovery of *Greenland*. He peruſed all the books that mention'd it: he examin'd all the merchants and mariners of *Norway* that could in the leaſt be ſuppoſed to have any knowledge of it, and cauſed a map to be made of the paſſage leading to it. But juſt as he was upon the point of putting in execution ſo laudable a deſign in the year 1524, a great lord of *Norway* pick'd a quarrel with him, and forc'd him to abandon both his archbiſhoprick and the kingdom, whence he departed to *Rome*, where he died.

Frederick I. uncle to king *Chriſtian*, had took poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*; and becauſe the faction of *Chriſtian* was not altogether extinct, *Frederick* fearing the intereſt of *Valkanor*, caus'd him to be driven out of *Norway*, and annull'd the charters given to the reſpective companies erected for the diſcovery and recovery of *Greenland*.

Chriſtian III. ſucceeded *Frederick*, who cauſed the paſſage into *Greenland* to be attempted, but thoſe he ſent return'd without being able to find it out. This oblig'd this king to repeal all the ſevere prohibitions and orders publiſh'd by the king's predeceſſors, *viz.* that none ſhould ſail into *Greenland* without peculiar licence. Inſtead whereof he granted full liberty to every one that had a mind to go thither without his leave. But the *Norwegians* being in thoſe days ſo weak in ſhipping, and ſo miſerably poor, were not in a condition to provide ſhips for ſo difficult and dangerous a voyage.

King Frederick II. *of* Denmark, *his endeavours to recover* Greenland.

King *Frederick* II. inherited with the kingdom his father *Chriſtian* III's deſign. He ſent a certain perſon named *Magnus Heigningſon* to diſcover *Greenland*. If we we may rely upon the author's credit in reference to this voyage, there is a ſecret and hidden cauſe unknown to all the world, that viſibly ſtops and hinders the deſigns of recovering this countrey. For after *Magnus Heigningſon* had wandered and paſſed through many difficulties; he diſcovered *Greenland* at a diſtance, but could not come near it, for as ſoon as he had made the coaſt, his ſhip ſtopt immediately, at which he was aſtoniſh'd (and not without reaſon) for it was in the main ſea, in a great depth of water, without any ice; beſides, the wind blew freſh and fair, and the ſhip was under full ſail. Thus being unable to go forward, he was forced to return to *Denmark*, where he gave an account

of

of what had happen'd to the king; whom he told by way of excuſe, that in the bottom of thoſe ſeas there are rocks of loadſtone, which had ſtopp'd his ſhip. If he had but known the ſtory of the *Remora*, perhaps he might have alledg'd that as a pretence, more probable than that of the loadſtone. This expedition happen'd in the year 1588, or thereabouts, when king *Frederick* II. reigned. Our *Daniſh* chronicle tracing exactly the ſequel of the time, hath inſerted between the reigns of king *Chriſtian* and king *Frederick*, a long narrative of the voyage of captain *Martin Forbiſher*, an *Engliſh* captain, who undertook the diſcovery of *Greenland* in the year 1577. As this narrative gives us a much clearer inſight into the affairs of *Greenland* and of its inhabitants than any other now extant, as far as ever I ſaw till this time; ſo I thought it not amiſs to ſend you a tranſlation of the matters contain'd therein.

The Voyage of Martin Forbiſher *into* Green-land.

Martin Forbiſher ſet ſail out of *England* for *Greenland*, in the ſaid year 1577; he diſcover'd it, but could not land nor come near it that year, by reaſon of the night, the ice and the winter, which came very ſuddenly upon him in that voyage. After his return into *England*, he acquainted queen *Elizabeth* with what he had ſeen. The queen upon his relation thought to have recovered this unknown countrey. She with the firſt beginning of the ſpring, gave him three ſhips. With theſe *Forbiſher* ſet ſail, and having got ſight of the land, came to an anchor on the eaſt ſide of it. The inhabitants of the countrey where he landed, fled away at the approach of the *Engliſh*, leaving their houſes to hide themſelves up and down; nay, ſome of them for fear climb'd up to the top of the ſharpeſt and higheſt rocks, from whence they caſt themſelves down into the ſea. The *Engliſh*, who could never ſo far prevail upon, or engage theſe ſavages to come near them, enter'd into their forſaken dwellings, being properly ſpeaking no more than tents made with ſkins of ſea-calves or whales, ſpread upon four great poles, ſowed together very artificially with dry'd nerves. They took notice that all thoſe tents had two entrances, the one on the weſtern ſide, the other towards the ſouth, whereby they ſheltred themſelves from the winds that moſt troubled them from the eaſt and north. In all thoſe dwellings, they found nothing but an old woman of a frightful look, and a young woman big with child, whom they took away with them, with a little infant that ſhe held by the hand. As they took them away by force from the old woman, ſhe howl'd and cried moſt vehemently. From whence they ſailed along the coaſt towards the eaſt, and ſaw a monſter upon the water as big as an ox, with a horn at the end of its ſnout of a * yard and a half long, which they fancy'd to be an unicorn. Thence they ſteer'd their courſe to the north eaſt, and diſcovering land, they caſt anchor there, the countrey thereabouts appearing very pleaſant to them. And though this place was within the continent of *Greenland*, they named it *Anavavick*, that they might keep it under another name. They found this countrey much ſubject to earthquakes, which overthrew great maſſy rocks, and rowled them into the plains, and that there was no abiding there without manifeſt danger. However they ſtay'd there a while, and becauſe they met with a ſand, glittering as if it were intermix'd with gold oar; they loaded three hundred tuns of it in their veſſels. They did what they could to draw the ſalvages of this countrey to a converſation with them, which they ſeem'd not to be unwilling to; for they anſwered by ſigns, to the ſigns the *Engliſh* made to them, giving them to underſtand, that if they would go higher, they would find what they ſought for. *Forbiſher* anſwered he would, and for that purpoſe took his long boat with ſome ſoldiers, giving order to his three ſhips to follow. He paſſed along the coaſt higher up, and ſaw a great number of thoſe ſalvages upon the rocks, which made him apprehenſive of a ſurprize. The ſalvages who conducted him along the coaſt and were aſhoar, perceiving his jealouſy, (that they might not fright him by their numbers) cauſed three men only to appear from behind an intrenchment, much handſomer and better habited than the reſt. Theſe deſired the *Engliſh* by ſigns and demonſtrations of love to come aſhoar. *Forbiſher* ſeeing no more than three near the ſhoar, the reſt appearing on the rocks at a diſtance, row'd towards the ſhoar without the leaſt fear, but ſome that were conceal'd in a ditch being impatient (when they ſaw *Forbiſher* rowing towards them) of delay, ran in a croud to meet the *Engliſh*; this made him keep off at a diſtance. However theſe ſalvages being not in the leaſt diſcouraged for that reaſon, endeavoured ſtill to draw to them the *Engliſh*, by caſting a great deal of raw fleſh upon the coaſt, as if they had dogs to deal withal. But finding the *Engliſh* to be afraid to approach them, theſe ſalvages contrived another artifice. They carried a pretended cripple to the ſea ſhoar, and there leaving him they departed, and never appeared for ſome time, as if they were gone a great way off, or for good and all. They ſuppoſed that the *Engliſh*, according to the

* *Of the* Daniſh *meaſure.*

Of gold ſand.

The ſalvages of Green-land.

The houſes of Green-land.

cuſtom

cuſtom of ſtrangers, would come and carry away that weak and infirm man, (who could not eaſily eſcape their hands) to make uſe of him as an interpreter. But the *Engliſh* ſmelling the rat, diſcharged a muſquet at the cripple, which rous'd him to that degree, that he was glad to run away as faſt as he could ſet his feet to the ground. Then the ſalvages flock'd in vaſt numbers to the ſhoar, and ſending whole ſhowers of ſtones and arrows out of their ſlings and bows, the *Engliſh* only laugh'd at it, but in lieu thereof gave them a volley of ſhot and cannon ball that diſpers'd them all in a moment.

The ſalvages temper. According to this relation, thoſe ſalvages are treacherous, wild, and ſo barbarous, as not to be civilized by flattery. They are groſs of body, and of an olive colour; though ſome are of opinion, that there are amongſt them negroes as well as in *Ethiopia*. Their cloathing is of ſkins of ſea dogs ſewed together, with dry nerves. Their women walk with their hair looſe, they caſt it behind their ears to ſhew their faces, painted with blue and yellow: they wear no petticoats as our women do, but many drawers made of fiſh ſkins, which they put one over another; each pair of drawers has its pockets, where they keep their knives, thread, needles, and ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other trifles brought to them by ſtrangers, or caſt aſhoar by the tide of the ſea after ſhipwrecks, which often happen here. The ſhifts of men and women are made of the bowels of great fiſh ſewed together with very ſmall nerves. Both ſexes wear a kind of looſe garments which they girt with ſtraps of the ſkins of fiſh. They ſtink moſt naufeouſly, are naſty and filthy: their tongues ſerve them inſtead of a napkin or handkerchief, neither are they aſhamed of what other men conceal and cover. Amongſt them thoſe are reckoned the richeſt who have moſt bows, ſlings, boats, and oars; their bows are but ſhort, and their arrows ſlender, pointed with bone or ſharp horns. They are very dexterous in handling their bows and ſlings, and in darting at the fiſh in the water with their javelins. Their boats are covered all over with ſkins of ſea-dogs which hold no more than one man at a time. Their great boats are made of wood faſtened together with ſtrong wooden pegs and ribs, and covered with whales ſkins ſewed together with very ſtrong nerves; theſe boats carry at moſt but twenty men at one time; their ſails are of the ſame ſubſtance as their ſhifts, *viz.* of the bowels of fiſh ſowed together with ſmall nerves; and though there be no iron in thoſe ſhips, they are ſo artificially and ſtrongly join'd together, that they dare adventure in them a great way into the main ſea, without dreading the moſt violent ſtorms or tempeſts. This countrey produces no venomous creatures except ſpiders. They have alſo abundance of gnats, which with their ſtings raiſe large puſtules and ſwellings in the face. They have no freſh water but what they procure from the diſſolved ſnow.

Their cloathing, &c.

The author of this chronicle is of opinion, that the violent froſts bind and ſtop the veins of the earth to ſuch a degree, as to hinder the paſſage of all freſh water ſprings. Their dogs are of an extraordinary ſize, ſo that they couple them together, and uſe them to draw their carriages in the ſame manner as other people do with their horſes.

Here ends this relation, which whether this *Daniſh* author has taken out of the *Engliſh* travels of *Martin Forbiſher*, or whether he has written by hear-ſay, in imitation of thoſe ancient *Danes*, who made up and compos'd the hiſtory of their times according to the tales that were ſpread abroad in the world, I am not able to determine. But it is time to return to the kings of *Denmark*.

Chriſtian V. of Denmark.

Chriſtian V. ſon of *Frederick* II. undertook once more the buſineſs of *Greenland*, reſolving to leave no ſtone unturn'd for the diſcovery thereof, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs his father and grandfather had met with in this attempt: in order to this deſign, he ſent for a captain and ſkilful pilot from *England*, both well acquainted with thoſe ſeas, and the courſe they were to take in this voyage. The captain and pilot being arrived in *Denmark*, three ſtout ſhips were equipp'd, and committed to the conduct of *Gotſke Lindenau*, a *Daniſh* gentleman, as commodore, who ſet ſail from the *Sound* in the beginning of the warm ſeaſon in the year 1605. Theſe three ſhips kept together for ſome time, till the *Engliſh* captain being come to the elevation he long'd for, he ſteer'd his courſe towards the ſouth weſt for fear of the ice, that he might with the more ſafety and convenience approach the coaſt of *Greenland*. The courſe he took ſeem'd ſuitable to the ancient paſſage from *Iſeland* mention'd before. The relation whereof gives the ſame directions. The *Daniſh* commodore judging the *Engliſh* captain to have taken the wrong courſe to the ſouth weſt, ſteer'd his courſe to the north eaſt, and arrived alone with his ſhip in *Greenland*. As ſoon as he caſt anchor, divers ſalvages that had diſcover'd him from the high ſhoar, (where they inhabited) leap'd into their little boats, and came on board him. He receiv'd them with a great deal of civility, and welcomed

His endeavours to recover Greenland.

Gotſke Lindenau *ſailing to* Greenland.

Two courſes into Greenland.

them with ſeveral bumpers of excellent wine; but theſe ſavages fancying it to be bitter, made very ugly faces at it; but ſeeing ſome whale oil, they deſired ſomething of that; accordingly great pots being fill'd with it, they did drink them off very greedily. Theſe ſalvages brought ſkins and furs, of foxes, bears, ſea-calves, and a great many horns, (which the author calls precious) or at leaſt ſome pieces, ends and ſtumps of them, which they exchanged for needles, knives, looking-glaſſes, buckles, and other ſuch like trifles, which the *Danes* ſhewed them: They making not the leaſt account of the gold and coined ſilver that was offer'd them, but expreſs'd an earneſt deſire for all ſteel works, a thing moſt in requeſt among them, above all other commodities. To purchaſe which they were ready to part with what they eſteem'd moſt precious, *viz.* their bows, arrows, boats, and oars, and when they had nothing elſe to give, they ſtripped themſelves of their ſhirts. *Gotſke Lindenau* continued three days in this road, but the chronicle does not ſay that he landed here. Doubtleſs he was afraid to venture aſhoar, and to hazard his ſmall number of men amongſt ſuch multitudes of ſalvages of this countrey. He weighed anchor and departed the fourth day, but before he ſet ſail, detain'd on board his veſſel two of thoſe ſalvages that were come to traffick with him, who made ſuch violent efforts to get out of the hands of the *Danes*, that they attempted to leap over-board into the ſea, ſo that they were forced to bind them. Thoſe that remained a ſhoar, ſeeing their companions chained and carried away, made a moſt dreadful noiſe, and ſent whole ſhowers of arrows and ſtones after the *Danes*; but theſe firing a great gun at them, they were ſoon diſperſed. The commodore return'd alone with his ſhip into *Denmark*.

The *Engliſh* captain with his and the other *Daniſh* ſhip arrived in *Greenland* (as the chronicle tells us) at the furthermoſt end of the land to the weſt, which could be no other place but *Cape Farewel*: For 'tis moſt certain that he enter'd *Davis*'s gulph, and ſailed along the eaſtern coaſt of that gulph. He diſcovered a great many good harbours, a beautiful countrey, and large verdent plains. The ſalvages of this part of the countrey barter'd with them, as the ſalvages of the other part of *Greenland* had done with *Gotſke Lindenau*. Theſe indeed ſeem'd to be much more wary, timorous and miſtruſtful than the others, for as ſoon as they had made any exchange of goods with the *Danes*, they would run and leap into their boats as if they had ſtollen them, or as if they had been purſued by an enemy. The *Danes* being very deſirous to land in one of theſe harbours, went aſhoar well provided with all ſorts of weapons. The countrey where they ſet foot aſhoar, appear'd to them pleaſant and pretty good, but ſandy and ſtony like the grounds in *Norway*. By the exhalations and vapours that iſſued out of the earth, they concluded that there were divers ſulphureous mines here, eſpecially ſince they found a great many ſtones ſuppoſed to belong to the ſilver mines which they had carried over into *Denmark*; where out of one hundred weight of theſe ſtones, they extracted twenty ſix ounces of ſilver. This *Engliſh* captain finding ſo many fine harbours along this coaſt, gave them *Daniſh* names, and cauſed a map to be drawn of them before his departure thence. He alſo ſeized four of thoſe ſalvages, the moſt comely they could meet with, one of which was ſo enraged at his captivity, that the *Danes* finding they could not drag him along with them, they beat out his brains with the but end of their muſquets, which ſo frighted the other three, that they followed them without any farther oppoſition. At the ſame time a body of ſalvages got together, either to revenge the death of him that was kill'd, or to relieve thoſe that were leading away into captivity. To effect this, they got betwixt the ſea and the *Danes*, with an intention to engage them before they could reach the harbour, and prevent their getting on board. But the *Danes* having ſent a volley of their ſmall ſhot, ſeconded by their cannon, among them, the ſalvages frighted both with the noiſe and the fire, fled in great confuſion, ſuffering the *Danes* to embark without any farther diſturbance; who were no ſooner got on board, but they weighed anchor and returned into *Denmark* with the three ſalvages, whom they preſented to the king their maſter, who declared that he thought them much better ſhaped, and leſs barbarous, than thoſe two *Gotſke Lindenau* brought along with him, being alſo very different from them in their habit, language and manners.

Silver ſtones.

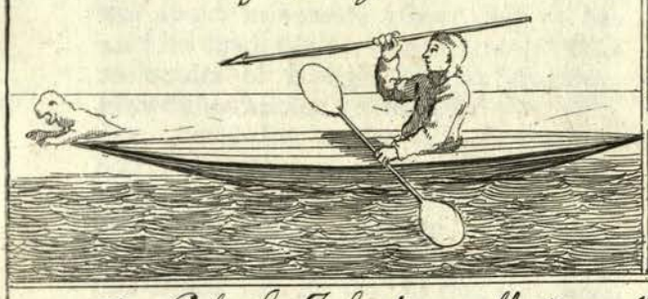
Davis's gulph.

The king of *Denmark*, well ſatisfied with this firſt voyage, reſolved on a ſecond. Accordingly the next year 1606, he ſent the ſame gentleman *Gotſke Lindenau*, with five good ſhips into *Greenland:* He ſet ſail from the *Sound* the 8th day of *May*, carrying along with him the three ſalvages, the *Engliſh* captain had taken in *Davis*'s gulph, for to make uſe of them as his interpreters. Thoſe poor harmleſs creatures expreſs'd an unſpeakable joy when they underſtood that they were returning back into their own countrey. One of them fell ſick at ſea, died, and

The king's ſecond adventure into Greenland.

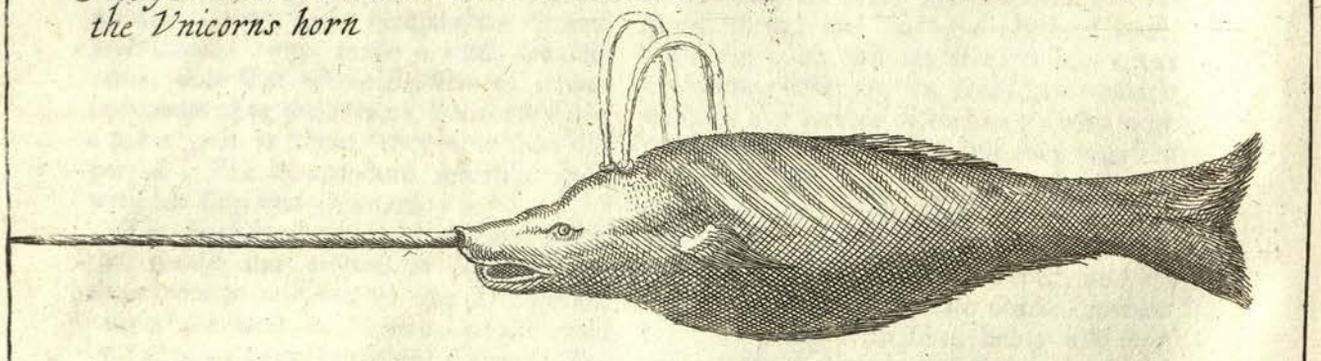
Savages of Groenland

A Savage fishing in his boate



A little Groenland boate

The fish the Islanders call Narwall, which has the horn, or tooth call'd the Vnicorns horn



The head of the fish Narwall, with a piece of the tooth or horn, four foot long

was caſt over-board. *Gotſke Lindenau* ſteering his courſe directly towards *America* (as the *Engliſh* captain had done before) came to the ſouth-weſt point of the gulph of *Davis* by cape *Farewel*. One of his five ſhips loſt her company in a miſt, but the other four arrived in *Greenland* the 3d of *Auguſt*.

The ſalvages jealous of the Danes refuſe to traffick with them.

In the firſt road where the *Danes* caſt anchor, the ſalvages appear'd in great numbers near the ſhore, but would not traffick with them, ſo that as they ſeem'd to be afraid of the *Danes*, thoſe likewiſe would not truſt them. This obliged them to hoiſt their ſails, and go up higher to another place, where they met with an harbour much more commodious than the firſt; but the inhabitants were as ill-humour'd as the former; for, being jealous of the *Danes*, they threatned to fight them if they offer'd to ſet foot on ſhore. The *Danes*, not willing to truſt theſe any more than the others, or venture upon a landing, ſailed farther; and as they coaſted along the ſhore, theſe ſalvages rowed along in their ſmall boats, and following them at ſome diſtance; the *Danes* found a means to ſurprize, at ſeveral times, ſix of theſe ſalvages, whom they carried aboard in their boats belonging to their ſhips. It happen'd that when the *Danes* had caſt anchor at the third road, a ſervant of *Gotſke Lindenau*, a bold fellow, earneſtly entreated his maſter to ſuffer him to go alone on ſhore, in order to try the temper of thoſe ſalvages, alledging, that he hoped either to intice them by the commodities he would carry along with him, or to ſave himſelf by flight if they had any miſchievous deſign againſt him. The admiral yielded at laſt to the importunity of his ſervant, but no ſooner had he ſet his foot on the ſhore, but he was taken, kill'd and torn in pieces by theſe ſalvages, who after this tragedy withdrew from the ſhore, ſheltring themſelves behind the hills, beyond the reach of the *Daniſh* cannon. The knives and ſwords of theſe ſalvages are made of the horns or teeth of fiſhes, commonly call'd unicorns, ſharpen'd with ſtones, and are as keen as if they were of iron or ſteel. *Gotſke Lindenau* being convinced that he was not likely to get much advantage by ſtaying in this countrey, ſet ſail for *Denmark*, but one of his *Greenland* priſoners was ſo much afflicted at his removal from his native countrey, that in deſpair he caſt himſelf over-board into the ſea, and was drown'd.

A bold adventure to the deſtruction of the adventurer.

The *Danes* in their return home met with the firſt ſhip that was ſeparated from them in this voyage, but did not keep together above five days, when by a moſt violent ſtorm they were again ſeparated and ſcatter'd from one another in ſuch a manner, that they did not meet again till a month after the ſtorm ceas'd. After much labour, hazard, and a thouſand difficulties, they return'd to *Copenhagen* the 1ſt day of *October* following.

The third adventure.

The king of *Denmark* having taken a reſolution, undertook the third and laſt voyage into *Greenland*; he ſent two great ſhips under the command of a certain captain, a native of *Holſtein*, named *Karſten Richkardſen*, who took into his ſervice ſome of the beſt mariners of *Norway* and *Iſeland*, who being well verſed in thoſe ſeas, were to ſerve him as guides in the dangerous enterprize. The chronicle ſays, this captain ſet ſail from the *Sound* the 13th day of *May*, without mentioning the year, which I could never learn. The 8th day of *June* following, he diſcovered the tops of the mountains of *Greenland*, but he could not come near the ſhore, by reaſon of the vaſt ice ſhoals that were ſettled near to the ſhore, and extended a great way into the ſea. The ice being heap'd upon one another, appear'd at a diſtance like mountains or high rocks. Upon this occaſion the author obſerves, that ſome years the ice of *Greenland* never melts all the ſummer. Thus the captain of *Holſtein*, finding no means to approach the ſhore, and being beſides this ſeparated by ſtorm from the other ſhip, before he came to theſe vaſt ice mountains, was obliged to return without being able to encompaſs his deſign. However, the king of *Denmark* was pleaſed to admit of his excuſes, and the difficulties he alledg'd in his behalf. Perhaps you will be curious to know what became of the four firſt ſalvages, and of the five laſt, the remnants of all they had taken in the two firſt voyages into *Greenland*: I will give you, ſir, a brief account of them.

Is prevented to approach the ſhore by the ice.

An account of ſome ſalvages carried from Greenland *into* Denmark.

The king of *Denmark* appointed certain perſons to take particular care of their food, and to look after them, with this proviſo, however, that they ſhould be at liberty to walk where they pleaſed. Their food was milk, butter, cheeſe, raw fleſh, and fiſhes, after the ſame manner as they uſed to feed in their own countrey. It being found impracticable to accuſtom them to our bread, or roaſted or boil'd meat, much leſs to our wines; but they ſwallow'd nothing more greedily than great draughts of oil, or of whales greaſe. They often turn'd their heads towards the north, and by their ſighs expreſs'd the deſire and affection they bore to their native countrey; that after their keepers were removed, ſome of them who could get to their little boats and oars, put off to ſea, with an intent queſtionleſs to croſs the ſeas; but being ſurprized by a ſtorm about ten or twelve leagues from the *Sound*, were forced upon the ſhore of *Schonen*, where being taken by the peaſants, they were brought back to *Copenhagen*, where they

they were more ſtrictly guarded by their keepers afterwards, which put them into ſuch a melancholly humour, that they pined themſelves to death.

However there being five of theſe ſalvages alive, a *Spaniſh* ambaſſador came into *Denmark*, the king being willing to give the ſaid miniſter the divertiſement of ſeeing theſe ſalvages to row in their little canoo's or boats, they perform'd the ſame with extraordinary dexterity.

Their boats and manner of uſing them.

But to give you the beſt idea I can of the ſhape of theſe boats, I would have you fancy the weaver's ſhuttle, of ten or twelve foot long, compos'd of large whale bones, of the thickneſs of an inch, or thereabouts, cover'd both within and without, (not unlike the ſticks of an umbrello) with the ſkins of ſea-dogs, and ſea-calves, ſtitched together, with the nerves of the ſame creature.

We muſt alſo ſuppoſe this engine or boat to have a round hole on the top, in the middle about the compaſs of both the thighs of a man; and that it grows narrower and narrower by degrees, at both ends proportionably to its bigneſs, (like our watermen's boats upon the *Thames.)* The chief ſtrength and ingenuity of the whole engine, conſiſting chiefly in the junctures at both ends, where theſe whale bones are join'd and faſtened together; and in the opening, hole, or circle above, in the circumference whereof all the whale bones from the lowermoſt parts meet; the demi-circle underneath being faſtened to the uppermoſt circle, or round hole like a rundlet, where it opens towards its paniers: It is farther to be obſerved, that all the whale-bones underneath and of the ſides of the boat either paſs thro' or end in this demi-circle; and that every thing is ſo well join'd together, that what with its light weight, and the good management of the rower, it will bear againſt the moſt violent ſtorms at ſea.

The ſalvages, when they are to make uſe of theſe boats, get into them by the hole or open, at the top, and ſtretching their legs towards one or other of theſe two ends, ſtop the overtures left with their waſtcoats, made of dog or ſea-calves ſkins; theſe they faſten cloſe to their middle, and the hole wherein they ſit, and cover their heads with certain bladders or caps tied to the upper part of their waſteoats, that let the weather be never ſo bad, and the ſea never ſo boiſterous; nay tho' they are dip'd ſometimes over head and ears, (which often happens) they are never the worſe for it, no water entring either thro' their cloaths, or into their boat. Thus they always ſwim on the ſurface of the water, and are in leſs danger in tempeſtuous weather than a large ſhip.

They uſe only one oar, not above five or ſix foot long, and half a foot broad at both ends, which they manage with both hands, graſping it in the middle where it is round.

I did not tell you without very good reaſon, that the ſhape of theſe boats reſembles a weaver's ſhuttle, it being certain that the ſhuttle manag'd by the moſt dexterous workmen, does not go forward with the ſame ſwiftneſs as theſe boats do upon the water, by the dexterity of theſe ſalvages: The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador was extreamly delighted to ſee five of them perform their taſk with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, and to croſs and paſs by one another with ſo violent a motion, without touching their oars or boats.

The king of *Denmark* being curious to try the uttermoſt of their ſtrength, order'd a ſloop to be mann'd with eight pair of oars, to row againſt them, but they were ſo nimble, that the ſloop could ſcarce overtake them. The ambaſſador was ſo generous as to give a preſent of money to every one of theſe ſalvages, which they beſtow'd in cloaths after the *Daniſh* faſhion: Now ſome of them bought themſelves boots and ſpurs, and feathers in their hats, offering to ſerve the king on horſeback.

They attempt to return into Greenland.

But they were ſoon after ſeiz'd with their former ſplenetick fits; all their thoughts being bent upon their native countrey. Two of theſe mention'd before, who got out at ſea, and were caſt upon the ſhore of *Schonen*, being not ſo ſtrictly guarded as the reſt, becauſe no body believed they would run the ſame hazard again, (after their firſt deliverance) did once more attempt to row in their boats croſs the ſeas, ſteering their courſe towards the north; they were purſued as far the entrance of the *Sound*, but could not be overtaken; ſo that 'tis probable they were loſt, it being not likely they could reach *Greenland* in their ſmall boats.

It was generally obſerved, that theſe ſalvages would burſt out into tears, as often as they ſaw a child on his mother's or a nurſe's breaſt; queſtionleſs becauſe they were married and could not forget their wives and children, they had been forced to leave behind them.

Thoſe that remained at *Copenhagen* had a ſtrict guard put upon them, which ſerved only to encreaſe their deſire to return to their native countrey, becauſe they now deſpaired of ever ſeeing it again.

This had ſuch a powerful influence upon their minds, that they all died with vexation, except two who outliv'd their companions about ten or twelve years. The *Danes* did what they could to render their

capti-

captivity eaſy, repreſenting to them, that they were, and always ſhould be treated among them like friends and countreymen; which ſeem'd to have ſome influence upon them.

The next thing they did, was to endeavour to inſtruct them in the chriſtian faith; but as they could never be brought to learn the *Daniſh* tongue, and that faith comes by hearing, it was impoſſible to make them truly ſenſible of the myſteries of the chriſtian religion.

Some people who had taken particular notice of their actions, did obſerve them frequently lifting up their eyes towards heaven, and to worſhip the riſing-ſun. One of them died at *Colding* in *Jutland*, being employed in fiſhing of pearls in the water.

For it is obſervable, ſir, that the muſſels in *Denmark* are ſo full of ſeed pearls, (as they call them) that ſcarce any are without them; of theſe muſſels, vaſt quantities are taken in the river of *Colding*; and ſome among the reſt, which contain very good and round ones: The *Greenland* ſalvage having often mention'd, that they had pearls in his countrey, and that he uſed to be employed in fiſhing for them, the governor of *Colding* took him along with him to his government, where he gave him ſufficient employment in the river; the ſalvage being an excellent diver, brought up abundance of the beſt muſſels, and for the moſt part ſome of that kind, which contained very good pearls; the governor was ſo pleaſed at this ſucceſs, that imagining no otherwiſe, but that in a little time he ſhould be able to ſell his pearls by the buſhel, he made this poor ſalvage dive continually for pearls (notwithſtanding the rigour of the winter ſeaſon) to ſuch a degree, that at the laſt the cold kill'd him.

His companion, now become inconſolable by his death, made ſhift to get into one of their little boats, and taking the opportunity of the next fair day, croſs'd the ſeas to the oppoſite ſhore of the *Sound*, before any body had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his flight; however he was purſued and overtaken, but not before he was got betwixt 30 and 40 leagues at ſea. Being given to underſtand by certain ſigns, that he muſt have been infallibly ſwallow'd up by the waves of the ſea, before he could reach the *Greenland* ſhore; he anſwered by ſigns, that his intention was to keep along the coaſt of *Norway*, to a certain light, from whence he would have croſs'd over to *Greenland*, by the direction of the ſtars. After his return to *Copenhagen*, he died for grief. This was the end of the unhappy *Greenlanders*.

They were much the ſame, as I formerly deſcribed to you the *Laplanders*, of a low ſtature and broad ſhoulder'd, *forti pectore & armis*, ſtrong limb'd, flat noſed, with large thick lips. The remnants of their boats, oars, bows, arrows, ſlings and garments, are to be ſeen to this day in *Denmark*. I had the opportunity of ſeeing two of their boats with their oars at *Copenhagen*, one at Mr. *Wormius*'s, and the other at the landlord's of our ambaſſador. The ſaid Mr. *Wormius* has alſo ſome of their garments made of dogs and ſea-calves ſkin,, ſome of their ſhirts made of the guts of fiſhes, one of their veſts made of the ſkin of a bird, with the feathers on it of various colours; as alſo their bows, arrows, ſlings, knives, hangers, and their javelins or darts, which they uſe in fiſhing, pointed at the extremities (as well as their arrows) with horns, or teeth ſharpened at the points. I alſo ſaw here a *Greenland* almanack, compos'd of 25 or 30 ſmall canes or reeds, faſtened to a piece of a ſheep-ſkin, but the uſe thereof was known to nobody but the *Greenlanders* themſelves.

The kings of *Denmark* being quite diſcouraged by ſo many diſappointments in theſe voyages, ſome merchants of *Copenhagen* entred into a ſociety with ſome perſons of quality (known to this day by the name of the *Greenland* company) in order to proſecute the ſame deſign. This company ſent in 1636, two ſhips to the gulph of *Davis*, where they came to an anchor near the ſhore, which ſurrounds that bay. They had not been there long, before they ſaw eight ſalvages of the countrey coming towards them in their ſmall canoos or boats; coming aboard, the *Danes* laid out their knives, looking-glaſſes, needles and ſuch like trifles, and the ſalvages their fur and dog ſkins, and ſea-calves ſkins; beſides a conſiderable quantity of what they call the unicorns horns. *The* Daniſh Greenland *company.*

Whilſt they were buſy in exchanging theſe commodities, a cannon aboard one of theſe ſhips happened to be diſcharged at the drinking of a health; the ſudden noiſe whereof put theſe poor wretches into ſuch a conſternation, that they run over-board into their boats, and ſo put to ſea, with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that they could ſcarce well perceive them, till about 200 or 300 paces from the ſhip. The *Danes*, ſurprized at their unaccountable fear, gave a ſignal to theſe ſalvages to return, which they did, as ſoon as they ſaw the fire and ſmoke quite gone. Their manner of traffick is thus: Having choſen what commodities they like beſt, they put them together in one bundle; this done, they put in another bundle what commodities they are willing to exchange for them;

them; and thus adding or diminiſhing till both parties are ſatisfied, the bargain is ſtruck at laſt.

Much about the ſame time that the *Danes* were buſy in exchanging their commodities with thoſe of the ſalvages, they ſaw one of theſe marine unicorns lying upon the ſhore, where being caſt by the tides, it was left wallowing upon the ſands. As it is generally reported of theſe ſea-calves, that they love to feed upon graſs; ſo it is likely that theſe fiſhes (which may well be call'd ſea-oxen) take delight to come now and then aſhore.

The ſalvages had no ſooner diſcovered the prey, but they attack'd and kill'd the fiſh, and after they had beaten his horn or teeth into ſeveral pieces, carried them aboard immediately and ſold them to the *Danes*. This fiſh which appears ſo defenceleſs aſhore, is very fierce at ſea, being the ſame thing at ſea to the whale, that the rhinoceros is to the elephant among the terreſtrial beaſts; for he will engage the whale, and run his tooth into his ſides. Some affirm, that they are of ſuch ſtrength as to be able to ſplit a veſſel at ſea, if they run their teeth againſt it, and that ſeveral ſhips have been ſunk by them.

However this traffick was not the main reaſon that had induced the *Danes* to beſtow ſuch vaſt charges upon thoſe voyages: The pilot it ſeems, who was the chief conductor of theſe ſhips, had formerly taken notice of a certain tract near the ſea-ſhore on that coaſt, the ſand whereof had both the colour and full weight of gold oar; he thought it beſt to improve this opportunity, he gather'd as much of it, as the ſhip aboard of which he was could well carry, and ſo ſet ſail for *Denmark*, telling the ſhips crew, that they were all rich enough, if they could come ſafely thither.

The great marſhal of *Denmark*, who was governor and the firſt eſtabliſher of this company, being ſurpriz'd at their ſudden return, the pilot told him, that his ſhip being loaden with gold, they had done their buſineſs beyond expectation. But the great marſhal being a perſon not eaſily to be impos'd upon, he ſent ſome of this ſand to the goldſmiths of *Copenhagen*, who not being able to bring as much as one ſingle grain of gold out of it, the grand marſhal was ſo enraged at the folly of the pilot, that, to give all poſſible demonſtrations that could be to the reſt of the company, that he had not the leaſt hand in ſo groſs a miſcarriage, he commanded the pilot immediately to weigh anchor, and to throw the whole charge of this pretended gold oar into the *Baltick* ſea: The pilot was forced to obey, but finding himſelf at once deſpoiled of all his hopes, died ſoon after, as it is ſuppoſed, for grief.

However, the great marſhal had ſufficient occaſion afterwards to repent of this raſh reſolution; for (as he told me himſelf) not long after, ſuch another gold duſt or ſand being found in the mines of *Norway*, an aſſay-maſter, who was lately ſettled at *Copenhagen*, found means to ſeparate a conſiderable quantity of gold, in proportion of the oar, ſo that the *Danes* in all probability, loſt a great treaſure by the ignorance of the other goldſmiths (in whoſe ſkill they confided) who perhaps would not have drawn any gold ever out of the oar of *Peru*.

This was the laſt voyage undertaken by the *Danes* for the diſcovery of *Greenland*; in this voyage they brought along with them that great piece of an unicorn's horn, which, as we told you before, the great duke of *Muſcovy*'s phyſician diſcover'd to be the tooth of a fiſh; which the maſter of the houſe, where the ambaſſador lodged, and who belong'd to the *Greenland* company, ſhew'd us, being valued at 6000 rixdollars.

The *Daniſh* ſhip, at the time of their departure from the *Greenland* coaſt, ſeized two of the ſalvages of that countrey aboard them, in order to carry them to *Denmark*: After they were come into the main ſea, they looſened theſe poor wretches of their bonds, who guided by a violent deſire after their native countrey, laid hold of the firſt opportunity, and throwing themſelves overboard, did endeavour to reach that ſhore by ſwimming, tho' queſtionleſs they were devoured by the waves, they being too great a diſtance from it.

I have hitherto given you an account of what I was able to learn, as well of the *Old* as the *New Greenland*, the firſt inhabited by the *Norwegians*, the ſecond diſcover'd by the *Norwegians*, *Danes* and *Engliſh*, whilſt they were endeavouring to recover the paſſage in the firſt. 'Tis very probable that the paſſage between the *Old Greenland* and *Iſeland*, has been ſtop'd up by the vaſt ice ſhoals forced thither during the extremity of the winter ſeaſon; and by the ſtrong north-eaſt winds from the *Frozen-Sea*, and gathered into vaſt ice mountains in theſe ſtreights; whereby the free paſſage for ſhips being quite interrupted, thoſe mariners who were ſent in queſt after the recovery of *Old Greenland*, were forced to ſteer their courſe towards the cape *Farewel*, and the gulph of *Davis*, lying to the eaſt, being that part of the countrey now known by the name of *New Greenland*; it being certain by ſo many reiterated trials and experiments, that the

the paſſage betwixt *Iſeland* and the *Old Greenland*, has been quite loſt, which muſt be attributed to its being ſtopped up by the ice mountains.

The *Iſeland* chronicle, in that chapter which treats of the old paſſage, mentions ſomething which ſeems much to confirm the truth of this aſſertion, *viz.* That half ways betwixt *Iſeland* and *Old Greenland*; there were a conſiderable number of ſmall rocky iſles, frequented only by bears; betwixt which, it is likely, theſe ice ſhoals might be forced in betwixt thoſe rocks, with ſuch violence, and in ſuch vaſt heaps, that the ſun being not ſtrong enough to melt them in the ſummer ſeaſon, they became in proceſs of time to be petrified, and conſequently ſtop'd up the whole paſſage into the *Old Greenland*; ſo that ever ſince there has not been the leaſt news heard of the poſterity of thoſe *Norwegians* that ſettled there.

'Tis not unlikely, that the ſame plague which raged in 1348, all over the north, being tranſplanted out of *Norway* into *Greenland*, did ſweep away moſt of their inhabitants, as it happened in divers other countries of the north. I am apt to perſuade myſelf, that *Gotſke Lindenau*, who, as I told you, ſteer'd his courſe to the north-eaſt, in his voyage, did either actually come to the ſhore of the *Old Greenland*, or at leaſt very near it; and that the two ſalvages he took in thoſe parts, were actually of the poſterity of the antient *Norwegians*, that ſettled in *Old Greenland*.

On the other hand, I have heard it affirm'd by very conſiderable perſons, who ſaw and converſed with them at *Copenhagen*, that neither theſe, nor the other ſalvages, brought from the gulph of *Davis* (tho' much different both in their manners and language) had any thing either in their language or manners, that had the leaſt relation either with *Denmark* or *Norway*; nay, that the language of thoſe ſalvages was ſo far from having any congruity with that of the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, that even they could not as much as underſtand one word they ſaid.

The *Daniſh* chronicle takes particular notice, that the three ſalvages brought from the gulph of *Davis* by the *Engliſh* pilot, ſpoke ſo faſt and thick, that one could not hear them ſpeak diſtinctly, except theſe words, *Oxa indecha*; the ſignification of which words, no body has been able to underſtand hitherto. 'Tis beyond all diſpute, that that part of *Greenland*, known by the name of the *Old Greenland*, is only a ſlender part of that vaſt tract of northern land, ſo often mentioned in this treatiſe; and, that the ſhore is oppoſite and neareſt to *Iſeland*, as alſo that the *Norwegians*, who ſettled there, did not advance very far into the countrey, no more than thoſe, who ſince that time have diſcover'd the *New Greenland*, did ever advance farther than to the ports, and upon the ſhore; the moſt of them (as we told you before) not daring as much as to venture to ſet foot aſhore.

I had it from the lord great marſhal of *Denmark*'s own mouth, that in the laſt voyage made thither by the *Danes* in 1636, they by certain ſigns enquired of the *Greenlanders*, who came to traffick with them, whether there lived another people like themſelves, beyond the mountains they ſaw, about ten or twelve leagues diſtant from the ſea ſide; whereupon the ſalvages did give them to underſtand by certain ſigns, that there actually lived other men, having no hair upon their heads, on the other ſide of thoſe mountains; that they were of a gigantick ſtature, with vaſt bows and arrows, killing all ſtrangers that came into their countrey. But no real certainty can be given of theſe people, no more than of the countrey they inhabit; both the ancient and modern hiſtories being ſilent in this point; the only thing we are certain of is, that *Greenland* is without compariſon of a much larger extent, than has been hitherto diſcovered by the *Norwegians*, *Danes* and *Engliſh*.

I was willing to enlarge my ſelf the more upon this ſubject, in order to the repreſenting to you two other things: (1.) That it is not very certain, whether *Greenland* is coherent with the continent of *Aſia*, near the *Grand-Tartary*: (2.) No more, than whether it be contiguous to *America*. Concerning the firſt, I can tell you, that the vaſt ice mountains near *Nova-Zembla*, have hitherto ſo infeſted the paſſage thereabouts, that no body has been able to determine, whether there be a paſſage that way into the ſea of the eaſt; for tho' the moſt ſkilful pilots and mariners have been employed in finding it out, they could never come beyond the cape of *Spitzbergen*, accounted by the *Danes* a part of *Greenland*, whereabouts they catch moſt of the whales tranſported afterwards into *Europe*: The *Dutch* here have their huts for the management of their trade, and with other nations ſend thither ſhips every year.

I can't upon this occaſion forbear to give you an account of what I had the honour to learn from the grand-marſhal of *Denmark*'s own mouth, concerning this part of *Greeland*, and the adjacent ſea; nay, ſuch was his generoſity, that not ſatisfied to have told it me by way of mouth, he would give himſelf the trouble of writing it in a letter to me, which I carefully preſerve as a glorious proof of his generoſity

and favour towards me, in hopes of meeting before long, with a favourable opportunity of ſhowing the ſame to you. But what do I ſay of ſhowing you his letter, when there is ſo great a proſpect, that you may ſuddenly ſee his excellency in perſon; it being at preſent reported here at the *Hague*, as a thing unqueſtionable, that this great perſon, with the counteſs *Eleonor* his ſpouſe, the daughter of the king of *Denmark*, are gone lately from *Copenhagen* to *France*, where this great perſonage is to reſide with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary from his majeſty of *Denmark*: This is the ſame great perſon, of whoſe moſt excellent qualifications, I have ſent ſuch ample praiſes to our dear friend Mr. *Burdelot*, when I gave him an account of that famous interview betwixt the two plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* and *Denmark* at the bridge of *Brenſbroe*, on account of a negotiation of peace, betwixt the two northern crowns; which was at laſt happily concluded by the interceſſion and indefatigable care of my lord ambaſſador from our moſt illuſtrious king: This interview was one of the moſt glorious that had been ſeen for a long time, where the two greateſt men of the two northern crowns, *viz.* the grand marſhal of *Denmark*, and the lord chancellor of *Sweden*, did meet one another with an inexpreſſible veneration, and all the marks of a moſt generous courage; and our ambaſſador had there the honour to eſtabliſh a moſt intimate friendſhip between thoſe two great perſonages.

Of the lord chancellor of *Sweden*, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak upon another occaſion, and it is beyond my preſent purpoſe to enter upon a panegyrick of the grand marſhal of *Denmark*; ſo I will only aſſure you, that whenever you ſhall have the opportunity of ſeeing this great miniſter, you will be ſatisfied both in reſpect of his extraordinary courage and refined wit, and by his noble preſence, that he not only deſerves the honour of managing all the affairs of moment in the north, but alſo of a far greater empire.

Add to theſe his hiſtorical virtues, that he is a compleat philoſopher who diſdains all pomp and vanities, but in lieu hereof is endowed with the moſt generous inclinations in the world, which renders his converſation the moſt agreeable in the univerſe. This great perſon had in his ſervice, among many others, a certain *Spaniſh* gentleman named *Leonin*, who being a great naturaliſt, he ſent him to *Spitzbergen*, in order to give him an account of what obſervations he could make there; whereof I will give a brief account.

This countrey is ſituate under the 78 degree of elevation, and not improperly call'd *Spitzbergen*, i. e. *peaked Mountains*, from thoſe peaked mountains wherewith it is covered. Theſe mountains are a mixture of ſand, or rather gravel, and ſmall flat ſtones joined pretty cloſe together, not unlike that which we commonly call the grey *Ardoiſe* ſtone. The mountains increaſe in bulk every year, ſo as to be plainly diſcovered by thoſe who ſail that way; *Leonin* went aſhore, as deep into the countrey as he durſt venture, and found the whole countrey, as far as his eyeſight could carry, all covered with theſe peaked hills; and met with no living creature except ſome few foxes; he was not a little ſurprized to diſcover upon one of theſe hills, about a league from the ſeaſide, a ſmall maſt of a ſhip, with one of its pulleys ſtill faſtened to it; this made him aſk the ſeamen how that maſt came there, who told him they were not able to tell, but were ſure they had ſeen it as long as they had uſed that coaſt. Perhaps formerly the ſea might either cover or come near this mountain, where ſome ſhip or other being ſtranded, this maſt is ſome remnant of that wreck.

A deſcription of Spitzbergen.

They have ſome graſs, but ſo ſhort, that it is ſcarce to be ſeen above ground, or beyond the ſtones; for to ſpeak properly, here is ſcarce any earth, but only ſmall ſtones or gravel, betwixt which comes forth a ſort of moſs, like that which grows upon the barks of trees, in other parts of the northern climate, which ſerves for food for the reendeer, and is ſo nouriſhing to them, that they become abſolutely fat by it; and I remember, that the grand marſhal had once one of theſe creatures kill'd, which had at leaſt four inches of fat.

This countrey is a deſart, and not habitable, by reaſon of the exceſſive cold; for though the ſun does not ſet here for four whole months in the year; and that for ſix weeks more, it does not go below the horizon above three ells: To ſpeak after the *Danes*, who ſeem to have taken their menſuration of the heaven from *Virgil*; meaning that at midnight (if you may ſo call it) the ſun does approach only within eleven degrees and half of the horizon in this countrey for the ſpace of ſix weeks: As the cold is very fierce here, ſo the ſunbeams are very bright and piercing, and conſequently this ſubtilty of the air, encreaſes the effects of the cold.

There is no living near theſe mountains, which ſcarce having any ſolidity, they conſtantly ſend forth certain exhalations, which pierce the whole body in a very little time; to prevent which, the beſt remedy is to expoſe yourſelf to the ſunbeams

beams in a place where they may ſurround you on all ſides without any obſtacle.

They have great quantities of bears in that countrey; they are all white, ſome living in the water, others upon the ſhore. They are commonly ſeen ſwimming a good way out at ſea, or elſe upon the great ice ſhoals. The grand Marſhal had cauſed ſeveral of theſe creatures to be taken alive, which he kept at *Copenhagen*; and when he had a mind to ſhew ſome ſport to his acquaintance, they uſed to take a walk along the ſea-ſhore, and in ſome ſandy but deep place where the water was very clear, cauſe theſe bears to be thrown into the water, where they could ſee them dive quite to the bottom; he told me, that it was one of the beſt diverſions in the world, to ſee thoſe creatures plunge themſelves down to the bottom of the ſea, and to ſport there for two or three hours ſucceſſively; nay, he believed they would have continued there for a whole day, had they not been drawn out by the ropes and chains that were faſtened round their bodies.

Whales of Spitzbergen. The ſea of *Spitzbergen* produces abundance of whales of ſuch a bigneſs, that ſome taken hereabouts have been found to be no leſs than two hundred foot long, and of a proportionable bigneſs in the circumference of their bodies. But they frequently take thoſe of a hundred and thirty and a hundred and ſixty foot long. Theſe vaſt creatures have no teeth, and within theſe vaſt bodies they ſeldom find any thing except ten or twelve handsful of a kind of ſmall black ſpiders, progenerated by the corrupted air of the ſea, and ſome ſmall quantity of green herds tore up from the bottom of the ſea; it is moſt probable that theſe whales don't live upon theſe ſpiders, neither upon theſe herbs, but upon the ſea, which produces both; the ſea hereabouts being ſo covered with theſe inſects, that it appears quite black, an infallible ſign to thoſe who go about catching of whales, that they are likely to make a good booty; the whales generally delight in that part of the ſea which produces theſe inſects.

Sometimes they take of theſe whales in ſo vaſt numbers, and of ſo prodigious bigneſs, that the ſhips are not ſufficient to carry all the lard, but are forced to leave part of it behind them, in order to carry it away the next year.

It is obſervable that never any thing corrupts or putrifies in this countrey; even the dead carcaſſes buried thirty years before, appear as entire and as well coloured as they did at the ſame moment they gave up the ghoſt.

Here are certain huts erected a long time ago for the convenience of boiling the whale oil or greaſe; theſe appear the ſelf-ſame, without the leaſt alteration, now, as they did from the beginning, when they were built, the wood being as firm and as freſh, as it was the day it was cut from the tree. To ſpeak the truth of theſe northern parts, the dead fare better here than the living; for if the firſt don't corrupt, the living don't keep long in health; witneſs poor *Leonin* (before mentioned) who returned from this voyage ſo cramp'd with cold, that he lived not long after.

All the birds you meet with here, are water-birds, there being not one kind of them living upon land. They have ducks in great abundance, beſides divers other ſorts of water-fowl not known to ſtrangers. The grand marſhal of *Denmark* has ſeveral of them by him ſtuffed out, it being impoſſible to bring them to *Copenhagen* alive. Their feathers and beaks are not unlike thoſe of the *Parequets*, and their feet are like thoſe of the ducks. Thoſe that have taken them, aſſure us, that they ſing very deliciouſly, eſpecially when many of them ſing together, they make a moſt harmonious noiſe.

Thoſe that ſailed to *Spitzbergen* to catch whales, arrive there in the month of *July*, and return from thence in *Auguſt*. If they come before *July*, they can't approach the ſhore, by reaſon of the vaſt ice-ſhoals, and for the ſame reaſon they muſt not venture to ſtay longer than about the middle of *Auguſt* at fartheſt; for nothing is more frequent than to ſee vaſt ice-ſhoals in theſe ſeas, ſometimes 60, 70 or 80 fathoms thick.

——*Quæ tantum vertice ad auras*
Æthereas tantum radice ad Tartara tendunt.

For in certain places near this ſhore, the ice-ſhoals are ſo thick, that they reach the bottom of the ſea, and theſe encreaſing by degrees, by the occaſion of new ice-ſhoals, ariſe as high above the ſurface of the water, as they are deep below it. Theſe Ice-ſhoals are as bright and tranſparent as glaſs: What renders the navigation hereabouts moſt dangerous is, the uncertainty of the currents, occaſioned, as I ſuppoſe, by the ſudden melting of the ice, which ſometimes congeals and melts in different places, at no great diſtance, at the ſame time.

Uncertainty about Greenland *whether a continent or iſle.* It ought therefore not to ſeem ſtrange to you, if I am not able to reſolve abſolutely the firſt propoſition, *viz.* whether *Greenland* is coherent to the continent of *Aſia*, and the *Grand-Tartary* or not, by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance there is between us and the *Frozen-Sea*; the uncertainty of the melting

melting of the ice, the violence of the tempeſts that reign frequently near theſe coaſts, the uncertainty of the true courſe to be taken, the defarts you meet with there, and what is worſt, the want of all manner of ſubſiſtence and conveniencies in theſe defarts: All theſe taken together, are ſuch inſurmountable obſtacles, as render this diſcovery paſt all hopes of ſucceſs. The ſecond propoſition being involved in no leſs difficulties than the firſt; we can with no more certainty affirm of this, than of the former, whether *Greenland* joins with the continent of *America* or not.

Of this I can give you not a more convincing proof, than what I intended to oblige you with, *viz.* The account of a voyage made by a *Daniſh* captain named *John Munek* (which I promiſed you long ago) who attempted the diſcovery of the *eaſtern paſſage*, towards the north-weſt, betwixt *Greenland* and *America*; the ſame being not in the leaſt foreign to my preſent purpoſe; for beſides that it contains no ſmall varieties, it has a particular relation to *Greenland* and the adjacent iſles.

Munek's voyage to diſcover a paſſage between Greenland and America.

The king of *Denmark* (that now reigns) being prevailed upon to encourage by his authority, the diſcovery of a paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies*, thro' a ſuppoſed ſtreight betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, engaged one captain *Munek* to undertake this voyage. A certain *Engliſh* captain named *Hudſon*, had ſome time before attempted the diſcovery of this ſea and ſtreights with the ſame deſign, but was loſt in the voyage, tho' no body knows how; it is likely that his boldneſs having ſome relation to the preſumption of *Icarus*, his wings were render'd uſeleſs by the cold, as the others were by the heat of the ſun, and ſo met with the ſame fate of periſhing in the ſea; which like that of *Icarus*, got from him the name of *Hudſon's ſtreights*, and *Hudſon's bay*.

Captain *Munek* ſet ſail from the *Sound* the 16th of *May* 1619, with two veſſels, equipped at the charge of the king of *Denmark*, one mann'd with forty eight, and the other with ſixteen men. He arrived the 28th of *January* on the cape *Farvel* (as the *Danes* call it) i. e. *Farewell*; having got its name queſtionleſs from the opinion the *Danes* have conceived, that ſuch as go beyond it, are paſſing into another world, and take a long farewel from this part of it. This cape *Farewell*, as I told you before, lies under 60 degrees and a half of elevation, in a mountainous country, covered always with ſnow and ice; and as theſe vary frequently in colour, and with their whiteneſs and tranſparency dazzle the eye, the true ſhape of this cape has not been diſcovered hitherto.

Comes to Hudſon's ſtreights.

From this cape captain *Munek* ſteering his coaſt to the weſt by north, entered *Hudſon's ſtreights*, where meeting with abundance of ice, he avoided the danger thereof, by keeping out at ſea. Hence it is that he adviſes thoſe that will attempt this paſſage, not to go too far to the weſt, by reaſon of the many ice ſhoals, and impetuous currents that are near the *American* coaſt. He tells us, that the eighth of *July* there aroſe ſo thick and ſtrong a froſt in theſe ſeas, that all his ſhip tackling were covered with ice-tags, ſo that they were ſcarce able to manage them; but that the next day from three a clock in the afternoon till ſun-ſet, it was ſo exceſſive hot, that they were forced to pull off their clothes.

A ſudden change of weather.

Coming into *Hudſon's ſtreights*, he gave it the name of *Chriſtian's ſtreights*, after the king of *Denmark* his maſter; and landed ſome of his men the 17th of *July* in an iſle upon the coaſt of *Greenland*. Thoſe that were ſent to view this iſle, aſſured the captain, that they had diſcovered ſome foot-ſteps of men, but no inhabitants. However the next day they ſaw a whole troop of them near the ſea-ſhore, who being amazed and frightned at the ſight of the *Danes*, did run away as faſt as they could, but had no ſooner hid their arms, they carried along with them, behind an adjacent huge maſs of ſtones, but they advanced towards the *Danes*, and in an obliging manner returned the ſalute given by them, with this caution however, to keep betwixt the *Danes* and the place, where they had concealed their arms. But the *Danes* found means by ſeveral turnings and windings to amuſe them ſo long, till coming near to the ſtone heap, they ſeized upon their bows, quivers, and arrows.

The inhabitants.

The poor ſalvages, quite diſmay'd at their loſs, did in moſt ſubmiſſive poſture, and with all the engaging ſigns in the world, beg the *Danes* to reſtore them their weapons, giving them to underſtand, that as they lived upon hunting, and muſt periſh for want of them, they would give them their clothes in exchange for them. The *Danes*, moved with compaſſion, reſtored them their arms, which they joyfully received upon their bended knees. The *Danes* to engage them the more, produced their toys, and made ſome trifling preſents to the ſalvages, who were infinitely delighted with them, and in lieu thereof gave to the *Danes* divers ſorts of birds, and ſome fat of fiſhes. One of theſe ſalvages caſting his eyes upon a little looking-glaſs, in which he ſaw his face, was ſo taken with it, that he put it in his boſom, and run away as faſt

as

as his legs would carry him, the *Danes* having the diverſion of laughing at his ſimplicity, as they had occaſion to do ſoon after at the reſt of the ſalvages, who ſeeing one of their ſhip's crew, with black hair and flat-faced, not unlike themſelves, miſtook him for one of their countrymen, and careſs'd him as if they had been very old acquaintance.

Captain *Muneck* left this iſle the next day, being the 19th of *July*, with an intention to purſue his voyage, but by reaſon of the vaſt ice ſhoals, was forced to return to his old ſtation, but could not get ſight of any of the ſalvages again, tho' they did all they could to entice them to the ſea ſhore, by hanging little knives, looking-glaſſes, and other toys on ſmall ropes. Whether it was out of fear of the *Danes*, or that they were forbidden to keep any farther correſpondence with them by the chief judge or governour, is uncertain.

Captain *Muneck* meeting with no men, went often a hunting, and having taken abundance of reen-deer in this iſle, he gave it the name of *Reinſundt*, i. e. *the gulph of Renes*, and the road where they lay at anchor, *Muneckens*, after his own name. This iſle lies at 61 deg. 20 min. elevation; where after having ſet up the arms of the king of *Denmark* his maſter, he departed a ſecond time, the 22d of *July*; but was ſoon after ſurprized by ſuch violent tempeſts, and vaſt ice ſhoals, that with much ado he made ſhift to ſave himſelf the 28th of *July* betwixt two iſles, where he caſt all his anchors, and for his better ſecurity, was forc'd to faſten his veſſels with long ropes on the ſhore.

Muneck comes to an anchor betwixt two iſles.

It was no ſooner low water, but the *Danes* found themſelves all upon dry land, and the water beginning to riſe again, carried along with it ſuch a prodigious quantity of ice ſhoals, that had they not been day and night upon their guard, they would have been in greater danger here than in the open ſea.

Betwixt theſe two iſles, there was a huge ice ſhoal, about twenty two fathom high; which being looſen'd from the ſhore, and broken in two pieces, did ſink to the bottom of the ſea with ſo violent a motion, that the waves did ariſe like mountains, as if it had been a violent tempeſt, and put our ſhip in great danger of being ſwallow'd up by them.

They did not ſee any inhabitants here, but diſcovered ſeveral foot-ſteps, and other marks which ſufficiently convinced them, that they were either at that time, or had been formerly inhabited by men. They found here divers minerals, and among the reſt, great ſtore of *Talc*, of which they carried off ſeveral tons into ſhips. They ſaw ſeveral other iſles thereabouts, which in all probability were inhabited as well as theſe; but the ſhore being ſo rocky and full of ice, that there was ſcarce ever any thing ſeen like it, the *Danes* durſt not venture too near them. Theſe iſles are ſituated at 62 deg. 20 min. about fifty leagues within the *Chriſtian's ſtreights*. Captain *Muneck* gave that part where he lay at anchor, the name of *Hareſound*, i. e. *the bay or road or hares*, from the vaſt number of hares they ſaw in this iſle, and ſet up *Chriſtian* IV. there, which the *Danes* generally expreſs by this character C4.

He left theſe iſles the 9th of *Auguſt*, ſteering his courſe to the W. S. W. with a N. W. wind, and the 10th came on the ſouthern ſhore of *Chriſtian's ſtreights*, being the *American* coaſt itſelf. Purſuing his courſe, he diſcovered a large iſle to the N. W. unto which he gave the name of *Sneoeuland*, i. e. *the Snow-iſle*.

The 20th of *Auguſt* he ſteer'd his courſe from the W. to the N. *and then* (as the journal ſays) *I took the right courſe at the elevation of 62 deg. 20 min.* But it being a very thick fog, they could diſcover no land; tho' as the ſame journal ſays, *The ſtreights of* Chriſtian *is thereabouts not above ſixteen leagues broad.* From whence 'tis reaſonable to conclude, that it is broader in other places.

Breadth of Hudſon's *or* Chriſtian's *ſtreights.*

Out of the ſtreight he ſailed into *Hudſon's* ſea, the name whereof he changed likewiſe, as he had done that of the ſtreights, giving it two names inſtead of one; for that part which waſhes the ſhore of *America*, he called the *New-ſea*, and the other part towards the ſide of *Greenland* (if it may be ſuppoſed to belong to that countrey) *Chriſtian's ſea*.

Hudſon's *or* Chriſtians *ſea.*

He ſteer'd his courſe as much as poſſible he could to the W. N. W. till finding themſelves at 63 deg. 20 min. elevation; they were ſo entangled amongſt the ice, that they were forced to ſeek for ſhelter on the *Greenland* coaſt, and to paſs the winter there; whence it is that they gave the name of *Muneckens vinter haven*, i. e. *Muneck's winter haven*, to that road; and to the track of land along the coaſt, the name of *New Denmark*.

The author of this journal has paſs'd by in ſilence ſeveral places they ſaw in their paſſage thither, becauſe having inſerted their names in a peculiar map, he directs his readers thither for farther inſtructions. He ſpeaks only of two iſles in the *Chriſtian's ſea*, call'd by him the *two ſiſter iſles*, and of one more much larger than the former,

towards

towards the *New-ſea*, unto which he has given the name of *Dikes Oeuland*. He adviſes theſe that intend to paſs the *Chriſtian's ſtreights*, to keep in the middle of the ſtreights as much as poſſibly they can, by reaſon of the rapidity of the contrary currents, occaſion'd by the flux and reflux of the ſeas on both coaſts, which carrying along with them vaſt ice ſhoals, put the veſſels in frequent danger of being loſt. He adds, that the tides in the *Chriſtian's ſea*, keep their certain times, from five to five hours, and that theſe tides are regulated according to the courſe of the moon.

Muneck's Haven. Captain *Muneck* came to an anchor the 7th of *September* at *Munecken's vinter haven*, where after having ſomewhat refreſh'd his men, he order'd his ſhips to be drawn into a little creek near the harbour, in order to have them refitted, and to preſerve them againſt the force of the ice. The next thing they had to do, was to erect ſome huts, to defend themſelves againſt the extremity of the cold of the approaching winter ſeaſon, which would not permit them to return homewards at that time. *Muneck's haven* is ſituate at the entrance of a river, which was not frozen in *October*, tho' the ſea was already full of ice near the ſhore.

The countrey near it. Captain *Muneck* ſays, that the 7th of *October* he went up the river in a ſloop, to view the ſituation of the adjacent countrey, but could not go farther than a league and a half, being ſtop'd by the rocks that are croſs the river. Finding the paſſage by the river thus cloſed up, he took along with him ſome ſoldiers and ſeamen, and marched along with them about three or four leagues deep into the countrey, in hopes of meeting with ſome of the inhabitants, but found nothing like it that way. However, in his return thro' another part of the country, he found a pretty broad and high ſtone, and upon it the figure of a devil, with his horns and claws very diſtinctly painted. Near it was a place incloſed with ſmall ſtones about eight foot ſquare: On one ſide of this ſquare place he ſaw a little hill compoſed of ſmall ſtones, *One of their altars.* intermix'd with the moſs of trees. On the oppoſite ſide of the ſame ſquare, ſtood another ſquare ſtone, not unlike an altar, reſting upon two other ſtones, and upon the altar, he ſaw three pieces of charcoal laid croſſways upon one another.

Captain *Muneck* ſaw ſeveral ſuch like altars in his return, with charcoal upon them, juſt like the former; and tho' he could not as much as get ſight of one ſingle perſon of the natives, yet was it obſervable, that near every one of theſe altars they ſaw, they obſerved the foot-ſteeps of men; whence they conjectured, that the natives of the countrey uſed to aſſemble near theſe altars, to perform their ſacrifices, which in all likelihood they celebrated either with fire, or to the fire. They farther took notice, that near thoſe places, where they diſcovered theſe foot-ſteps of men, they found abundance of bones gnawed, which as they ſuppoſed, were the remnants of the ſacrificed beaſts, eaten by the ſalvages at the ſacrifice, after their faſhon, or rather torn or gnaw'd to pieces with their hands and teeth, as our dogs do with a bone.

Their ſacrifices.

In the woods, thro' which they paſs'd, they found abundance of trees, ſawed or cut in pieces by iron inſtruments; as alſo abundance of dogs muzzled with ſmall twigs of trees. But what confirm'd them moſt of all in their opinion, *viz.* That this was not deſtitute of inhabitants was, that they had diſcovered the marks where tents or huts had been erected in divers places, and many pieces of bears and wolf-ſkins, as alſo of ſtags, ſea-calves and dogs-ſkins, which had queſtionleſs ſerved to cover theſe tents withal; it being more than probable, from what has been ſaid upon this head, that theſe inhabitants lead a vagabond life, like the *Scytes*, or encamp in troops like the *Laplanders*. *Inhabitants.*

The *Danes* having fix'd their huts, which were to ſerve them all the winter, began to provide wood to keep themſelves warm, and veniſon for their food. Captain *Muneck* was the firſt who ſhot a white bear with his own gun, which they eat with a good appetite, and ſay, did reliſh and digeſt very well. They alſo kill'd abundance of hares, partridges, and other birds; which tho' not expreſs'd by their peculiar names, he ſays are very frequent in *Denmark*. He adds, that they catch'd alſo four black foxes, and ſome ſables, a name the northern nations generally give to the ſable martins. *Living creatures of this countrey.*

What moſt ſurprized the *Danes* was, that they diſcovered in the ſky divers phenomena they never obſerved in *Denmark*. Thus, (as the journal aſſures us) there appeared the 27th of *November*, three diſtinct ſuns in the firmament, tho' it was a very thick and groſs air. The 24th of *January* next following, two ſuns appeared very diſtinctly; and the 10th of *December*, or the 20th of the old ſtile, they obſerved an eclipſe of the moon about eight a clock at night; and the ſame night, they ſaw for two hours together, the moon ſurrounded by a very bright circle, with a croſs in it, dividing the whole body of the moon into four

four parts. This meteor ſeem'd to be the fore-runner of the enſuing miſeries, and almoſt total deſtruction of the *Danes*, as you will ſee out of the following account.

Extremity of cold. The extremity of the cold began by this time to increaſe to ſuch a degree, that there lay ice-ſhoals near the ſhore of 300 and 360 foot thick; and their beer and wines, nay, even the moſt ſpirituous *Spaniſh* wines and ſtrong brandies, froze from top to bottom in the veſſels that contained them, which breaking aſunder, and the liquors being congealed into entire pieces of ice, they were forced to cut out pieces of them with their hatchets, which being melted, before the fire, they afterwards uſed to drink; nay, ſuch was the exceſs of the cold, that if they happened to forget a ſmall quantity of water in any of their tin or leather veſſels, they found them certainly crack'd the next morning, in that very place where the water had begun to freeze.

Miſery of the Danes. Thus the mercileſs cold, which even did not ſpare the metals encreaſed its rigour with ſuch violence, upon the bodies of the miſerable *Danes*, that they fell all ſick, one after another, their ſickneſs encreaſing according to the rigour of the ſeaſon; for being ſeized with a violent looſeneſs, they were emaciated to the laſt degree, till they dropt one after another, there being about the middle of *March* not enough left to keep the guard; ſo that captain *Muneck* himſelf was forced to ſtand centinel at his own hut.

The worſt was, that this diſtemper inſtead of abating did augment with the approach of the ſpring, when their teeth began to looſen in their gums, and their mouths were ſo full of ulcers within, that they could eat no bread, except what was ſteep'd in water. Towards *May*, the miſerable remnants of the *Danes* were attack'd by the bloody flux, and ſuch exceſſive pains in the nervous parts, as if they had been pricked without intermiſſion, with the points of knives. Their bodies did decay viſibly day by day, turned livid and black at laſt, no otherwiſe than if they had been beaten with ſticks, and ſome of them loſt their arms and legs by the violence of the cold. This is properly nothing elſe than the higheſt degree of ſcurvy, a diſtemper very common, and ſufficiently known in the northern parts of the world. Such as died were forced to be kept above ground, the reſt wanting ſtrength to bury them.

By this time the want of bread encreaſing, they were conſtrained to dig under the ſnow, where by good chance they found a certain ſort of berries, which they did feed upon for ſome time; but the worſt was, that they would not keep in the leaſt, wherefore they were obliged to boil and eat them immediately. The journal mentions the 12th of *April* as a very remarkable day, becauſe it then rained the firſt time, after ſeven months, there having not fallen a drop of rain in all that time. *No rain in ſeven months.*

Birds of Greenland. The ſpring rejoyced them with the ſight of many ſorts of birds, none of which had appeared all the winter long, but their weakneſs would not permit them to catch or ſhoot any of them. About the middle of *May* they ſaw abundance of wild geeſe, ſwans, ducks, an infinite number of ſmall birds, patridges, ravens, faulcons, and ſome eagles. Not long after, captain *Muneck* happened to fall ill among the reſt, and on the 4th of *June* was ſo miſerably afflicted with tormenting pains in his limbs, that for four days together he could nor ſtir out of his hut: Not imagining otherwiſe than that his laſt hour was near at hand, he made his laſt will, in which he prayed the next that came to that ſhore, to bury his body, and to be careful of his journal, in order to deliver it to the king of *Denmark*. But about four days after, finding his ſtrength ſomewhat recovered, he made ſhift to peep out of his hut to ſee whether any of his crew were living or not; and out of ſixty four that came along with him, found only two alive. Theſe poor wretches raviſh'd with joy to ſee their captain, revived as it were from the dead, run to him with open arms, and carried him ſtreightways to a fire, wherewith rubbing his joints, they brought him pretty well to himſelf. They then encouraged one another, reſolving to live if poſſible they could, but how was the difficulty; they were forced to look for food under the ſnow, where now and then they found ſome herbs and roots, which had that happy effect upon them, that they began to recover more and more every day. It being then the 10th of *June*, the ice began to melt, which gave them opportunity to catch ſome trouts, ſalmons and other fiſhes: Thus what they catch'd by fiſhing and hunting, furniſhed them with ſufficient food; by which means having now recovered their full ſtrength, they reſolved notwithſtanding all the difficulties and dangers they were to ſurmount, to endeavour to get back to *Denmark*; what haſtened their reſolution was, that about that time the ſummer ſeaſon and rainy weather brought aſhore ſuch vaſt quantities of gnats, that they were not able to abide there.

Captain Muneck *makes his laſt will.*

Recovers.

According to this reſolution, they left their greateſt ſhip behind them, and em-

bark'd aboard the ſmall frigate, the 16th of *July*, and ſet ſail from the ſame port, where I told you they had laid up their ſhips, and was by the captain named *Jans Muneckes Bay*, i. e. *John Muneck's Bay* or port, after his own name. Coming into the *Chriſtian-Sea*, they met with abundance of floating ice-ſhoals, where they loſt their ſloop, and with much ado got their veſſel clear; for having loſt their rudder, they were forced to faſten their ſhip to a vaſt ice-rock till it could be refitted. The ice beginning to melt they found their ſloop again, about ten days after; but this laſted not long, for the ſea freezing and thawing again by turns, they got, not without a great deal of trouble, thro' the *Chriſtian Streight*, and thence by cape *Farewel* into the ocean, where they were ſurpriſed the 3d of *September*, by ſo violent a tempeſt, that they were in great danger of being loſt; the two ſeamen being ſo tired out by the long continuance of the tempeſt, that being forced to commit themſelves to the mercy of the wind and waves, their maſt was brought by the board, and with much ado they got the ſails out of the ſea into the ſhip.

Muneck *returns with two ſeamen only.*

Arrive in Norway.

The fury of the tempeſt being ſomewhat allay'd for ſome days, gave them leiſure and opportunity to get the 21ſt of *September*, into a part of *Norway*, where they came to an anchor with one anchor, the only one they had left.

But when they thought themſelves freed from all danger, they were aſſaulted by another tempeſt, which put them in more danger than ever they had ſeen before; however they had the good fortune once more to eſcape this danger, having found means to run their ſhip among the rocks, they made ſhift to get aſhore, 'till the fury of the tempeſt being paſt, they refitted their veſſel, and in ſome days after got ſafe into *Denmark*, where captain *Muneck* gave an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage, to the king, who received him no otherwiſe, than if had been returned from the dead.

One might reaſonably ſuppoſe, that this voyage would put a period to captain *Muneck*'s misfortunes; but his ill fate not tired yet of purſuing ſo brave a man, the odneſs of the accident that befel him hereafter ought not to be paſs'd by in ſilence.

Muneck *prepares for a ſecond voyage into* Greenland.

After ſome ſtay in *Denmark*, (during which time he muſed upon his laſt miſcarriage, for want of knowledge of the countrey) he began to be perſuaded within himſelf that there was ſtill a poſſibility of finding out a paſſage to the eaſt that way, and therefore reſolved to attempt the ſame a ſecond time. But this being a thing of ſuch a nature, as to require the aſſiſtance of other people, he engaged divers gentlemen of quality, and rich citizens of *Denmark* in the ſame deſign, who entring into a ſociety, they equip'd two veſſels, which they committed to the care of captain *Muneck*.

Having taken effectual care to provide his ſhips with all neceſſaries, and to remedy all the inconveniencies he had been made ſenſible of in his former voyage; when being juſt ready to depart, the king of *Denmark* demanded the captain (as he was taking his leave of him) the day fix'd for his departure; and thus entring upon the diſcourſe of his late voyage into *Greenland*, the king began to upbraid his conduct, as if his ſhips had been loſt by the captain's ill management. His reply happening to be ſomewhat rougher than the king expected, he puſhed him with his cane againſt the breaſt, which the captain taking to heart, went home to bed, and what with grief and want of food (which he refuſed to take) died in ten days after.

Dies of grief.

But it is time to return to the ſubject, that did lead us into this long digreſſion; from what has been ſaid, it ſeems to be evident, that there is a long and broad canal, if not an entire ſea, betwixt *Greenland* and *America*; notwithſtanding which, as we know but very little of that coaſt, it remains doubtful, whether *Greenland* is upon the ſame continent with *America* or not; tho' it ſeems moſt probable it is not, as I told you before. And captain *Muneck* was queſtionleſs of the ſame opinion, without which he would never have taken ſo much pains to engage a whole ſociety of gentlemen to attempt the finding out of this paſſage to the eaſt.

This leads me to a diſcovery of the miſtake of the author, who has publiſhed his diſſertations concerning the origin of the *Americans*, which he deduces from the *Greenlanders*; the firſt inhabitants of which he would make us believe were *Norwegians*, and conſequently that the firſt inhabitants of *America*, were originally of *Norway*. He pretends to juſtify his opinion by a certain imaginary affinity betwixt ſome *American* words that terminate in *Lan* and the termination of *Land*, ſo frequent in the *German*, *Lombard* and *Norwegian* languages, and the reſemblance of the manner of living; that is, as he tells you, betwixt the *Americans* and *Norwegians*, who are, if you will believe him, the *Allemanni* of *Tacitus*: But I don't queſtion to convince you of his miſtake, by the following reaſons: (1.) becauſe the *Norwegians* were not the firſt inhabitants.

The Norwegians *were not the first inhabitants of* Greenland.

habitants of *Greenland*, as is apparent from what has been said upon the head before; and Mr. *Wormius*, that learned and famous antiquary of the north, is so far from tracing the original of the first inhabitants of *America* out of *Greenland*, that on the contrary, he believes the *Skreglingers* or original natives of *Greenland*, about *Westernburgh*, to have been descended from the *Americans*. (2.) He is grievously mistaken in his guess, there being little or no likelihood that *Greenland* is joined to the continent of *America*, neither is that passage so well known, nor so easy as he would have us imagine. (3.) He is no less in an error, in what he says concerning the affinity of the languages and manner of living, betwixt the *Norwegians* and *Americans*; the contrary being made sufficiently evident by the preceeding relation: But supposing the *Norwegian* language to have been introduced in *America*; he must find out another passage for these northern people into *America*, than by the way of *Greenland*.

I will not trouble you with the other mistakes this author has been guilty of in several passages of his dissertations, knowing that you are constantly employed in matters of much more moment, wherewith you have obliged the learned world; and as I must look upon it as an eternal obligation, that you would throw away part of your precious time, in reading so unpolished a work, that has so little resemblance to the nicety of your own excellent pieces, I don't question, but that you are as well pleased to have done with reading of this letter, as I am satisfied to have finished it, and to declare to you, that I shall always be

S I R,

From the *Hague* *Jan.* 18, 1646.

Your most humble and most affectionate Servant.

Captain

Captain *THOMAS JAMES*'s

STRANGE and DANGEROUS

VOYAGE

In his intended DISCOVERY of the

North-West PASSAGE

INTO THE

SOUTH SEA,

In the years 1631 and 1632.

Wherein the MISERIES indured, both

GOING, WINTERING, RETURNING,

And the RARITIES obſerved, both

PHILOSOPHICAL and *MATHEMATICAL*,

Are RELATED at Large.

Publiſhed by His Majeſty's Command.

To which are added

A PLAT or CARD for the ſailing in thoſe Seas.

ALSO

Divers little TABLES of the AUTHOR's, of the VARIATION of the COMPASS, &c.

WITH

An *APPENDIX* concerning LONGITUDE,
By Mr. HENRY GELLIBRAND, Aſtronomy Reader of *Greſham-College, London.*

AND

An ADVICE concerning the PHILOSOPHY of theſe late DISCOVERIES.
By *W. W.*

THE PREPARATIONS TO THE VOYAGE.

HAVING been for many years importuned, by my honourable and worſhipful friends, to undertake the diſcovery of that part of the world, which is commonly called, *The North-Weſt Paſſage into the South-Sea*, and ſo to proceed to *Japan*, and ſo round the world to the weſtward; being preſt forward withal, by ſignifying to me the earneſt deſire the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty had, to be ſatisfied therein: I acquainted my much honoured friends, the merchants of *Briſtol*, therewith; who, as ever they have been benefactors and advancers of them that purſue the ways of honour (together with the enlargement and benefit of his Majeſty's kingdoms) did freely offer to be at the charge of furniſhing forth ſhipping for this purpoſe. And now being thus enabled, I addreſſed my ſelf to the honourable Sir *Thomas Roe*, Kt. (as to a learned, and furtheſt employed traveller by ſea and land, this day in *England*) who joyfully preſented theirs and mine own voluntary willingneſs, to do His Majeſty ſervice in this kind; who moſt graciouſly accepted of the offer; and encouraged me by many favours, in my weak undertakings. Wherefore with all ſpeed, I contrived in my mind, the beſt model I could, whereby I might effect my deſign. The adventurers moneys were inſtantly ready, and put into a treaſurer's hand, that there might be no want of preſent pay, for any thing I thought neceſſary for the voyage.

I was ever of the opinion, that this particular action might be better effected by one ſhip, than by two conſorted; becauſe in thoſe icy ſeas, ſo much ſubject to fogs, that they might be eaſily ſeparated; I forbear to ſpeak of ſtorms and other accidents; as that of a rendezvous in diſcoveries, cannot ſurely, or without much hindrance be appointed; and that ſpeedy perſeverance is the life of ſuch a buſineſs: Wherefore I reſolved to have but one ſhip, the ſhip-boat, and a ſhallop.

A great ſhip (as by former experience I had found) was unfit to be forced thorow the ice, wherefore I made choice of a well-conditioned ſtrong ſhip, of the burthen of 70 ton; and in GOD, and that only ſhip, to put the hope of my future fortunes.

The ſhip reſolved upon, and that in leſs time than eighteen months our voyage could not be effected. I next conſidered how our ſhip of ſeventy tons in bulk and weight might now be proportioned, in victuals, namely, and other neceſſaries; this was all done, as contractedly as we could; and the number of men it would ſerve, at ordinary allowance for the forementioned time, was found to be twenty two, a ſmall number to perform ſuch a buſineſs, yet double ſufficient to ſail the ſhip with provident carefulneſs.

The baker, brewer, butcher, and others, undertake their offices upon their credits, knowing it to be a general buſineſs, and their utter undoing if they failed in performance; but truly they proved themſelves maſters in their arts, and have my praiſe for their honeſt care; in them conſiſting a great part of the performance of the voyage.

The carpenters go in hand with the ſhip, to make her as ſtrong and ſerviceable as poſſible in their underſtandings they could.

Every thing being duly proportioned, and my ſmall number of men known, I began to think of the quality and ability they ſhould be of.

Voluntary loyterers I at firſt diſclaimed, and publiſhed I would have all unmarried, approved, able and healthy ſeamen: In a few days an abundant number preſented themſelves, furniſhed with general ſufficiency in *Marine* occaſions. I firſt made choice of a *Boatſwain*, and ſome to work with him, for fitting the rigging of the ſhip; and as things went forward, ſhipped the *ſubordinate Crew*. And all things being perfectly ready, I ſhip'd the *Maſter*'s *Mates*; and laſt of all, the *Maſter* of my ſhip, and my *Lieutenant*. The whole company were ſtrangers to me, and to each other, (as by way of familiarity) but yet privately recommended by worthy merchants, for their ability and faithfulneſs. I was ſought to by divers, that had been in places of the chiefeſt command in this action formerly, and others alſo that had uſed the *northerly Icy-Seas*; but I utterly refuſed them all, and would by no means have any with me that had been in the like voyage or adventures, for ſome private reaſons unneceſſary here to be related. Keeping thus the power in my own hands, I had all the men to acknowledge immediate dependance upon my ſelf alone, both for direction and diſpoſing of all, as well of the navigation, as all other things whatſoever.

In the mean time, the better to ſtrengthen my former ſtudies in this buſineſs, I ſeek after *Journals*, *Plots*, *Diſcourſes*, or whatever elſe might help my underſtanding.

I ſet ſkillful workmen to make me *Quadrants*, *Staves*, *Semicircles*, *&c.* as much, namely, as concern the fabrick of them, not truſting to their mechanick hands to divide them, but had them divided by an ingenious practitioner in the *Mathematicks*. I likewiſe had *Compaſs-Needles*, made after the reaſonableſt and trueſt ways that could be thought on: And by the firſt of *April*, every thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful ſhip.

In the mean ſpace I made a journey up to *London*, to know his Majeſty's further pleaſure, and to make known to him my readineſs; who calling for the before mentioned honourable knight, I ſpeedily after received his Majeſty's royal letters, with directions for proceeding in my voyage, and my diſcharge; whereupon I had forth the ſhip into the road, expecting a fair wind to begin the voyage.

A

VOYAGE

For the DISCOVERY of a

North-Weſt Paſſage

INTO THE

SOUTH SEA.

THE 2d of *May* 1631, I took my leave of the worſhipful merchant-adventurers in this action, in the city of *Briſtol*; and being accompanied with a reverend divine, one Mr. *Thomas Palmer*, and divers of the merchants, with others of my kindred and native countreymen, I repaired on board. Here Mr. *Palmer* made a ſermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly love amongſt us, and to be bold to profeſs the true chriſtian religion, wherever we ſhould happen in this our peregrination. After they had received ſuch entertainment as my eſtate could afford them, they departed for *Briſtol*. This afternoon I made a review of all things, as well of clothes, and other neceſſaries, as of victuals; and where there was found any want, we were preſently furniſhed.

The 3d of *May* (after prayer for a proſperous ſucceſs to our endeavours) about three a clock in the afternoon, we came to ſail, and ſtood down the channel of *Severne*, with little wind, but ſlowly got forward to the weſtward of *Lundy*; and then the wind oppoſed itſelf ſo ſtrongly againſt us, that we were driven to bear up and come to an anchor in *Lundy* road the 5th in the evening, where we remained until the 8th in the morning. Now hoping the wind would favour us, we came to ſail, but we were forced to put into *Milford*, where we came to an anchor about midnight. Here we remained till the 17th in the morning; when with the firſt favouring wind, we proceeded and doubled about cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*.

The 22d we were in the latitude 51. 26. and the *Blaſkes* did bear of us north eaſt, about twelve leagues off; which *Blaſkes* is in latitude 52. 4. Here I ordered the courſe that ſhould be kept, which was generally weſt north weſt, as the wind would give leave, which in this courſe and diſtance is very variable and unconſtant.

The 4th of *June* we made the land of *Greenland*, ſtanding in with it to have knowledge of the trending of it; it proved very thick foul weather.

The 5th, by two a clock in the morning, we found ourſelves encompaſſed about with ice; and endeavouring to clear ourſelves of it, (by reaſon we could not ſee far about us) we were the more engaged, and ſtruck many fearful blows againſt it: at length we made faſt to a great piece, (it blowing a very ſtorm) and with poles wrought day and night to keep off the ice; in which labour we broke all our poles.

The 6th, about two a clock in the morning, we were beſet with many extraordinary great pieces of ice that came upon us, as it were with wilful violence; and doubtleſs had cruſhed us to pieces, if we had not let fall ſome ſail, which the ſhip preſently felt. In eſcaping that danger we ran againſt another great piece, that we doubted whether our ſhip had not been ſtav'd to pieces; but pumping, we found ſhe made no water. The former pieces of ice had cruſhed our ſhallop all to pieces; wherefore I cauſed our long boat ſpeedily to be had up from betwixt the decks, and put over-board; by help whereof we again recovered our broken ſhallop, and had her

up

up on the decks, intending to new build her. All this day we did beat, and were beaten fearfully amongſt the ice, it blowing a very ſtorm. In the evening, we were incloſed amongſt great pieces, as high as our poop; and ſome of the ſharp blue corners of them did reach quite under us. All theſe great pieces (by reaſon it was the outſide of the ice) did heave and ſet, and ſo beat us, that it was wonderful how the ſhip could endure one blow of it; but it was God's only preſervation of us, to whom be all honour and glory. In this extremity, I made the men to let fall, and make what ſail they could, and the ſhip forced herſelf thorough it, tho' ſo toſſed and beaten, as I think never ſhip was. When we were clear, we ſayed the pumps, and found her ſtanch; upon which we went inſtantly to prayer, and to praiſe God for his merciful delivery of us.

The 7th and 8th days, we endeavoured to double about cape *Farewel*, being ſtill peſtered with much ice.

The 9th. we were in latitude 59. 00. and we made account the cape *Farewel* bare of us due eaſt, and ſome ten leagues off. The *Blaſkes* in *Ireland*, is in lat. 52. 4. and cape *Farewel* in lat. 59. 00. The courſe is weſt north weſt, and the diſtance about 410 leagues. I know very well theſe latitudes, courſes, and diſtance, do not exactly agree with mathematical concluſions; but thus we found it by practice. The variation of the compaſs in lat. 52. 30. and thirty leagues to the weſtward of *Ireland*, is about 3. 00. to the eaſtward; in lat. 57. 00. about 310 leagues weſt north-weſt from the *Blaſkes*, the compaſs doth vary 9. 00. to the weſtward: In lat. 59. 15. ſome forty leagues to the eaſtward of cape *Farewel*, the variation is about 14. 45. In this courſe I have been obſervant, whether there were any current that did ſet to the N. E. as ſome have written there did, and that as well in calm weather, as otherwiſe; but I could not perceive any. The winds here are variable, and the ſea of an unſearchable depth. We have not ſeen from *Ireland* hitherto any whales or other fiſh; the weather for the moſt part was foggy and miſty, that wets as bad as rain.

The 10th, all the morning, was very foul weather, and a high-grown ſea, although we had ice not far off about us, and ſome pieces as high as our top-maſt-head. Our long boat, which we were fain to tow at ſtern, (by reaſon we were building our ſhallop on our decks) broke away, and put us to ſome trouble to recover her again. This we did, and made means to have her into the ſhip, though very much bruiſed; and that I had two men ſore hurt, and like to be loſt in the heaving of her in. By eight of the clock this evening, we were ſhot up as high as cape *Deſolation*; for finding here the land to trend away north and by eaſt, we certainly knew it to be the cape. It ſtands in lat. 60. 00. and the land from cape *Farewel* to it, trends N. W. the diſtance about forty leagues. The diſtance from cape *Deſolation*, to the ſouth end of the iſland of *Reſolution*, is about 140 leagues; the courſe weſt, half a point north. The lat. of the ſouth end of the iſland, being 61. 20. ſome twelve leagues to the weſtward of cape *Deſolation*, the variation is 16. 00. In this courſe we were much tormented, peſtered and beaten with the ice, many pieces being higher than our top-maſt-head. In our way we ſaw many grampuſſes amongſt the ice, and it ſeemeth the ſea is full of them: The weather for the moſt part a ſtinking fog, and the ſea very black; which I conceive to be occaſioned by reaſon of the fog.

The 17th at night we heard the rut of the ſhore, as we thought; but it proved to be the rut againſt a bank of ice that lay on the ſhore. It made a hollow and hideous noiſe, like an overfall of water, which made us to reaſon amongſt ourſelves concerning it; for we were not able to ſee about us, it being dark night and foggy. We ſtood off from it till break of day, then in again; and about four a clock in the morning we ſaw the land above the fog; which we knew to be the iſland of *Reſolution*. This laſt night was ſo cold, that all our rigging and ſails were frozen. We endeavoured to compaſs about the ſouthern point of the iſland; for that we were ſo much peſtered with the ice, and blinded with a very thick fog. Here runs a quick tide into the ſtraight, but the ebb is as ſtrong as the flood: The fog was of ſuch a piercing nature, that it ſpoiled all our compaſſes, and made them flag, and ſo heavy withal, that they would not traverſe. Wherefore I would adviſe any that ſhall ſail this way hereafter, to provide compaſſes of *Muſcovy* glaſs, or ſome other matter that will endure the moiſture of the weather. As the fog cleared up, we could ſee the entrance of the ſtraight to be all full of ice cloſe thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were faſt incloſed amongſt it; and ſo drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 fathom, four leagues from the ſhore.

The 20th in the morning, we had got about the ſouthern point of the iſland; and the wind came up at weſt, and drove both us and the ice upon the ſhore. When we were driven within two leagues of the ſhore, we came amongſt the moſt ſtrange

whirlings of the ſea that poſſibly can be conceived: there were divers great pieces of ice aground in 40 fathom water, and the ebb coming out of the broken grounds of the iſland, amongſt theſe iſles of ice, made ſuch a diſtraction, that we were carried round, ſometimes cloſe by the rocks, ſometimes cloſe by thoſe high pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were ſo beaten likewiſe with the encountring of the ice, that we were in a moſt deſperate eſtate. We made faſt two great pieces of ice to our ſides with our kedger and grapnels that drew nine or ten fathom, that ſo they might be a-ground before us, if ſo be we were driven on the ſhore. But that deſign failed us; and now from the top ſeeing in amongſt the rocks, I ſent the boat (for now we had finiſhed her) to ſee if ſhe could find ſome place of ſecurity; but ſhe was no ſooner parted, but ſhe was incloſed, and driven to hale up on the ice, or elſe ſhe had been cruſhed to pieces. They ran her over the ice from piece to piece; and in the mean ſpace, with the whirling and incountring of the ice, the two pieces brake away from our ſides, and carried away our kedger and grapnels: then we made ſigns to the boat, to make all the haſte ſhe could to us, which ſhe perceiving did; the men being with much difficulty inforced to hale her over many pieces of ice. In the mean ſpace we made ſome ſail, and got to that piece of ice that had our grapnel on it, which we again recovered. By this time was our boat come, and we put a freſh crew into her, and ſent her to fetch our kedger, which ſhe endeavoured with much danger of boat and men. By this time the ſhip was driven ſo near the ſhore, that we could ſee the rocks under us and about us; and we ſhould be carried with the whirlings of the waters, cloſe by the points of rocks, and then round about back again; and all this notwithſtanding the ſail we had abroad; that we expected continually when ſhe would be beaten to pieces. In this extremity I made them to open more ſail, and to force her in amongſt the rocks and broken grounds, and where there was many great pieces of ice a-ground. We went over rocks, that had but twelve or thirteen foot water on them; and ſo let fall an anchor. This anchor had never been able to wind up the ſhip, but that (by good fortune) the ſhip ran againſt a great piece of ice that was a-ground. This ruſh brake the main knee of her beak-head, and a corner of it tore away four of our main ſhrouds, and an anchor that we had at the bow, faſtened into it, and ſo ſtopt her way, that ſhe did wind up to her anchor. We ſaw the ſharp rocks under us, and about us; and had but fifteen foot water; being alſo in the ſides way, where all the ice would drive upon us: Our boat we could not ſee, which made us doubt ſhe had been cruſhed to pieces. In her was the third part of our company; but by and by we ſaw her come about a point amongſt the rocks. She had recovered our kedger, which made us ſomething joyful; with all ſpeed we laid out hawſers to the rocks, and every one did work to the beſt of his ſtrength, to warp her out of this dangerous place to the rock's ſide, where we had three fathom water, and were under the ſhelter of a great piece of ice that was a-ground, which ſhould keep off the ice, that otherwiſe would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the ebb; but when the flood came, we were aſſaulted with pieces of ice, that every half hour put us into deſpairable diſtreſs. We did work continually and extreamly, to keep off the ice. At full ſea our great piece of ice (which was our buckler) was afloat; and do what we could got away from us, and left us in a moſt eminent danger, by reaſon of the ice that drove in upon us. But the ebb being once made, this great piece of ice came again a-ground very favourable to us, and ſheltered us all the reſt of the ebb. All night we wrought hard, to ſhift our cables and hawſers; and to make them faſt aloft on the rocks, that the ice might the better paſs under them. All day and all night it ſnowed hard, and blew a very ſtorm at weſt, which drove in all the ice out of the ſea upon us. In working againſt the violence of the ice, the flooke of our kedger was broken, two arms of our grapnels, and two hawſers, our ſhallop being again very much bruiſed; whereupon to work we go on all hands to repair it.

This tide the harbour was choaked full of ice, ſo that it did ſeem firm and unmoveable; but when the ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came a-ground, which did alter the courſe of the other ice, and put us on the rocks. Here, notwithſtanding all our uttermoſt endeavours, ſhe ſettled upon a ſharp rock, about a yard above the main maſt; and as the water ebbed away, ſhe hung after the head, and heel'd to the offing. We made cables and hawſers aloft to her maſts, and ſo to the rocks, ſtraining them tough with our tackles; but ſhe as the water ebbed away, ſunk ſtill; that at length ſhe was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Having now done all to the beſt of our underſtandings, (but to little purpoſe) we went all upon a piece of ice, and fell to prayer, beſeeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an hour to low

water, and the tide did want a foot and a half to ebb, to what it had ebbed the laſt tide. We were careful obſervers of the low waters, and had marks by ſtones and other things which we had ſet up, ſo that we could not be deceived. The ſhip was ſo turn'd over, that the portleſs of the forecaſtle was in the water; and we did look every minute when ſhe would overſet. Indeed at one time the cables gave way, and ſhe ſunk down half a foot at that ſlip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and ſenſibly we perceived the water to riſe apace, and the ſhip withal. Then was our ſorrow turned to joy, and we all fell on our knees, praiſing God for his mercy, in ſo miraculous a deliverance.

As ſoon as ſhe was freed from this rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the flood we were pretty quiet from the ice, but when the ebb was made, the ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to a great extremity. We got as many pieces betwixt us and the rocks as we could, to fence us from the rocks. There came a great piece upon our quarter, which was above 300 of my paces about, but it came a-ground. Thus did divers great pieces beſides, which was the occaſion that this tide the harbour was quite choakt up; ſo that a man might go any way over it from ſide to ſide. When it was three quarters ebb, theſe great pieces that came a-ground, began to break with a moſt terrible thundering noiſe; which put us in a great fear, that thoſe about us would break us all to pieces. But God preſerved us.

The 22d in the morning, the water veer'd to a lower ebb than the laſt tide had done by two foot, whereby we ſaw God's mercies apparent in our late extremity. That flood we had ſome reſpite from our labours; but after full ſea our hopes ebb too. The great piece that was by us, ſo ſtopt the channel, that the ice came all driving upon us; ſo that now undoubtedly we thought we ſhould have loſt our ſhip. To work thereupon we go with axes, bars of iron, and any thing proper for ſuch a purpoſe; to break the corners of the ice, and to make way for it to drive away from us. It pleaſed God to give good ſucceſs to our labours; and we made way for ſome, and fended off the reſt; and got ſo much of the ſofter ſort of the ice betwixt us and the rocks, that we were in pretty ſecurity. But at low water, thoſe pieces that were a-ground, breaking, kept a moſt thundering noiſe about us. This day I went aſhore, and built a great beacon with ſtones upon the higheſt place of the iſland, and put a croſs upon it, and named this harbour, *The harbour of God's providence.* In the evening, the harbour was fuller of the ice than ever it had been ſince we came hither; and the greater pieces grounded and ſtopt the reſt, that none went out the ebb, but the ſhip lay as if ſhe had lain in a bed of ice.

The 23d in the morning, with the flood, the ice drove up amongſt the broken grounds; and with the ebb, drove all out (it being then very calm) except one extraordinary great piece; which coming a-ground not far from us, ſettled itſelf in ſuch a manner, that we much fear'd him. But there came no more great ice after him; otherwiſe we muſt have expected as great danger as at any time heretofore. I took the boat, and went aſhore upon the eaſtern ſide, to ſee if I could find any place freer from danger than this unfortunate place, where amongſt the rocks I deſcried a likely place. From the top of the hill where I was, I could ſee the ſhip. It was now almoſt low water; at which inſtant the forementioned piece of ice brake with a terrible noiſe into four pieces, which made me doubtful if it had not ſpoiled the ſhip, it being full half maſt high. I made what haſte I could to the boat, and ſo to the ſhip, to be ſatisfied; where I found all well, God be thanked, for that the ice had broken from the ſhip-ward. I inſtantly ſent away the boat, to ſound the way to a cove that I had found; which was a very dangerous paſſage for the boat. At her return we unmoor'd the ſhip, and with what ſpeed poſſible warpt away from amongſt this terrible ice. We were not a mile from them, but they brake all to pieces; and would ſurely have made us bear them company, but that God was more merciful unto us. We got about the rocks, and ſo into this little cove which I had ſo newly diſcovered. Here we made faſt to the rocks, and thought ourſelves in indifferent ſafety; which being done, I went aſhore again, to wander up and down, to ſee what I could diſcover. I found it all broken rocky grounds, and not ſo much as a tree, herb, or graſs upon it: Some ponds of water there were in it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the fowl: We found not in the ſnow any footing of deer, or bears, but foxes we ſaw one or two.

We found where the ſalvages had been, but it was long ſince. They had made five hearths, and we found a few firebrands about them; and ſome heads and bones of foxes, with ſome whale-bones: I could not conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould come thither; for we could find none or very little wood on the ſhore ſide, and no fiſh

at

at all; though we did daily endeavour to take ſome. But it may be the ſeaſon was not yet come. I named this cove by the maſter's name of my ſhip, *Price*'s *Cove*. The latitude of it is 61. 24. the variation. The firebrands and chips which I ſpake of, had been cut with ſome hatchet or inſtrument of iron. From the top of the hills, we could ſee the iſlands that are on the ſouth ſhore, and commonly called Sir *Thomas Button*'s iſles: They did bear ſouth and by eaſt, half a point eaſterly; ſome 14 or 15 leagues diſtant upon the change day, it flows here ſeven a clock and a half, and the tide higheſt at moſt three fathoms. The flood comes from the eaſtward, and thither it returns. I have been obſervant from the top of the hills, whence I might deſcry the great pieces of ice two or three leagues from the ſhore, drive to and again with the flood and ebb indifferently. Hence I collected, that aſſuredly there is no current ſets in here, but that it is a meer tide. Near the ſhore, the eddies whirl into twenty manners, when the ebb is made; which is, becauſe it comes out of the broken ground amongſt the ice that is aground near the ſhore: Beſides which reaſon, there be divers rocks lying under water, on which you ſhall have now 30, then 12, and anon but 8, and then 20 fathom; and theſe uncertainties occaſion ſuch diſtractions. I would therefore adviſe none to come too near thoſe dangerous ſhores, for fear he loſe his ſhip, and ſo by conſequence all: The laſt night we took better reſt than we had done in ten nights before.

And this morning, being the 24th, there ſprung up a fare gale of wind at eaſt; and after prayer we unfaſtened our ſhip, and came to ſail, ſteering betwixt great pieces of ice, that were aground in 40 fathom, and twice as high as our topmaſt head.

We went forth of this cove, upon the flood, and had none of thoſe whirlings of the waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the north ſhore, and kept ourſelves within a league of the ſhore of the iſland of *Reſolution*, where we had ſome clear water to ſail thorough. In the offing, it was all thick throng'd together, as might be poſſible. By twelve a clock we were faſt incloſed, and notwithſtanding it blew very hard at eaſt, yet we could make no way through it; but the hard corners of the ice did grate us with that violence, as I verily thought it would have grated the planks from the ſhips ſides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the ice, not being able to ſee an acre of ſea from topmaſt head.

The 26th was calm ſun-ſhine weather, and we took the latitude and variation. The latitude is , the variation we founded, and had ground at 140 fathom, ſmall white ſand. I cauſed the men to lay out ſome fiſhing lines, but to no purpoſe; for I could not perceive that the bait had been ſo much as touched. The nights are very cold, ſo that our rigging freezes, and the freſh ponds of water ſtand upon the ice above half an inch thick.

The 27th, there ſprung up a little gale at ſouth-eaſt, and the ice did ſomething open. Hereupon we let fall our foreſail, and forced the ſhip thorough the throng of ice. In the evening, the wind came contrary, at W. N. W. and blew hard, which cauſed us to faſten to a great piece, to which we remained moor'd till the 29th.

The 29th I reſolved, that here is no current, and that by many experiments which I have made: namely, by taking marks on the land, and noting our drift to and again with the ebb and flood for many days together, as well in calm weather as otherwiſe. By all theſe experiments, I found exactly, that the tide was no ſtronger there than that betwixt *England* and *France*.

The 29th in the morning, there ſprung up a fine gale at eaſt, and the ice did open ſomething, ſo that we did force the ſhip thorough it with her foreſail. By twelve a clock, we were gotten into ſome open water, with a fine gale of wind at eaſt, and ſo clear weather, that we could ſee the iſland of *Reſolution*. The north-end did bear of us E. N. E. ſome twelve leagues off.

From the 29th till the 5th of *July*, we ſailed continually thorough the ice, with variable winds and fogs, and ſometimes calm. At noon we had a good obſervation, and were in latitude 63. 15. and then we ſaw *Saliſbury* iſland, bearing W. by N. ſome ſeven leagues off, with much ice betwixt it and us; to weather which we were driven to ſtand to the northward. Soon after we ſaw *Prince Charles*'s cape and *Mill* iſland; and to the N. N. W. (and indeed, round about us) the ſea moſt infinitely peſtered with ice. This did grieve me very much; for whereas I had determined to proſecute the diſcovery to the north-weſtward, I ſaw it was not poſſible this year. We were moreover driven back again with contrary winds, ſtill cloſed and peſtered with ice, and with all the perils and dangers incident to ſuch adventures, ſo that we thought a thouſand times that the ſhip had been beaten to pieces.

By the 15th of *July* we were got betwixt *Digge*'s iſland and *Nottingham*'s iſland, not being able to get more northward. There for an hour or two we had ſome open water.

But before I proceed farther, it were not amiſs in ſome manner to deſcribe the ſtreight, which begins at the iſland of *Reſolution*, and ends here at *Digges*'s iſland. If you go down into the bay, the ſtreight is about 120 leagues long; and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the entrance it is about 15 leagues broad; and then on the ſouthward ſide is a great bay. About the middeſt it is likewiſe about 15 leagues broad, and then the land opens ſomething wider; ſo that betwixt *Digge*'s iſland and cape *Charles*, it is about 20 leagues broad: Betwixt which two ſtands *Saliſbury* iſland and *Nottingham* iſland. If it be clear weather, you may ſee both the ſouth and the north ſhores; ordinarily, the depth in the middle of the ſtreight is 120 fathoms, white ſand: A certain tide runs in it, and no current: The north ſhore is the ſtraiteſt, and the cleareſt from ice too. Along the north ſhore you have many low ſmall iſlands, which cannot be ſeen far off from the land; and in many places, the land makes as if it had ſmall ſounds in it. The main land on both ſides is indifferent high land. And ſo much for diſcourſe may ſuffice, referring you to the plot for the particulars.

The 16th, being now reſolved of the impoſſibility to do any thing to the north weſtward, for the reaſons aforeſaid, I gave order to the maſter of my ſhip to ſteer away, W. S. W. to have a ſight of *Mansfield*'s iſland, which the next day by three a clock in the afternoon we had; having had ſo much dangerous foul weather amongſt the ice, that we ſtruck more fearful blows againſt it than we had ever yet done. This was the firſt day that we went to half allowance of bread fleſh days, and I ordered things as ſparingly as I could. Two of our men complained likewiſe of ſickneſs, but ſoon afterward recovered. In the evening we came to an anchor, and I ſent the boat aſhore to try the tides. They brought me word, that whilſt the boat was aſhore, it flowed about ſome three foot; and as we found by the ſhip, and by the ice, the water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that at the higheſt tides (ſo far as they could perceive) it had not higher ed above two fathom: They found that the ſavages had been upon it, by certain fires which they found, and heaps of ſtones, tracks of other beaſts, but foxes they could not find. The wind was ſo contrary, and the weather ſo foggy, that we were fain to ſpend ſome powder to recover our boat again.

Next morning, being the 17th, the wind came ſomething favourable, and we weighed. The ſhore being ſomething clear of ice, (though very thick all to the offing) we ſtood along it S. and S. by W. ſome ten leagues. In the afternoon, the wind came contrary, and we came again to an anchor, within a mile of the ſhore; for to ſea-board was all thick ice and unpaſſable. I went aſhore myſelf, to be reſolved of the tide, and found whilſt I was aſhore, that it did flow two foot; and at that time the flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was an half tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the ſavages had been upon the iſland, but could ſee little or no drift wood on the ſhore, no beaſts on the iſland, nor fiſhes in the ſea. It flows on the change day about a eleven a clock. We ſaw ſome fowl on it, of which we killed one, and returned on board. This iſland is very low land, little higher than a dry ſand-bank. It hath ponds upon it of freſh water, but no graſs; and is utterly barren of all goodneſs.

The 18th in the morning, the wind came ſomething favourable, and we weighed and came to ſail; for the ice was all come about us. We endeavoured to proceed to the weſtward, intending to fall with the weſtern-land about the latitude 63. 00. By twelve a clock (having been much peſtered) we were come to a firm range of ice; but it pleaſed God that the wind larged, and we ſtowed away S. S. W. at noon in latitude 62. 00. By four in the evening (having eſcaped dangerous blows) we were come as we thought) into an open ſea, and joyfully ſteered away W. and W. by N. although that joy was ſoon quailed. By ten at night we heard the rut of the ice, and it grew a thick fog, and very dark with it: nevertheleſs we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous noiſe it made.

The 19th, by three in the morning, we were come to it, and as it did clear a little, we could ſee the ice; which were as thick rands of ice, as any we had yet ſeen. Theſe being unpaſſable, and moreover the wind at N. W. we ſtowed alongſt it, hoping to weather it to the ſouthward; but at laſt, we became ſo blinded with fog, and ſo incompaſſed with ice, that we could go no farther.

The 20th in the morning (notwithſtanding the fog) we endeavoured to get to the weſtward, our ſhip beating and knocking all this while moſt fearfully.

It this wilfulneſs we continued till the 21ſt. when being faſt amongſt the ice, I obſerved we were in latitude 60. 33. and then looking what damage our ſhip might have received, we could perceive that below the plate of iron, which was before her cut-water, ſhe was all bruiſed and broken; the two knees ſhe had before to ſtrengthen her, ſpoiled and torn; and many other defects, which we could not by any means

come to mend. Notwithſtanding all this, and the extraordinary thick fog, (that we could not ſee a piſtol ſhot about us) we proceeded with the hazard of all.

Till the 27th, which was the firſt time we had clear weather to look about us: The wind withal came up at ſouth, and the ice did open ſomething; ſo that we made ſome way thorough it to the weſtward. In the evening we were faſt again, and could go no farther; the wind veering from the ſouth to the eaſt, and blowing a freſh gale. This occaſioned our griefs the more, that with a good wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a hawſer upon a piece of great ice, to keep the ſhip cloſe to it, we patiently expected for better fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield*'s iſland, our depth was commonly 110 and 100 fathom oozie ground. Now the water begins to ſhoal; for this preſent 27th, driving faſt to and again in the ice, we have but 80 fathom ground as before.

The 28th and 29th, we were ſo faſt incloſed in the ice, that notwithſtanding we put abroad all the ſail that was at our yards, and that it blew a very hard gale of wind, the ſhip ſtirred no more than if ſhe had been in a dry dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the ice, to ſport and recreate ourſelves, letting her ſtand ſtill, under all her ſails. It was flat, extraordinary large ice, the worſt to deal withal that we had yet found. I meaſured ſome pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my paces long. This was the firſt day that our men began to murmur, thinking it impoſſible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of the opinion, that it was all ſuch ice betwixt us and the ſhore. Others, that the bay was all covered over; and that it was a doubt whether we could get any way, or to any land to winter in. The nights were long, and every night it did ſo freeze, that we could not ſail amongſt the ice by night, nor in thick foggy weather. I comforted and encouraged them the beſt I could; and to put away theſe cogitations, we drank a health to his majeſty on the ice; not one man in the ſhip, and ſhe ſtill under all her ſails. I moſt ingeniouſly confeſs, that all their murmuring was not without reaſon: Wherefore doubting that we ſhould be frozen up in the ſea, I ordered that fire ſhould be made but once a day; and that with a certain number of ſhides, that the ſteward ſhould deliver to the cook by tail, the better to prolong our fuel, whatſoever ſhould happen.

The 30th we made ſome way thro' the ice; we heaving the ſhip with our ſhoulders, and with mawls and croes of iron breaking the corners of the ice, to make way. As we got forwards, the water ſhoal'd apace; ſo that I believe it to be ſome iſland. At noon we obſerved thro' the fog, with the quadrant, upon a piece of ice, and were in latitude 58. 54. our depth 30 fathom. We put out hooks, to try to catch ſome fiſh, but to no purpoſe, for there is not any in this bay.

The 31ſt we laboured as aforeſaid, and got ſomething forward. At noon we were in lat. 58. 40. our depth 23 fathom. It was very thick hazy weather, or elſe I think we ſhould have ſeen the land.

The firſt of *Auguſt* the wind came up at weſt, which drove us to the eaſtward, where our depth increaſed to 35 fathom. At noon (by obſervation with the quadrant, on the ice) we were in latitude 58. 45. At ſix a-clock this evening we might perceive the ice to heave and ſet a little; which was occaſioned by a ſwelling ſea that came out of the ſouth-weſt. This did comfort us very much, hoping ſhortly we ſhould get out of the ice.

The 2d it did blow hard at S. W. and yet we could not feel the forementioned ſwelling ſea; which did again quench the hopes we had formerly conceived.

The 3d we did ſee a little open water to the Norweſtward, and did feel a ſwelling ſea from the weſt; which doth aſſure us, that there is an open ſea to the weſtward.

The 5th we ſaw the ſea clear; but could by no means work ourſelves to it with our ſails; wherefore about ſix in the evening we let fall an anchor in 50 fathom water, and ſtood all with poles and oars to fend off the ice, and let it paſs to leeward. We continued this labour all night.

The 6th in the morning the wind came up at N. W. and we weighed with much joy, as hoping now to get into an open ſea to the ſouthward. This by noon we had done, and were in lat. 58. 28. very free of ice. The wind did large upon us, ſo that we ſtood away N. W. to get up as high to the northward as we could, and ſo to come coaſting to the ſouthward. We went to prayer, and to give God thanks for our delivery out of the ice.

The 9th (being in lat. 59. 40.) we came again to the ice, which lay very thick to the north. Since we came out of the ice, our depth increaſed to 110 fathom, and now decreaſeth again: So that I think we approached towards the ſhore.

The tenth proved very thick foggy weather; the wind contrary, and the water ſhoaling apace, we came to an anchor in 22 fathom.

The 11th in the morning we weighed, and made in for the ſhore, and about noon ſaw the land, our depth being 16 fathom,

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in lat. 59. 40. The land to the N. of us did trend N. by E. and ſo made a point to the ſouthward, and trended away W. by S. which we followed, making it for that place which was formerly called *Hubbert's* hope. And ſo it proved indeed, but it is now hopeleſs.

Two or three words now concerning the bay that we have paſſed over. It is from *Digge's* iſland to the weſtern land (in latitude aforeſaid) about 160 leagues, the courſe W. S. W. the variation.

The tides do ſet in the middle of the bay, eaſt and weſt, as we have often try'd by our lead a ground. But nearer the ſhores, as they are forced by the land, I am of the opinion, that in the ocean, or in large bays, the tides do naturally ſet E. and W. and that this doth give little hope of a paſſage. The greateſt depth we had in the bay was 110 fathom, and ſo ſhoaling as you approach to land, we coaſted round about this forementioned little bay, which is ſome 18 leagues deep in 8 and 6 fathoms, and in the bottom of it we were in 2 fathom and a half water, and ſaw the firm land almoſt round about us. Then we proceeded to the ſouthward ſix and ſeven fathom water, within ſight of the breach of the ſhore, keeping the lead continually going, and in the night we would come to an anchor. This night, here being little wind, we came to an anchor with our kedger; but in weighing of him, we loſt him, having no more aboard us.

The twelfth we were in lat. 58. 46. ſome two leagues from the ſhore, The variation is about 17 deg.

The 13th in the afternoon (it being ſomething hazy) we ſaw ſome breaches a-head us; our depth was 9 and 10 fathom; and luffing to clear ourſelves of them, we ſuddenly ſtruck upon the rocks; the ſhip then being under our two topſails, foreſail, and ſprit-ſail, with a freſh gale of wind. In this fearful accident, we ſtruck all our ſails amain; and it did pleaſe God to ſend two or three good ſwelling ſeas, which did heave us over the rocks into three fathom, and preſently into three fathom and a half, where we chopt to an anchor, and aſſayed the pumps; but we found ſhe made no water, although ſhe had three ſuch terrible blows, that we thought her maſt would have ſhiver'd to pieces, and that ſhe had been aſſuredly bulged. We hoiſted the boat overboard, and doubly mann'd her, to go ſeek and ſound a way out of this perilous place. She was no ſooner gone, but there roſe a fog; ſo that we were fain to ſpend ſome powder, that ſhe might hear whereabouts we were. The wind dull'd ſomething, otherwiſe it had been doubtful whether ſhe could ever have recovered to us again. After ſhe had been abſent about two hours, ſhe brought us word, that it was all rocks and breaches round about us, and that withal, ſhe had found a way, where there was not leſs than two fathom and a half, and that afterwards the water did deepen. We did preſently weigh, and follow the boat, and paſt over two ledges of rocks, on which there was ſcarce fourteen foot water: Then it did deepen to three, four, and ſo to fourteen fathom; then it ſhoal'd again to nine. It being now night, we came to an anchor; where we rid indifferent well all the night. In the morning the wind came contrary, ſo that we could not go that way we intended to clear our ſelves, and therefore we went to work, to fit our holds, to ſplice our cables, and make ready two ſhot, and ſo placed them in the hold, that they might upon all occaſions run clear; the ends of them being faſten'd to the main-maſt. We likewiſe look'd to our anchors, and fitted our ſpare ones. We got out our long boat from betwixt the decks; which was very much broken and bruiſed. The carpenter went to work to fit her, (for I intended to tow the ſhallop at ſtern) and ſo to have the boats ready at an inſtant, either to lay out anchors, or be ſerviceable to what God ſhould be pleaſed to try our faith and patience withal; for in him was our only truſt, and our hope upon his favour in our honeſt endeavours. At noon, in lat. 57. 45. we could ſee the land from the N. W. to S. E. by E. with rocks and breaches; and the rocks that we came over, dry above water; whereby I knew it flows here two fathoms at leaſt. At noon I ſent the boat off to ſound to the eaſtward, becauſe the water ſhoaled when we came to an anchor. She brought us word, the ſhoaleſt water ſhe had been in was ſeven fathom. We intending thereupon to weigh, the wind came eaſterly, ſo that we could not budge; but lay here the 14th all night with a ſtiff gale of wind.

The 15th in the evening our cable galded off; by reaſon of which perilous and ſudden accident, in which we had not time to put a buoy to it, we loſt our anchor, and were driven into four fathom water, before we could ſet our ſails. This when we had done, we ſtowed S. S. E. the wind being at eaſt, but the water ſhoaled to three fathom. Then we ſtowed N. N. E. and it did deepen by degrees to ten fathom; and becauſe it grew dark, we came to an anchor, and rid a good ſtreſs all night.

The 16th in the morning the wind came up at N. a freſh gale; and we weighed and came to ſail. By nine a clock it grew to

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be a very ſtorm; and we turned to and again in ten fathom water. In the evening the wind dull'd; and we ſtood S. W. to have a ſight of port *Nelſon*; which courſe we ſtood all night, by the ſtars, being in lat. 57. 25. the variation about 17 degrees.

The 17th in the morning we ſtood ſouth; and our depth decreaſed by degrees to eight fathoms. At noon we had good obſervation, being in lat. 57. 15. and we make account that we are ſome ſix or ſeven leagues off the ſouthern ſide of port *Nelſon*. Here the colour of the water changed, and was of a puddleiſh and ſandy red colour. We ſtood into ſix fathoms, and could not ſee the land from top-maſt-head? ſo night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at eaſt by ſouth, we ſtood off again into ten and twelve fathoms, where the water was again of the colour of the ſea.

The 18th, as the wind and weather favoured us, and the ſtorm was broken up, we ſtood in again ſouth, and came again into thick puddleiſh water, into eight, ſeven, and ſix fathom, and then off again, for that it grew thick foggy weather, keeping our lead continually going, night and day.

The 19th, being fine clear ſun-ſhine weather, we ſtood in again into the thick puddliſh water, into eight fathom, where we came to an anchor to try the tides; for that from top-maſt-head we could not now ſee the land. We were at noon (by good obſervation) in lat. 57. 20. and the tide did ſet N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. It did run two knots and a half in two glaſſes. I reſolved that this was nothing but ſhoals to the land. In the afternoon it began to ſnuffle and blow, ſo that we had much ado to get up our anchor. This being done, we ſtood E. S. E. but the water ſhoaled apace. Then we ſtood E. and it deepen'd a little. In the evening the wind came up at W. and then we ſtood E. S. E. into ten and eight, and afterwards S. E. as our depth did guide us by our lead and the colour of the water, into ſeven and ſix fathoms.

The 20th at ſix in the morning we ſaw the land, it being a very low flat land. We ſtood into five fathoms, to make it the better, and ſo ſtood along it. At noon we were in lat. 57. 00. We named it *the new principality of ſouth Wales*, and drank a health in the beſt liquor we had to prince *Charles* his highneſs, whom God preſerve. We ſtood along it, and came to a point where it trends to the ſouthward; near to which point there are two ſmall iſlands. In the evening it was calm, and we came to an anchor. The tide ſet as aforeſaid. There we rid all that night, and the next day, by reaſon the wind was contrary. There went a chopping ſhort ſea; and the ſhip did labour at it exceedingly leaping in ſpreetſail-yard, fore-caſtle, and all; for as yet we had not trimm'd her well, to ride. About nine at night it was very dark, and it did blow hard. We did perceive by the lead the ſhip did drive; wherefore bringing the cable to capſtan, to heave in our cable (for we did think we had loſt our anchor) the anchor hitch'd again, and upon the chopping of a ſea, threw the men from the capſtan. A ſmall rope in the dark had gotten foul about the cable, and about the maſter's leg too; but with the help of God he did clear himſelf, tho' not without ſore bruiſing. The two mates were hurt; the one in the head, the other in the arm. One of our luſtieſt men was ſtricken on the breaſt with a bar, that he lay ſprawling for life; another had his head betwixt the cable, and hardly eſcaped. The reſt were flung where they were ſore bruiſed; but our gunner (an honeſt and a diligent man) had his leg taken betwixt the cable and the capſtan, which wrung off his foot, and tore all the fleſh off his leg, cruſh'd the bone to pieces, and ſorely withal bruiſed all his whole body; in which miſerable manner he remained crying till we had recovered ourſelves, our memory, and ſtrengths to clear him. Whilſt we were putting him and the reſt down to the chirurgeon; the ſhip drove into ſhoally water, which put us all fear; we being ſo ſorely weaken'd by this blow, which had hurt eight of our men. It pleaſed God, that the anchor held again; and ſhe rid it out all night. By midnight the chirurgeon had taken off the gunner's leg at the gartering place, and dreſs'd the others that were hurt and bruiſed; after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22d we weighed, and ſtood a little off into deeper water, expecting a better wind; which in the afternoon favoured us. We ſtood in again for the ſhore, and along it we proceeded. It is very ſhoal about four leagues off, and full of breaches.

The 23d at noon we were in lat. 56. 28. In the evening, the wind came contrary; and we were fain to turn to and again. All this month the wind hath been very variable, and continued not long upon one point; yet it happened ſo, that we could get but little forward.

The 26th there ſprung up a fine gale at weſt, but very thick weather; nevertheleſs we ſtood into ſeven and ſix fathom, the water very thick and puddleiſh. At noon it cleared; and we could ſee that we were imbayed in a little bay, the land being almoſt round about us.

We ſtood out of it, and ſo along it, in ſight, till the 27th in the morning; when

we came to higher land than any we had yet ſeen ſince we came from *Nottingham* iſland. We ſtood into it, and came to an anchor in five fathom. I ſent off the boat, well mann'd and arm'd, with order in writing what they were to do, and a charge to return again before ſun-ſet. The evening came, and no news of our boat; we ſhot and made falſe fires, but had no anſwer, which did much perplex us, doubting that there had been ſome diſaſter befaln her, thro' careleſſneſs, and in her we ſhould loſe all. We aboard, at preſent, were not able to weigh our anchor, nor ſail the ſhip. At laſt we ſaw a fire upon the ſhore, which made us the more doubtful, becauſe they did not anſwer our ſhot, nor falſe fires with the like. We thought withal, that it had been the ſalvages, who did now triumph in their conqueſt. At length they came, all ſafe and well; and excuſed themſelves, in that upon their coming aſhore, it did ebb ſo ſuddenly, that a bank of ſand was ſo preſently dry without them, as they could not come away, till that was covered again; and with that they pacified me. They reported, that there was great ſtore of drift-wood on the ſhore; and a good quantity growing on the land. That they ſaw the tracks of deer and bears, good ſtore of fowl (of which they had killed ſome) but no ſign of people: That they paſs'd over two little rivers, and came to a third, which they could not paſs: That it did flow very near three fathoms ſometimes, as appeared by the ſhore. That it was low water at four a clock; that the flood came from the N. W. and that it flow'd half tide, which both they and we had perceived by the ſhip. At low water we had but three fathom, where we did ride. The wind began to blow hard at E. whereupon we weighed and ſtood to the northward till midnight, then in again; and in the morning we ſaw the land, and then it began to blow hard, and as we ſtood off, it encreaſed to a very ſtorm; ſo that at length we could not maintain a pair of courſes, but tried under our main courſe, all day and all night; ſome time turning her head to the landward, ſome time to the offing.

The 29th in the morning we made account we had droven back again ſome 16 or 18 leagues; and in the morning (as it cleared) we ſaw a ſhip to leeward of us ſome three or four leagues; ſo we made ſail, and bore up with her. She was then at an anchor in 13 fathom. It was his majeſty's ſhip, and captain *Fox* commanded in her.

I ſaluted him according to the manner of the ſea, and received the like of him. So I ſtood in to ſee the land, and thought to tack about, and keep weather of him, and to ſend my boat on board of him; but the wind ſhifted, ſo that for that time I could not. In the evening, I came to weather of him, and ſent my boat on board of him, who preſently weighed, and ſtood off with me till midnight, and then we ſtood in again.

In the morning, captain *Fox* and his friends came on board me; where I entertained them in the beſt manner I could, and with ſuch freſh meat as I had gotten from the ſhore: I told him, how I had named the land, *The ſouth principality of* Wales. I ſhewed him how far I had been to the eaſtward, where I had landed; and in brief, I made known to him all the dangers of this coaſt, as far as I had been. He told me, how he himſelf had been in port *Nelſon*, and had made but a curſory diſcovery hitherto; and that he had not been aland, nor had not many times ſeen the land. In the evening, after I had given his men ſome neceſſaries, with tobacco and other things which they wanted, he departed on board his ſhip; and the next morning ſtood away S. S. W. ſince which time I never ſaw him. The wind ſomething favouring me, I ſtood in for the ſhore, and ſo proceeded along it in ſight.

This month of *Auguſt* ended with ſnow and hail; the weather being as cold as at any time I have felt in *England*.

The firſt of *September* we coaſted along the ſhore in ten fathoms, and when it cleared, in ſight of land. At length the water ſhoaled to ſix and five fathom, and as it cleared, we ſaw it all breaches to leeward, ſo we hull'd off, N. N. E. but ſtill raiſed land. By night we had much ado to get ſafely out of this dangerous bay. At midnight the wind came up at S. and ſo we took in our ſails, and let the ſhip drive to the northward into deeper water. This day was the firſt time the chirurgeon told me, that there were divers of the men tainted with ſickneſs. At noon we were in lat. 55. 12.

The ſecond we ſtood in again for the ſhore, but as we came into ſhoal water it began to blow, the weather being winterly and foul, threatning a ſtorm; wherein we were not deceived, for that in ſtanding off we had a violent one.

By midnight it broke up, and the third in the morning we ſtood in again, and by eleven we ſaw it. Here we found the land to trend S. S. E. and S. ſo that we knew we were at a cape land; and named it *cape Henrietta Maria*, by her majeſty's name, who had before named our ſhip. At noon we were in lat. 55. 05. and that is the height of the cape.

From port *Nelſon* to this cape, the land trends (generally) E. S. E. but makes with points and bays; which in the particulars

doth alter it a point, two or three. The diſtance is about 130 leagues, the variation at this cape taken by amplitude, is about 16 d. g. a moſt ſhoald and perilous coaſt, in which there is not one harbour to be found.

The 3d day in the afternoon, we had a tearing ſtorm at N. which continued till midnight in extreme violence.

The 4th in the morning (the ſtorm being broke up) we ſtood in again S. W. The weather was very thick, and we ſounded continually; but by noon it cleared, and we ſaw the land. Here it did trend S. by E. and the tides did ſet along it, with a quick motion. In the evening there came a great rolling ſea out of the N. N. E. and by eight a clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by reaſon of the incounter of the wind and this great ſea, the ſea was all in a breach; and to make up a perfect tempeſt, it did ſo lighten, ſnow, rain and blow all the night long, that I was never in the like: We ſhipt many ſeas, but one moſt dangerous, which rack'd us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had ſunk the ſhip, it ſtrook her with ſuch a violence. The ſhip did labour moſt terribly in this diſtraction of wind and waves, and we had much ado to keep all things faſt in the hold and betwixt decks.

The 5th in the morning, the wind ſhifted to S. W. but changed not his condition, but continued in his old anger and fury. In the afternoon it ſhifted again to the N. W. and there ſhowed his uttermoſt malice; and in that tearing violence, that nor I, nor any that were then with me, ever ſaw the ſea in ſuch a breach. Our ſhip was ſo tormented and did ſo labour, with taking it in on both ſides, and at both ends, that we were in a moſt miſerable diſtreſs in this ſo unknown a place. At eight a clock in the evening the ſtorm brake up, and we had ſome quietneſs in the night following, not one having ſlept one wink in 30 hours before. If this ſtorm had continued eaſterly, as it was at firſt, without God's goodneſs we had all periſhed.

The 6th, the wind was at S. W. ſo that we could do no good to the weſtward. We ſpent the time therefore in trimming of our ſhip; we brought all our coals (which for the moſt part was great coal) aft; as we alſo did ſome other things, and all to lighten her afore. Others did pick our bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could, we ſhip'd abundance of water betwixt decks, which ran into the hold, and into our bread-room; for the ſea indeed, ſo continually over-rackt us, that we were like *Jonas* in the whales belly. We over-looked our tacks and ſhoots, with other riggings of ſtreſs, becauſe that hence forward we were to look for no other but winter weather. This evening our boatſwain (a painful man, and one that had labour'd extremely theſe two or three days) was very ſick, ſwooning away three or four times; inſomuch that we thought verily he would preſently have died.

The 7th in the morning the wind came up at S. E. and we ſtood away S. W. under all the ſail we could make. In this courſe we ſaw an iſland, and came cloſe aboard it, and had 20 fathom water, which was ſome comfort to us; for hitherto we could not come within four or five leagues of the ſhore, at that depth. This iſland ſtands in latitude 54. 10. In the afternoon we ſtood away S. W. and in the evening had the ſhoaling of the weſtern ſhore, in ten, eight and ſeven fathom, but it was ſo thick, that we could not ſee the land. It is about 14 leagues betwixt this iſland and the main.

The 8th was thick, foggy and calm; which ſo continued till the 9th, about ſix in the morning; the wind then coming up at S. S. W. (though very foggy) we ſtood to the eaſtward, keeping our lead going continually. In the evening the water ſhoaled to ten and nine fathom, wherefore we ſtood off and on all night.

The 10th we made it, finding it an iſland of about eight or nine leagues long. It ſtands in latitude 53. 5. and about 15 leagues from the weſtern ſhore. The part of it that we coaſted, trends W. N. W. I named it my lord *Weſton's Iſland*. We ſtood ſtill away to the eaſtward, it being broken foggy weather. In the afternoon, we deſcry'd land to the eaſtward of us, which made like three hills or hummocks: Towards them we ſail, keeping our lead ſtill going, and very circumſpect. At length we alſo ſaw land to the ſouthward of us; whereupon we loof up, and now make for that, by courſe, as we had ſet it in the thick dark fog. We came in amongſt ſuch low broken grounds, breaches and rocks, that we knew not which way to turn us; but God be thanked it was but little wind, and ſo we came to an anchor. Soon after it cleared, at which time we could ſee nothing but ſands, rocks and breaches round about us; that way only excepted which we came in. I ſent preſently the boat to ſound amongſt the ſhoals and rocks, that if we ſhould be put to extremity, we might have ſome knowledge which way to go. This night proved calm and fair weather, and we rid quietly.

The 11th in the morning, I went in the boat aſhore my ſelf; and whilſt I was a land, I ſent the boat about amongſt the broken

broken grounds to ſound. I found this iſland utterly barren of all goodneſs, yea, of that which I thought eaſily to have found; which was ſcurvy-graſs, ſorrel, or ſome herb or other, to have refreſhed our ſick people. I could not perceive that the tide did flow here (ordinarily) above two foot. There was much drift wood on the ſhore, and ſome of it drove up very high, on the north-ſide of the iſland; whereby I judged that the ſtorms were very great at north in the winter. Thus I returned aboard, and ſent many of our ſick men to another part of iſland, to ſee if they themſelves could fortunately find any relief for their griefs. At noon, by good obſervation, we were in latitude 52. 45. In the evening our men returned comfortleſs; and then we weigh'd and ſtood to the weſtward, coming to an anchor under another iſland, in 20 fathoms.

The 12th in the morning it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly off the ſhore, and the ſhip began to drive, it being ſoft oozy ground. We heaved in our anchor thereupon, and came to ſail under two courſes. Whilſt the moſt were buſy in heaving out of top-ſails; ſome that ſhould have had ſpecial care of the ſhip, ran her aſhore upon the rocks, out of meer careleſneſs; in looking out and about, or heaving of the lead after they had ſeen the land all night long, and might even then have ſeen it, if they had not been blinded with ſelf-conceit, and been enviouſly oppoſite in opinions. The firſt blow ſtruck me out of a deep ſleep; and I running out of my cabin, thought no other at firſt, but I had been wakened (when I ſaw our danger) to provide my ſelf for another world.

After I had controul'd a little paſſion in my ſelf, and had checkt ſome bad counſel that was given me, to revenge my ſelf upon thoſe that had committed this error; I ordered what ſhould be done to get off theſe rocks and ſtones: Firſt, we halled all our ſails a back-ſlays, but that did no good, but make her beat the harder: Whereupon we ſtruck all our ſails amain; and furled them up cloſe, tearing down our ſtern to bring the cable through the cabin to the capſtan, and ſo laid out an anchor to heave her aſtern. I made all the water in hold to be ſtav'd, and ſet ſome to the pumps to pump it out, and did intend to do the like with our beer: Others I put to throw out all our coals, which was ſoon and readily done. We quoiled out our cables into our long boat; all this while the ſhip beating ſo fearfully that we ſaw ſome of the ſheathing ſwim by us. Then ſtood we, as many as we could, to the capſtan; and heaved with ſuch a good will, that the cable brake, and we loſt our anchor. Out with all ſpeed therefore, we put another. We could not now perceive whether ſhe did leak or no; and that by reaſon we were imployed in pumping out the water, which we had bulged in hold; though we much doubted, that ſhe had received her death's wound; wherefore we put into the boat the carpenter's tools, a barrel of bread, a barrel of powder, ſix muſkets, with ſome match, and a tinder-box, fiſh-hooks and lines, pitch and okum; and to be brief, whatever could be thought on in ſuch an extremity. All this we ſent aſhore, to prolong a miſerable life for a few days. We were five hours thus beating, in which time ſhe ſtruck 100 blows, inſomuch that we thought every ſtroke had been the laſt that it was poſſible ſhe could have endured. The water we could not perceive in all this time to flow any thing at all: At length it pleaſed God, ſhe beat over all the rocks, though yet we knew not whether ſhe were ſtanch. Whereupon to pumping we go on all hands, 'till we made the pumps ſuck; and then we ſaw how much water ſhe did make in a glaſs. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to prayer and gave God thanks it was no worſe; and ſo fitted all things again, and got farther off and came to an anchor. In the evening it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had done whilſt we were on the rocks, we had loſt our ſhip without any redemption. With much ado we weighed our anchor, and let her drive to the eaſtward amongſt the broken grounds and rocks, the boat going before, ſounding. At length we came amongſt breaches, and the boat made ſigns to us that there was no going farther. Amongſt the rocks therefore we again came to an anchor, where we did ride all night, and where our men, which were tired out with extreme labour, were indifferently well refreſhed. Here I firſt noted, that when the wind was at S. it flowed very little or no water at all, ſo that we could not bring our ſhip aground to look to her, for we did pump almoſt continually.

The 13th at noon we weighed and ſtood to the weſtward; but in that courſe it was all broken grounds, ſhoals and ſunken rocks, ſo that we wondered with our ſelves, how we came in amongſt them in a thick fog. Then we ſhaped our courſe to the northward, and after ſome conſultation with my aſſociates, I reſolved to get about this land, and ſo to go down into the bottom of *Hudſon*'s-*Bay*, and ſee if I could

could diſcover a way into the river of *Canada*; and if I failed of that, then to winter on the main land, where there is more comfort to be expected, than among rocks or iſlands. We ſtood along the ſhore, in ſight of many beaches: When it was night we ſtood under our fore-ſail, the lead ſtill going. At laſt the water ſhoaled upon us to ten fathom, and it began to blow hard: We tackt about, and it did deepen to 12 and 14 fathom, but by and by it ſhoaled again to eight fathom. Then we tackt about again, and ſuddenly it ſhoalded to ſix and five fathom, ſo we ſtruck our ſail amain, and chopt to an anchor, reſolving to ride it out for life and death. We rid all night a great ſtreſs, ſo that our bits did riſe, and we thought they would have been torn to pieces.

At break of day the 14th, we were joyful men; and when we could look about, we deſcried an iſland ſome two leagues off, at W. by N. and this was the ſhoal that lay about it. Here did run a diſtracted, but yet a very quick tide, of which we taking the opportunity, got up our anchor, and ſtood N. W. to clear our ſelves of this ſhoal. In the afternoon the wind came up at N. E. and we ſtood along the eaſtern ſhore in ſight of a multitude of breaches. In the evening it began to blow a ſtorm not ſail-worthy, and the ſea went very high, and was all in a breach. Our ſhalop, which we did now tow at ſtern, being moor'd with two hawſers was ſunk, and did ſpin by her moorings, with her keel up, twenty times in an hour. This made our ſhip to hull very broad, ſo that the ſea did continually over-rake us, yet we endured it and thought to recover her. All night the ſtorm continued with violence, and with ſome rain in the morning, it then being very thick weather. The water ſhoalded apace, with ſuch an over-grown ſea withal, that her ſail was not to be endured, and what was as ill, there was no truſting to an anchor. Now therefore began we to prepare ourſelves, how to make a good end of a miſerable tormented life. About noon as it cleared up, we ſaw two iſlands under our lee; whereupon we bare up to them, and ſeeing an opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before night, for that there was no hope of us, if we continued out at ſea that night; therefore come life, come death, we muſt run this hazard. We found it to be a good ſound, where we rid all night ſafely, and recovered our ſtrengths again, which were much impaired with continual labour. But before we could get into this good place, our ſhallop broke away, (being moor'd with two hawſers) and we loſt her to our great grief. Thus now had we but the ſhip-boat, and ſhe was all torn and bruiſed too. This iſland was the ſame that we had formerly coaſted the weſtern ſide of, and had named my lord *Weſton*'s iſland. Here we remained till the 19th, in which time it did nothing but ſnow and blow extremely, inſomuch that we durſt not put our boat over-board.

The 19th, the wind ſhifted N. N. E. and we weigh'd and ſtood to the ſouthward; but by noon the wind came up at S. and ſo we came to an anchor under another iſland, on which I went aſhore, and named it *The earl of Briſtol's iſland.* The carpenter wrought hard in repairing our boat; whilſt I wandered up and down on this deſart iſland, I could not perceive that ever there had been any ſalvages on it; and in brief, we could find neither fiſh, fowl nor herb upon it, ſo that I returned comfortleſs on board again. The tides do high about ſome ſix foot, now that the wind is northerly: The flood comes from the north, and it doth flow half-tide. The full ſea this day was at one a clock. Here ſeeing the winds continue ſo northerly, that we could not about to go into *Hudſon*'s bay, we conſidered again what was beſt to do, to look out for a wintering-place. Some adviſed me to go for port *Nelſon*, becauſe we were certain that there was a cove, where we might bring in our ſhip. I liked not that counſel, for that it is a moſt perilous place, and that it might be ſo long ere we could get thither, that we might be debar'd by the ice. Moreover, ſeeing it was ſo cold here, as that every night our rigging did freeze, and that ſometimes in the morning we did ſhovel away the ſnow half a foot thick off our decks, and in that latitude too; I thought it far worſe in the other place. I reſolved thereupon to ſtand again to the ſouthward, there to look for ſome little creek or cove for our ſhip.

The 21ſt, the wind came up at N. and we weighed, although it was a very thick fog, and ſtood away S. W. to clear our ſelves of the ſhoals that were on the point of this iſland. This iſland is in lat. 53. 10. When we were clear, we ſteer'd away S. At noon the fog turned into rain, but very thick weather, and it did thunder all the afternoon, which made us doubt a ſtorm; for all which we adventured to proceed. In the evening the wind increaſed, and blew hard; wherefore we took in all our ſails, and let her drive to the ſouthward, heaving the lead every glaſs. Our depth, when we took in our ſails, was thirty fathom, and it did increaſe to 45, which was a great comfort to us in the dark: At midnight, our depth began ſuddenly to decreaſe; and as faſt as the lead could be heaved,

heaved, it ſhoaled to twenty fathom, wherefore we chopt to an anchor, and trimmed our ſhip aft, to mount on the ſea, and fitted all things to ride it out. There was no need to bid our men watch, not one of them putting his eyes together all the night long. We rid it out well all the night, although the ſea went very lofty, and that it did blow very hard.

The 22d in the morning, when we could look about us, we ſaw an iſland under our lee ſome leagues off, all being ſhoals and breaches betwixt us and it. At noon (with the help of the windward tide) we attempted to heave up our anchor, although the ſea ſtill went very lofty. Joining all our ſtrengths therefore, with our beſt ſkills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could ſet our ſails we were driven into nine fathom. Endeavouring thereupon to double a point, to get under the lee of this iſland, the water ſhoaled to ſeven, ſix, and five fathom, but when we were about, it did deepen again, and we came to an anchor in a very good place; and it was very good for us that we did, for the wind increaſed to a very ſtorm. Here we rid well all the night, took good reſt, and recovered our ſpent ſtrengths again. The laſt night and this morning it did ſnow and hail, and was very cold: Nevertheleſs, I took the boat and went aſhore, to look for ſome creek or cove to have in our ſhip, for ſhe was very leaky, and the company become ſickly and weak, with much pumping and extreme labour. This iſland, when we came to the ſhore, was nothing but ledges of rocks, and banks of ſand, and there went a very great ſurf on them. Nevertheleſs I made them row thorough it, and aſhore I got with two more, and made them row off without the breaches, and there to come to an anchor and to ſtay for me: I made what ſpeed I could to the top of a hill, to diſcover about, but could not ſee what we looked for: Thus becauſe it began to blow hard, I made haſte towards the boat again. I found that it had ebbed ſo low, that the boat could not by any means come near the ſhore for me; ſo that we were fain to wade thro' the ſurf and breaches to her; in which ſome took ſuch a cold, that they did complain of it to their dying day. But now it began to blow hard, ſo that we could not get but little to windward toward our ſhip, for the wind was ſhifted ſince we went aſhore; and return to the ſhore we could not, by reaſon of the ſurf. Well, we row for life; they in the ſhip let out a buoy by a long warp, and by God's aſſiſtance we got to it, and ſo haled up to the ſhip, where we were well welcomed, and we all rejoyced together. This was a premonition to us, to be careful how we ſent off the boat, for that it was winter weather already. I named this iſland, *Sir* Thomas Roe's *iſland:* It is full of ſmall wood, but in other benefits not very rich, and ſtands in lat. 52. 10. At noon we weighed, ſeeing an iſland that bare S. S. E. of us, ſome four leagues off, which was the higheſt land we had yet ſeen in this bay; but as we came near it, it ſuddenly ſhoaled to ſix, five, and four fathom, wherefore we ſtruck our ſails amain, and chopt to an anchor; but it was very foul ground, and when the ſhip was winded up, we had but three fathom at her ſtern. As it cleared, we could ſee the breaches all along under our lee; holding it ſafe therefore to ſtay long here, we ſettled every thing in order, for the ſhip to fall the right way. We had up our anchor, got into deep water, and ſtood over again for Sir *Thomas Roe*'s iſland, which by night we brought in the wind of us, ſome two leagues off, which did well ſhelter us. The tides run very quick here amongſt theſe ſhoals; and their times of running ebb or flood, be very uncertain: Their currents are likewiſe ſo diſtracted, that in the night there is no ſailing by the compaſs; wherefore we were fain to ſeek every night ſome new place of ſecurity to come to an anchor.

The 24th in the morning it did lower, and threaten a ſtorm, which made us with the windward tide weigh to get nearer under the iſland. It was very thick foggy weather, and as we ſtood to the north eaſtward, we came to very uncertain depths; at one caſt twenty fathom, the next ſeven, then ten, five, eight, and three, and coming to the other tack, we were worſe than we were before, the currents making a fool of our beſt judgments in the thick fog, when we could ſee no land marks. It pleaſed God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the lee of the iſland. This being not able to do, we were fain to come to an anchor in 35 fathom, ſome two leagues off the ſhore. All this afternoon (and indeed all night too) it did ſnow and hail, and was very cold.

The 25th we weighed, and thought to get to the eaſtward; but as we tack'd to and again, the wind ſhifted ſo in our teeths, that it put us within a quarter of a mile of the very ſhore; where we chopt to an anchor, and rid it out for life and death. Such miſeries as theſe we endured amongſt theſe ſhoals and broken grounds, or rather more deſperate than I have related (very unpleaſant perchance to be read) with ſnow, hail, and ſtormy weather, and colder than ever I felt it in *England* in my life. Our ſhoot-anchor was down twice or thrice a day, and

and extreme pains made a great part of the company ſickly.

All this laſted with us until the 30th of this month of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our miſeries; for now we were driven amongſt rocks, ſhoals, over-falls, and breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not; but there rid amongſt them in extremity of diſtreſs. All theſe perils made a moſt hideous and terrible noiſe in the night ſeaſon; and I hope it will not be accounted ridiculous, if I relate with what meditations I was affected, now and then, amongſt my ordinary prayers; which I here afford the reader, as I there conceived them in theſe few ragged and torn rhimes.

Oh my poor ſoul, why doſt thou grieve to ſee,
So many deaths muſter to murder me?
Look to thyſelf, regard not me; for I
Muſt do (for what I came) perform or die.
So thou mayſt free thyſelf from being in
A dunghil dungeon, a mere ſink of ſin;
And happily be freed, if thou believe,
Truly in God through Chriſt, and ever live.
Be therefore glad: yet e'er thou go from hence,
For our joint ſins, let's do ſome penitence,
Unfeignedly together. When we part,
I'll wiſh the angels joy, with all my heart.
We have with confidence relied upon
A ruſty wire, touch'd with a little ſtone,
Incompaſs'd round with paper, and alaſs,
To houſe it harmleſs, nothing but a glaſs,
And thought to ſhun a thouſand dangers, by
The blind direction of this ſenſeleſs flie;
When the fierce winds ſhatter'd black nights aſunder,
Whoſe pitchy clouds, ſpitting forth fire and thunder,
Hath ſhook the earth, and made the ocean roar;
And run to hide it in the broken ſhore:
Now thou muſt ſteer by faith; *a better guide,*
'Twill bring thee ſafe to heaven againſt the tide
Of Satan's malice. Now let quiet gales
Of ſaving Grace inſpire thy zealous ſails.

The firſt of *October* was indifferent fair weather, and with a windward tide, out went our boat to ſound a channel to help us out of this perilous place. The boat within two hours returned, and told us how ſhe had been a way where there was no leſs than 12 fathom. We preſently thereupon weigh'd, but found it otherwiſe, and came amongſt many ſtrange races and over-falls, upon which there went a very great and breaking ſea. As we proceeded, the water ſhoal'd to ſix fathom. Well! there was no remedy, we muſt go forward, happy be lucky, ſeeing there neither was any riding, and as little hope to turn any way with a ſail, but that there appear'd preſent death in it. It pleaſed God ſo to direct us, that we got thro' it, having no leſs than five ſeveral, and all very uncertain depths. The water ſometimes deepen'd to twenty fathom, then upon a ſudden, it ſhoal'd to ſeven, ſix, and five fathoms; ſo we ſtruck all our ſails amain, and chopp'd to an anchor, where we rid till midnight, for life and death, it blowing a mercileſs gale of wind, and the ſea going very lofty, and all in a breach. The ground was foul ground too, inſomuch that we doubted our cable every minute.

The ſecond in the morning was little wind; wherefore taking the opportunity of the tide, the boat went forth to ſound; which returning again in two hours, told us how they had ſounded about that ſhoal, and had found a place of ſome ſafety to ride in, and had been in no leſs water than five fathom. We weighed, and found our cable galled in two places; which had ſoon failed us, if the foul weather had continued. We ſtood the ſame way that the boat did direct us; but it proved ſo calm, that we came to an anchor in eighteen fathom. I took the boat, and went aſhore on an iſland that was to the ſouthward of us, which I named, *The earl of* Danby's *iſland*. From the higheſt place in it, I could ſee it all broken grounds and ſhoals to the ſouthward; and rather worſe than any thing better than that which we had been in. I found that the ſalvages had been upon it, and that it was full of wood. I made haſte to the boat to ſound the bay for fear of ſhoals and ſunken rocks, but found it indifferent good. Toward the evening it began to blow hard; wherefore we made towards the ſhip. She put forth a buoy and a warp; and we rowing for life to recover her, were put to the leeward of her; but by getting hold of the warp, we hall'd up to her. The boat we left half full of water, ourſelves being as wet as drown'd rats; and it made us the more rejoice, that we had eſcap'd this great danger. All this night we had a very hard rode-ſteed, it blowing a moſt violent gale of wind, with ſnow and hail.

The third about noon the wind dull'd, and we had up our anchor, ſtanding in farther into the bay into four fathom and a half water. Here we came again to an anchor, with our ſecond anchor; for many of our men are now ſick, and the reſt ſo weaken'd, that we can hardly weigh our ſhoot-anchor. I took the boat, and went preſently aſhore to ſee what comfort I could find. This was the firſt time that I put foot on this iſland, which was the ſame that we did after winter upon. I found the tracks of deer, and ſaw ſome fowl; but that that did

rejoice

rejoice me moſt, was, that I did ſee an opening into the land, as if it had been a river. To it we make with all ſpeed, but found it to be barr'd, and not two foot water at full ſea on the bar; and yet within a moſt excellent fine harbour, having four fathom water. In the evening I returned aboard, bringing little comfort for our ſick men more than hopes.

The fourth it did ſnow and blow very hard, yet I got aſhore, and appointed the boat to go to another place (which made like a river) and to ſound it. In the mean time I went with four more, ſome four or five miles up into the country, but could find no relief all that way for our ſick, but a few berries only. After we had well wearied ourſelves in the troubleſome woods, we returned to the place I had appointed the boat to tarry for me; where at my coming I ſtill found her, ſhe having not been where I had order'd her, for it had blown ſuch a fierce gale of wind, that ſhe could not row to windward. Thus we returned aboard with no good news. It continued foul weather, with ſnow and hail, and extreme cold, till the ſixth, when with a favouring wind, we ſtood in nearer to the ſhore, and here moor'd the ſhip.

The ſeventh it ſnow'd all day, ſo that we were fain to clear it off the decks with ſhovels, and it blew a very ſtorm withal. It continued ſnowing and very cold weather, and it did ſo freeze, that all the bows of the ſhip, with her beak-head, was all ice; about the cable alſo was ice as big as a man's middle. The bows of the boat were likewiſe frozen half a foot thick, ſo that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The ſun did ſhine very clear, and we tore the topſails out of the tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a lump; ſo that there they hung a ſunning all day, in a very lump; the ſun not having power to thaw one drop of them. After the boat was fitted, we rowed towards the ſhore, but could not come near the place where we were uſed to land, for that it was all thicken'd water with the ſnow that had fallen upon the ſands, that are dry at low water. This made it ſo difficult to row, that we could not ſet through it with four oars, yet ſomething higher to the weſtward, we got aſhore. Seeing now the winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little wood aboard, I made them fill the boat, and went aboard; and ſent the carpenter and others to cut wood, others to carry it to the water-ſide, whilſt the boat brought it aboard; for I doubted that we were likely to be debar'd the ſhore, and that we ſhould not go to and again with the boat. It was miſerable and cold already aboard the ſhip; every thing did freeze in the hold, and by the fire-ſide. Seeing therefore that we could no longer make uſe of our ſails (which be the wings of a ſhip) it raiſed many doubts in our minds that here we muſt ſtay and winter. After we had brought ſo much wood aboard as we could conveniently ſtow, and enough as I thought would have laſted two or three months, the ſick men deſired that ſome little houſe or hovel might be built aſhore, whereby they might be the better ſheltered, and recover their healths. I took the carpenter (and others whom I thought fit for ſuch a purpoſe) and chuſing out a place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean ſpace, I myſelf, accompanied with ſome others, wandered up and down in the woods, to ſee if we could diſcover any ſigns of ſavages, that ſo we might the better provide for our ſafeties againſt them. We found no appearance that there were any on this iſland, nor near unto it. The ſnow by this time was half-leg high; and ſtalking thro' it, we return'd comfortleſs to our companions, who had all this time wrought well upon our houſe. They aboard the ſhip took down our top-ſails in the mean while, and made a great fire upon the hearth in the hatch-way; ſo that having well thaw'd them, they folded them up, and put them betwixt decks, that if we had any weather, they might bring them again to yard. Thus in the evening we returned aboard.

The twelfth we took our main-ſail from the yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it aſhore to cover our houſe withal, being firſt fain to thaw it by a great fire. By night they had covered it, and had almoſt hedged it about; and the ſix builders did deſire to lie in it aſhore that night, which I condeſcended unto, having firſt fitted them with muskets and other furniture, and a charge to keep good watch all night. Moreover, they had aſhore two greyhounds, (a dog and a bitch) which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us ſome deer, if happily we could find any.

By the 13th at night our houſe was ready; and our ſix builders deſired they might travel up into the country to ſee what they could diſcover.

The 14th, betimes in the morning, being fitted with munition, and their order to keep together (but eſpecially to ſeek out ſome creek or cove for our ſhip) they departed. We aboard took down our own top-maſts and their rigging, making account if we did remove, to make uſe of of our foreſail and mizen.

The 15th in the evening our hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a ſmall lean deer, in four quarters, which

rejoiced us all, hoping we ſhould have had more of them to refreſh our ſick men withal. They reported, that they had wander'd above twenty miles, and had brought this deer above twelve miles, and that they had ſeen nine or ten more. The laſt night they had a very cold lodging in the woods; and ſo it appeared, for they look'd all almoſt ſtarved, nor could they recover themſelves in three or four days after. They ſaw no ſign of ſalvages, nor of any ravening wild beaſts, nor yet any hope of harbour.

The 17th my lieutenant, and five more, deſired they might try their fortunes in travelling about the iſland. But they had far worſe luck than the others, although they endured out all night, and had wandered very far in the ſnow (which was now very deep) and returned comfortleſs, and miſerably diſabled with the coldneſs. But what was worſe than all this, they had loſt one of their company, *John Barton*, namely, our gunner's mate; who being very weary, merely to ſave the going about, had attempted to go over a pond, that was a quarter of a mile over; where when he was in the very midſt, the ice brake and cloſed upon him, and we never ſaw him more. Conſidering theſe diſaſters, I reſolved to fiſh no more with a golden hook, for fear I weaken'd myſelf more with one hunting, than twenty ſuch deers could do me good. Being now aſſured, that there were no ſavages upon the iſland, nor yet about us on the other iſlands; no, nor on the main neither, as far as we could diſcover (which we farther proved by making of fires) and that the cold ſeaſon was now in that extremity, that they could not come to us, if there were any; we comforted and refreſhed our ſelves, by ſleeping the more ſecurely. We chang'd our iſland garriſon every week, and for other refreſhing we were like to have none till the ſpring.

From this 10th to the 29th it did (by *interims*) ſnow and blow ſo hard, that the boat could hardly adventure aſhore, and but ſeldom land, unleſs the men did wade in the thick congealed water, carrying one another. We did ſenſibly perceive withal, how we did daily ſink into more miſeries. The land was all deep cover'd with ſnow, the cold did multiply, and the thick ſnow-water did increaſe; and what would become of us, our moſt merciful God and preſerver knew only.

The 29th I obſerved an eclipſe of the moon, with what care poſſibly I could, both in the tryal of the exactneſs of our inſtruments, as alſo in the obſervation. I refer you to the obſervation in the latter end of this relation, where it is at large deſcrib'd. This month of *October* ended with ſnow and bitter cold weather.

The firſt of *November* I caſt up my accounts with the ſteward concerning our victuals, the third part of our time being this day out. I found him an honeſt man; for he gave me an account every week what was ſpent, and what was ſtill in the hold remaining under his hand. I would take no excuſe of leekage or other waſte, unleſs he did daily ſhew it me. Every month I made a new ſurvey; and every ſix months put what we had ſpared by itſelf; which now was at leaſt a month's proviſion of bread, and a fortnight's of peas, and fiſh, *&c.*

The third the boat endeavoured to get aſhore, but could not ſet thro' the thick congealed water.

The fourth they found a place to get aſhore, and ſo once in two or three days, till the ninth, bringing beer to our men aſhore in a barrel, which would freeze firmly in the houſe in one night. Other proviſion they had ſtore. The ice beer being thaw'd in a kettle, was not good; and they did break the ice of the ponds of water, to come by water to drink. This pond-water had a moſt loathſom ſmell with it; ſo that doubting leſt it might be infectious, I caus'd a well to be ſunk near the houſe. There we had very good water, which did taſte (as we flatter'd our ſelves with it) even like milk.

The tenth (having ſtore of boards for ſuch a purpoſe) I put the carpenter to work, to make us a little boat, which we might carry (if occaſion were) over the ice, and make uſe of her, where there was water. At noon I took the latitude of this iſland by two quadrants, which I found to be 52.00. I urged the men to make traps to catch foxes, for we did daily ſee many. Some of them were pied, black and white; whereby I gathered that there were ſome black foxes, whoſe skins, I told them, were of a great value; and I promiſed, that whoſoever could take one of them, ſhould have the ſkin for his reward. Hereupon they made divers traps, and waded in the ſnow (which was very deep) to place them in the woods.

The twelfth our houſe took fire, but we ſoon quenched it. We were fain to keep an extraordinary fire night and day; and this accident made me order a watch to look to it continually; ſeeing, that if our houſe and clothing ſhould be burnt, that all we were but in a woful condition. I lay aſhore till the 17th, all which time our miſeries did increaſe. It did ſnow and freeze moſt extremely. At which time we looking from the ſhore towards the ſhip, ſhe did look like a piece of ice in the faſhion of a ſhip, or a ſhip reſembling a piece of ice. The ſnow

was

was all frozen about her, and all her fore-part firm ice, and ſo was ſhe on both ſides alſo. Our cables froze in the hawſe, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long nights I ſpent, with tormenting cogitations; and in the day time, I could not ſee any hope of ſaving the ſhip. This I was aſſured of, that it was moſt impoſſible to endure theſe extremities long. Every day the men muſt beat the ice off the cables; while ſome within board, with the carpenters long calking iron, did dig the ice out of the hawſes; in which work, the water would freeze on their clothes and hands, and would ſo benumb them, that they could hardly get into the ſhip, without being heav'd in with a rope.

The 19th, our gunner (who as you may remember, had his leg cut off) did languiſh irrecoverably, and now grew very weak; deſiring, that for the little time he had to live, he might drink ſack altogether, which I ordered he ſhould do.

The 22d in the morning he died. An honeſt and a ſtrong-hearted man. He had a cloſe boarded cabin in the gunroom, which was very cloſe indeed; and as many clothes on him as was convenient, (for we wanted no clothes) and a pan with coals, and a fire continually in his cabin: For all which warmth, his plaiſter would freeze at his wound, and his bottle of ſack at his head. We committed him at a good diſtance from the ſhip unto the ſea.

The 23d, the ice did increaſe extraordinarily, and the ſnow lay on the water in flakes, as it did fall; much ice withal drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the evening, after the watch was ſet, a great piece came athwart our hawſe, and four more following after him, the leaſt of them a quarter of a mile broad; which in the dark did very much aſtoniſh us, thinking it would have carried us out of the harbour, upon the ſhoal's eaſtern-point, which was full of rocks. It was newly congealed, a matter of two inches thick, and we broke thorough it, the cable and anchor induring an incredible ſtreſs, ſometimes ſtopping the whole ice. We ſhot off three muſkets, ſignifying to our men aſhore, that we were in diſtreſs; who anſwered us again, but could not help us. By ten a clock it was all paſt; nevertheleſs, we watched carefully, and the weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this month. In the morning, at break of day, I ſent for our men aboard, who made up the houſe, and arrived by ten, being driven by the way, to wade thorough the congealed water, ſo that they recovered to the boat with difficulty. There drove by the ſhip many pieces of ice, though not ſo large as the former, yet much thicker: One piece came foul of the cable, and made the ſhip drive.

As ſoon as we were clear of it, we joined our ſtrengths together, and had up our eaſtermoſt anchor; and now I reſolved to bring the ſhip aground, for no cables nor anchors could hold her: But I will here ſhow you the reaſons why I brought her no ſooner aground. Firſt, it was all ſtony-ground, ſome ſtones lying dry, three or four foot above water; ſo that it was to be ſuſpected, that it was the like all about us. Secondly, it did ordinarily flow but two foot and a half here; and if ſhe ſhould bed deep in the ſands, we could not ever come to dig her out again; for that ſhe would not be dry, by four or five foot. Thirdly, it was a looſe ſand, which might riſe with the ſurf, or ſo mount about her, that all our weak powers could not heave it away in the next ſpring time. Fourthly, we doubted the tides would not high ſo much in the ſummer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the tides way, which doth run ſomething quick here; and the ice, beſides, might drive and mount up upon her, and ſo overſet her, or tear her, and carry away her planks, iron works and all; ſo that we ſhould have nothing left to finiſh our pinnace with. Sixthly, If it did blow a ſtorm at N. W. or thereabouts, the water would flow ten foot and upwards; and that wind being off the ſhore, it would blow away all the ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great ſurf about the ſhoaled eaſtern-point, which was occaſioned by a deep overfall. Moreover, ſhe would beat extremely; and if ſhe were put up by the ſea, or that ſurf, it was very doubtful that we ſhould never have her off again. For theſe reaſons we endured all the extremity, ſtill hoping upon ſome good and fortunate accident. But now all our provident deſigns we ſaw to become fooliſhneſs; and that a great deal of miſerable labour had been ſpent in vain by us. With the flood we weighed our weſtermoſt anchor, perceiving God's aſſiſtance manifeſtly, becauſe it happened to be fine warm weather; otherwiſe we had not been able to work. The wind was now ſouth, which blew in upon the ſhore, and made the loweſt tides. We brought the ſhip into twelve foot water, and laid out one anchor in the offing, and another in ſhoaled water, to draw her a land at command. Our hope alſo was, that ſome ſtones that were to the weſtward of us, would fend off ſome of the ice. We then being about a mile from the ſhore, about ten a clock in the dark night, the ice came driving upon us, and our anchors came home. She drove ſome two cables length; and the wind

blowing on the ſhore, by two a clock ſhe came aground, and ſtopt much ice; yet ſhe lay well all night, and we took ſome reſt.

The 25th the wind ſhifted eaſterly, and put abundance of ice on us. When the flood was made, we encouraged one another, and to work we go, drawing home our anchors by main force, under great pieces of ice, our endeavour being to put the ſhip to the ſhore. But to our great diſcomforts, when the half tide was made, (which was two hours before high water) the ſhip drove amongſt the ice to the eaſtward, (do what we could) and ſo would have on the ſhoaled rocks. As I have formerly ſaid, theſe two days, and this day, was very warm weather, and it did rain, which it had not yet but once done, ſince we came hither; otherwiſe, it had been impoſſible we could have wrought. Withal, the wind ſhifted alſo to the ſouth, and at the very inſtant, blew a hard puff, which ſo continued for half an hour. I cauſed our two topſails to be had up from betwixt decks, and we hoiſted them up with ropes in all haſte, and we forced the ſhip aſhore, when ſhe had not half a cable's length to drive on the rocky ſhoals. In the evening we broke way thorough the ice, and put an anchor to ſhoreward in five foot water, to keep her to the ſhore if poſſible it might be. Here ſir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my mind, who without doubt was driven out of his harbour in this manner, and ſo ſtarved at ſea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine a clock at night, the wind came up at N. W. and blew a very ſtorm. This wind was off the ſhore, which blew away all the ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling ſea withal about the point, accompanied with a great ſurf on the ſhore. And now were we left to the mercy of the ſea on the ground. By ten, ſhe began to rowl in her dock; and ſoon after, began to beat againſt the ground. We ſtood at the capſtang as many as could, others at the pumps; for we thought that every fifth or ſixth blow would have ſtaved her to pieces. We heaved to the uttermoſt of our ſtrengths to keep her as near the ground as we could. By reaſon of this wind, it flowed very much water, and we drew her up ſo high, that it was doubtful if ever we ſhould get her off again. She continued thus beating, till two a clock the next morning, and then ſhe again ſettled. Whereupon we went to ſleep to reſtore nature; ſeeing the next tide we expected to be again tormented.

The 26th, in the morning tide, our ſhip did not float, whereby we had ſome quietneſs. After prayers, I called a conſultation of the maſter, my lieutenant, the mates, carpenter, and boatſwain; to whom I propoſed, that now we were put to our laſt ſhifts, and therefore they ſhould tell me what they thought of it: Namely, whether it were not beſt, to carry all our proviſion aſhore; and that when the wind ſhould come northerly, it were not ſafeſt to draw her farther off, and ſink her. After many reaſonings they allowed of my purpoſe, and ſo I communicated it to the company, who all willingly agreed to it. And ſo we fell to getting up of our proviſions; firſt our bread, of which we landed this day two dry-fats with a hogſhead of beef; having much ado to ſet the boat thorough the thick congealed water. In the evening, the wind came up at N. E. and E. and fill'd the bay choakful of ice.

The 27th, the bay continued full of ice, which I hoped would ſo continue and freeze, that we ſhould not be put to ſink our ſhip. This day we could land nothing.

The 28th, at break of day, three of our men went aſhore over the ice, unknown to me; and the wind coming up at W. drove the ice from betwixt us and the ſhore, and moſt part out of the bay alſo: And yet not ſo, that the boat could go aſhore for any thing. I made the carpenter fit a place againſt all ſudden extremities, for that with the firſt N. W. or northerly wind, I meant to effect our laſt project. In the run of her, on the ſtarboard ſide, he cut away the ſealing and the plank to the ſheathing ſome four or five inches ſquare, ſome four foot high from the keel of her, that ſo it might be boared out at an inſtant. We brought our bread which was remaining in the bread room, up into the great cabbin, and likewiſe all our powder, ſetting much of our light dry things betwixt decks.

The 29th, at five a clock in the morning, the wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the wind to ſhift from the W. by the N. round about. So firſt I ordered the cooper to go down in hold, and look to all our caſk; thoſe that were full, to mawle in the bungs of them; thoſe that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to ſtave them. Then to quoil all our cables upon our lower tire; and to lay on our ſpare anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from riſing. By ſeven a clock, it blew a ſtorm at N. W. our bitter enemy. The ſhip was already bedded ſome two foot in the ſand, and whilſt that was a flowing, ſhe muſt beat. This I before had in my conſideration; for I thought ſhe was ſo far driven up, that we ſhould never get her off. Yet we had been ſo

ferreted by her laſt beating, that I reſolved to ſink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a clock, ſhe began to rowl in her dock, with a moſt extraordinary great ſea that was come, which I found to be occaſioned by the forementioned overfall. And this was the fatal hour that put us to our wits end. Wherefore I went down in hold with the carpenter, and took his augur and bored a hole in the ſhip, and let in the water. Thus with all ſpeed, we began to cut out other places to bore thorough, but every place was full of nails. By ten, notwithſtanding, the lower tire was covered with water; for all which, ſhe began ſo to beat in her dock, more and more, that we could not work, nor ſtand to do any thing in her: Nor would ſhe ſink ſo faſt as we would have her, but continued beating double blows; firſt abaft, and then before, that it was wonderful, how ſhe could endure a quarter of an hour with it. By twelve a clock, her lower tire roſe; and that did ſo counterbeat on the inſide, that it beat the bulk heads of the bread-room, powder-room, and forepiece, all to pieces; and when it came betwixt decks, the cheſts fled wildly about, and the water did flaſh and fly wonderfully; ſo that now we expected every minute when the ſhip would open and break to pieces. At one a clock ſhe beat off her rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus ſhe continued beating till three a clock, and then the ſea came up on the upper deck, and ſoon after, ſhe began to ſettle. In her, we were fain to ſink the moſt part of our bedding and clothes; and the chirurgeons cheſt with the reſt. Our men that were aſhore, ſtood looking upon us, almoſt dead with cold, and ſorrows to ſee our miſery and their own. We look'd upon them again, and both upon each other with woful hearts. Dark night drew on, and I bade the boat to be haled up, and commanded my loving companions to go all into her; who (in ſome refuſing compliments) expreſſed their faithful affections to me, as loth to part from me. I told them, that my meaning was to go aſhore with them. And thus, laſtly, I forſook the ſhip.

We were ſeventeen poor ſouls now in the boat; and we now imagined, that we were leapt out of the frying pan into the fire: The ebb was made, and the water extraordinary thick, congealed with ſnow; ſo that we thought aſſuredly, it would carry us away into the ſea. We thereupon double mann'd four oars, appointing four more to ſit ready with oars; and ſo with the help of God we got to the ſhore, halling up the boat after us. One thing was moſt ſtrange in this thick water: Namely, that there went a great ſwelling ſea. Being arrived upon the land, we greeted our fellows the beſt we could; at which time they could not know us, nor we them by our habits nor voices, ſo frozen all over we were, faces, hair, and apparel. And here I mean to take breath awhile, after all this long and unpleaſant relation of our miſerable endeavours, craving leave firſt of all to ſpeak a word or two in general.

The winds, ſince we came hither, have been very variable and unconſtant; and till within this fortnight, the ſoutherly wind was the coldeſt. The reaſon I conceive to be, for that it did blow from the main land, which was all covered with ſnow; and for that the north winds came out of the great bay which hitherto was open. Add to that, we were now under a ſouth bank which did ſhelter us, ſo that we were not ſo ſenſible of it.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and a N. W. wind (if it blew a ſtorm) would raiſe the tides extraordinarily: And indeed, from the W. N. W. to the N. N. E. would raiſe the tides in proportion, as they did blow from the middle point: The wind being on the oppoſite points (if it blew) it would flow very little at all. The harder it blew, the leſs water it would flow. If it were little wind or calm, it would flow indifferently. The tides do high ordinarily (without being forced) about three foot; but being forced with the forementioned winds, upwards of ten foot. I could perceive no difference betwixt neap and ſpring tides: It flows half tide; that is, the flood comes from the northward, and thither returns again, two hours before it be high water; and it is commonly ſo ſeen in moſt bays or inlets.

OUR

OUR

WINTERING.

AFTER we had haled up the boat, we went along the breach ſide in the dark, towards our houſe, where we made a good fire; and with it and bread and water, we thawed and comforted ourſelves, beginning after that to reaſon one with another, concerning our ſhip. I requir'd that every one ſhould ſpeak his mind freely. The carpenter (eſpecially) was of the opinion, that ſhe was founder'd, and would never be ſerviceable again. He alledged, that ſhe had ſo beaten, that it was not poſſible, but that all her joints were looſe, and ſeams open; and that by reaſon it flowed ſo little water, and no creek nor cove being near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not deviſe how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her rudder was loſt, and he had no iron work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up ſo high upon the ſands, that they thought we ſhould never have her off again, and that they were aſſured ſhe was already dock'd three foot. Others, that ſhe lay in the tides way, and that the ice might tear her to pieces off the ground; beſides which, two of our anchors we could not now get from under the ice; which when the ice brake (which would be of a great thickneſs by the ſpring) would break our anchors to pieces, and then we ſhould have no anchors to bring us home withal, ſuppoſing we got off the ſhip, and that ſhe proved ſound alſo. I comforted them the beſt I could with ſuch like words; My maſters and faithful companions, be not diſmay'd for any of theſe diſaſters, but let us put our whole truſt in God; it is he that giveth and he that taketh away; he throws down with one hand, and raiſeth up with another: His will be done. If it be our fortunes to end our days here, we are as near heaven as in *England*; and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us ſo large a time of repentance, who as it were daily calls upon us, to prepare ourſelves for a better life in heaven. I make no doubt, but he will be merciful to us both here on earth, and in his bleſſed kingdom; he doth not in the mean time deny, but that we may uſe all honeſt means to ſave and prolong our natural lives withal; and in my judgment, we are not yet ſo far paſt hope of returning into our native countries, but that I ſee a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the ſhip be foundered, (which God forbid, I hope the beſt) yet have thoſe of our own nation, and others, when they have been put to theſe extremities, even out of the wreck of their loſt ſhip, built then a pinnace, and recovered to their friends again. If it be objected, that they have happened into better climates, both for temperateneſs of the air, and for pacifick and open ſeas; and provided withal, of abundance of freſh victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for couragious minds, which hitherto you have ſhown, and I doubt not will ſtill do, to the uttermoſt.

They all proteſted to work to the uttermoſt of their ſtrength, and that they would refuſe nothing that I ſhould order them to do, to the uttermoſt hazard of their lives. I thank'd them all, and to the carpenter for his cheerful undertaking, I promiſed to give him ſo much plate preſently, as ſhould be worth ten pound ſterling; and if ſo be I went to *England* in the pinnace, I would give her him freely, and fifty pounds in money over and above; and would moreover gratify all them, that I ſhould ſee painful and induſtrious. Thus we then reſolved, to build us a new pinnace with the timber we ſhould get upon the iſland; that in the ſpring, if we found not the ſhip ſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the ſhips planks. And ſo for this night we ſettled ourſelves cloſe about the fire, and took ſome reſt till day-light.

The 30th betimes in the morning, I cauſed the chirurgeon to cut the hair of my head ſhort, and to ſhave away all the hair of my face, for that it was become intolerable, and that it would be frozen ſo great with iſicles: The like did all the reſt.

The firſt of *November* we fitted our ſelves to work. The firſt thing we were to do, was to get our clothes and proviſions aſhore, and therefore I divided the company. The maſter and a convenient company with him, were to go aboard, and get things out of the hold. The cock-ſwain with his gang, were to go in the boat, to bring and carry things aſhore. Myſelf, with the reſt, to carry it half a mile thro' the ſnow, unto the

place

place where we intended to build a ſtore-houſe: As for the heavier things, we purpoſed to lay them upon the beach. In the afternoon the wind was at ſouth ſouth weſt, and the water veer'd to ſo low an ebb, that we thought we might get ſomething out of our hold. We launched our boat therefore, and with oars ſet thro' the thick congealed water: It did freeze extream hard, and I did ſtand on the ſhore with a troubled mind, thinking verily that with the ebb the boat would be carried into the ſea, and that then we were all loſt men. But by God's aſſiſtance, they got ſafely to the ſhip, and made a fire there, to ſignify their arrival aboard. They fell preſently to work, and got ſomething out of the hold, upon the decks; but night coming on, they durſt not adventure to come aſhore, but lay on the bed in the great cabbin, being almoſt ſtarved.

The firſt of *December* was ſo cold, that I went the ſame way over the ice to the ſhip, where the boat had gone yeſterday. This day we carried upon our backs in bundles, 500 of our Fiſh, and much of our bedding and clothes, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather; and ſome of the men going over the ice, fell in, and were very hardly recovered; ſo that this day we could land nothing, neither by boat nor back: I put them therefore to make us a ſtore-houſe aſhore. In the evening, the wind came up at weſt; and the ice did break and drive out of the bay: It was very deep and large ice, that we much doubted it would have ſpoiled the ſhip.

The 3d day, there were divers great pieces of ice that came athwart the ſhip, and ſhe ſtopt them, yet not ſo, that we could go over them. We found a way for the boat; but when ſhe was loaden, ſhe drew four foot water, and could not come within a flight-ſhot of the ſhore. The men therefore muſt wade through the thick congealed water, and carry all things out of the ſhip upon their backs. Every time they waded in the ice, it ſo gathered about them, that they did ſeem like a walking piece of ice, moſt lamentable to behold. In this extream cold evening they cut away as much ice from about the boat as they could, and pickt it with hand-ſpikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoiſe her into the ſhip: There being ſmall hope that ſhe could go to and again any more. But uſe what means they could, ſhe was ſo heavy, that they could not hoiſe her in, but were fain there to leave her in the tackles by the ſhip's ſide.

The 4th, being ſunday we reſted; and performed the ſabbath-duties of a chriſtian.

The 5th and 6th were extream cold; and we made bags of our ſtore-ſhirts, and in them carried our looſe bread over the ice aſhoar upon our backs. We alſo digged our clothes and new-ſails with hand-ſpikes of iron, out of the ice, and carried them aſhoar, which we dried by a great fire.

The 7th day was ſo extreamly cold, that our noſes, cheeks, and hands, did freeze as white as paper.

The 8th and 9th it was extream cold, and it did ſnow much, yet we continued our labour, in carrying and rowling things aſhoar. In the evening the water raiſed the ice very high, and it did break two thoughts of our boat, and break in the ſide of her; but for that time we could not help it.

The 10th, our carpenter found timber to make a keel, and a ſtern, for our pinnace; the reſt wrought about our proviſions until the 13th day; and that we ſpent in digging our boat out of the ice, which we were fain to do to the very keel; and dig the ice out her, and then we got her up on the ice; in which doing, many had their noſes, cheeks, and fingers, frozen as white as paper. The cold now encreaſed moſt extreamly. By the 19th, we could get no more things out of our hold; but were fain to leave five barrels of beef and pork, all our beer, and divers other things which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21ſt was ſo cold, that we could not go out of the houſe.

The 23d we went to heave our boat aſhore, running her over our oars, but by ten a clock there came ſuch a thick fog, that it was as dark as night. I made them give over, and make what haſte we could to the ſhore; which we had much ado to find, for the time, loſing one another. At the laſt, we met all at the houſe, the miſerableſt frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers, the cold had raiſed bliſters as big as wall-nuts. This we imagined to come, by reaſon that they came too haſtily to the fire. Our well was now frozen up; ſo that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no water. Melted ſnow water is very unwholeſome, either to drink or to dreſs our victuals. It made us ſo ſhort-breathed, that we were ſcarce able to ſpeak. All our ſack, vinegar, oil, and every thing elſe that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of wood, and we muſt cut it with a hatchet. Our houſe was all frozen on the inſide, and it froze hard within a yard of the fire-ſide. When I landed firſt upon this iſland, I found a ſpring under a hill-ſide; which I then obſerving, had cauſed ſome trees to be cut for marks to know the place again by. It was about three quarters of a mile from our houſe. I ſent three of our men which had been formerly with me, thither upon the

24th: Theſe wading thorow the ſnow, at laſt found the place, and ſhoveling away the ſnow, they made way to the very head of it. They found it ſpring very ſtrongly, and brought me a can of it, for which I was right joyful. This ſpring continued all the year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the ice and come to it. We labour'd very hard theſe three or four days, to get wood to the houſe, which we found to be very troubleſome, through the deep ſnow.

We then ſettled our bedding and proviſions, providing to keep *Chriſtmas-day* holy, which we ſolemnized in the joyfulleſt manner we could; ſo likewiſe did we St. *John*'s day; upon which we named the wood we did winter in, in memory of that honourable knight, ſir *John Winter*, *Winter*'s *Foreſt*, And now inſtead of a *Chriſtmas* tale, I will here deſcribe the houſe that we did live in, with thoſe adjoining.

When I firſt reſolved to build a houſe, I choſe the warmeſt and convenienteſt place, and the neareſt the ſhip withal. It was amongſt a tuft of thick trees under a ſouth-bank, about a flight-ſhot from the ſea's ſide. True it is, that at that time we could not dig into the ground, to make us a hole or cave in the earth, (which had been the beſt way) becauſe we found water within two foot digging, and therefore that project fail'd. It was a white light ſand, ſo that we could by no means make up a mud-wall. As for ſtones, there were none near us, which moreover were all now covered with the ſnow. We had no boards for ſuch a purpoſe, and therefore we muſt do the beſt we could, with ſuch materials as we had about us.

The houſe was ſquare, about twenty foot every way, as much namely, as our main-courſe could well cover: Firſt we drove ſtrong ſtakes into the earth, round about, which we watteled with boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very cloſe. This our firſt work was ſix foot high on both ſides, but at the ends almoſt up to the very top, there we left two holes for the light to come in at, and the ſame way the ſmoak did vent out alſo. Moreover I cauſed at both ends, three rows of thick buſh-trees, to be ſtuck up, as cloſe together as might be poſſible. Then at a diſtance from the houſe, we cut down trees, proportioning them into lengths of ſix foot, with which we made a pile on both ſides, ſix foot thick, and ſix foot high, but at both ends ten foot high, and ſix foot thick: We left a little low door to creep into, and a portal before that, made with piles of wood, that the wind might not blow into it. We next of all faſtened a rough-tree aloft over all, upon which we laid our rafters, and our main-courſe over thoſe again; which lying thwart-ways over all, did reach down to the very ground on either ſide. And this was the fabrick of the outſide of it. On the inſide we made faſt our bonnet-ſails round about. Then we drove in ſtakes and made us bedſtead frames, about three ſides of the houſe, which bedſteads were double one under another, the lowermoſt being a foot from the ground. Theſe we firſt fill'd with boughs, then we laid ſome ſpare ſails on that, and then our bedding and cloaths. We made a hearth or cauſie in the middle of the houſe, and on it made our fire; ſome boards we laid round about our hearth to ſtand upon, that the cold damp ſhould not ſtrike up into us. With our waſt-clothes we made us canopies and curtains, others did the like with our ſmall ſails.

Our ſecond houſe was not paſt twenty foot diſtant from this, and made for the watteling much after the ſame manner, but it was leſs, and covered with our fore-courſe: It had no piles on the ſouth-ſide, but in lieu of that we piled up all our cheſts on the inſide; and indeed the reflex of the heat of the fire againſt them, did make it warmer than the manſion-houſe. In this houſe we dreſt our victuals, and the ſubordinate crue did refreſh themſelves all day in it.

A third houſe (which was our ſtore-houſe) we likewiſe made ſome twenty paces off from this, for fear of firing. This houſe was only a rough-tree faſtened aloft, with rafters laid from it to the ground, and covered with our new ſuit of ſails. On the inſide we had laid ſmall trees, and covered them over with boughs, and ſo ſtor'd up our bread and fiſh in it, about two foot from the ground, the better to preſerve them. Other things lay more careleſly.

Long before *Chriſtmas* our manſion-houſe was covered thick over with ſnow, almoſt to the very roof of it: And ſo likewiſe was our ſecond houſe; but our ſtore-houſe all over, by reaſon we made no fire in it. Thus we ſeemed to live in a heap and wilderneſs of ſnow; forth a-doors we could not go, but upon the ſnow, in which we made us paths middle-deep in ſome places, and in one ſpecial place, the length of ten ſteps. To do this we muſt ſhovel away the ſnow firſt; and then by treading make it ſomething hard under foot: The ſnow in this path was a full yard thick under us; and this was our beſt gallery for the ſick men, and for mine own ordinary walking. And both houſes and walks we

did daily accommodate more and more, and make fitter for our uſes.

The 27th we got our boat aſhore, and fetcht up ſome of our proviſions from the beach-ſide into the ſtore-houſe; and ſo by degrees did we with the reſt of our proviſions, with extremity of cold and labour, making way with ſhovels thorow the deep ſnow, even from the ſea-ſide unto our ſtore-houſe. And thus concluded we the old year 1631.

January 1632.

The firſt of *January* (and for the moſt part of all the month) was extreme cold.

The 6th, I obſerved the latitude with what exactneſs I could, (it being very clear ſun-ſhine weather) which I found to be 51. 52. This difference is, by reaſon that here is a great refraction.

The 21ſt I obſerved the ſun to riſe like an oval, along the horizon: I call'd three or four to ſee it, the better to confirm my judgment; and we all agreed that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by degrees as it gate up higher, it alſo recovered its roundneſs.

The 26th I obſerved, when the eaſtern-edge of the moon did touch the planet *Mars*, the *Lion's-Heart* was then in the eaſt-quarter 21. 45. above the horizon; but all this was not done with that exactneſs that I have done other obſervations.

The 30th and 31ſt there appeared in the beginning of the night, more ſtars in the firmament than ever I had before ſeen by two thirds. I could ſee the cloud in *Cancer* full of ſmall ſtars, and all the *Via Lactea* nothing but ſmall ſtars, and amongſt the *Pleiades* a great many ſmall ſtars. About ten a clock the moon did riſe, and then a quarter of them was not to be ſeen. The wind for the moſt part of this month hath been northerly and very cold; the warmeſt of which time we imployed our ſelves in fetching wood, working upon our pinnace, and other things that happened. In the beginning of this month the ſea was all firmly frozen over, ſo that we could ſee no water any way. I hope it will not ſeem tedious to the readers, if I here deliver mine own opinion, how this abundance of ice comes to be ingendered.

The land that encircles this great bay, (which lies in a broken irregular form, making many little ſhoald bays and guts, being moreover full of iſlands and dry ſands) is for the moſt part low and flat, and hath flat ſhoalds adjoining to it, half a mile or a mile, that are dry at low water. Now you muſt know that it flows half tide (as I have often experienced) that is, from whence the flood cometh, the water thither returneth, two hours before it be high-water or full ſea. It ſeldom rains after the middle of *September*, but ſnows, and that ſnow will not melt on the land nor ſands: At low water when it ſnows (which it doth very often) the ſands are all covered over with it, which the half-tide carries officiouſly (twice in 24 hours) into the great bay, which is the common rendezvous of it. Every low water are the ſands left clear, to gather more to the increaſe of it. Thus doth it daily gather together in this manner, till the latter end of *October*, and by that time hath it brought the ſea to that coldneſs, that as it ſnows the ſnow will lie upon the water in flakes, without changing its colour, but with the wind is wrought together, and as the winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the ſurface of it, two or three inches or more in one night; which being carried with the half-tide, meets with ſome obſtacle, (as it ſoon doth) and then it crumples, and ſo runs upon itſelf, that in a few hours it will be five or ſix foot thick. The half-tide ſtill flowing, carries it ſo faſt away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite multiplication of ice. And thus by this ſtoring of it up, the cold gets the predomination in the ſea, (which alſo furniſheth the ſprings and water in the low flat lands) that it cools it like itſelf. This may appear by our experience, though in all this I freely ſubmit myſelf unto the better learned. Our men found it more mortifying cold to wade thorow the water in the beginning of *June*, when the ſea was all full of ice, than in *December* when it was increaſing. Our well, moreover, out of which we had water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The ground at ten foot deep was frozen: The quantity of the ice, may very eaſily be made appear, by mathematical demonſtration; and yet I am not of the opinion, that the bay doth freeze all over. For the 21ſt the wind blowing a ſtorm at north, we could perceive the ice to riſe ſomething in the bay.

February 1632.

The cold was as extreme this month as at any time we had felt it this year; and many of our men complained of infirmities, ſome of ſore mouths, all the teeth in their heads being looſe, their gums ſwoln, with black rotten fleſh, which muſt every day be cut away. The pain was ſo ſore on them, that they could not eat their ordinary

dinary meat. Others complained of pain in their heads and their breaſts, ſome of weakneſs in their backs, others of aches in their thighs and knees, and others of ſwellings in their legs. Thus were two thirds of the company under the chirurgeon's hand; and yet nevertheleſs they muſt work daily, and go abroad to fetch wood and timber, notwithſtanding the moſt of them had no ſhoes to put on. Their ſhoes upon their coming to the fire, out of the ſnow, were burnt and ſcorcht upon their feet, and our ſtore-ſhoes were all ſunk in the ſhip. In this neceſſity they would make this ſhift, to bind clouts about their feet, and endeavoured by that poor help, the beſt they could to perform their duties. Our carpenter likewiſe is by this time faln ſick to our great diſcomforts. I practiſed ſome obſervations by the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, calculating the time of his riſing and ſetting, by very true running-glaſſes: As for our clock and watch, notwithſtanding we ſtill kept them by the fires-ſide, in a cheſt wrapt in clothes, yet were they ſo frozen, that they could not go. My obſervations by theſe glaſſes, I compared with the ſtars coming to the meridian. By this means we found the ſun to riſe 20 minutes before it ſhould; and in the evening to remain above the horizon 20 minutes (or thereabouts) longer than it ſhould do; and all this by reaſon of the refraction.

Since now I have ſpoken ſo much of the cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I in a few words make it ſome way to appear unto our readers.

We made three differences of the cold, all according to the places. In our houſe; in the woods; and in the open air, upon the ice, in our going to the ſhip.

For the laſt, it would be ſometimes ſo extreme, that it was not indurable, no cloaths were proof againſt it, no motion could reſiſt it. It would, moreover ſo freeze the hair on our eye-lids, that we could not ſee; and I verily believe that it would have ſtifled a man in a very few hours. We did daily find by experience, that the cold in the woods would freeze our faces, or any part of our fleſh that was bare, but it was yet not ſo mortifying as the other. Our houſe on the out-ſide was covered two third parts with ſnow, and on the inſide frozen and hang'd with ice-ſickles. The cloathes on our beds would be covered with hoar-froſt, which in this little habitacle, was not far from the fire. But let us come a little nearer to it. The cook's tubs, wherein he did water his meat, ſtanding about a yard from the fire, and which he did all day ply with melted ſnow-water; yet in the night-ſeaſon, whilſt he ſlept but one watch, would they be firm frozen to the very bottom. And therefore was he fain to water his meat in a braſs-kettle cloſe adjoining to the fire; and I have many times both ſeen and felt by putting my hand into it, that ſide which was next the fire was very warm, and the other ſide an inch frozen: I leave the reſt to our cook, who will almoſt ſpeak miracles of the cold. The ſurgeon, who had hung his bottles of ſyrups and other liquid things, as conveniently as he could to preſerve them, had them all frozen: Our vinegar, oil and ſack, which we had in ſmall caſk in the houſe, was all firm frozen. It may farther in general be conceived, that in the beginning of *June* the ſea was not broken up, and the ground was yet frozen; and thus much we found by experience in the burying of our men, in ſetting up the king's ſtandard towards the latter end of *June*, and by our well our coming away in the beginning of *July*, at which time upon the land, for ſome other reaſons, it was very weather.

March 1632.

The firſt of this month being St. *David*'s day, we kept holiday, and ſolemnized it in the manner of the antient *Britains*, praying for his highneſs's happineſs *Charles* prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our men thought he had ſeen a deer; whereupon he with two or three more deſired that they might go to ſee if they could take it: I gave them leave; but in the evening they returned ſo diſabled with cold, which did riſe up in bliſters under the ſoles of their feet, and upon their legs, to the bigneſs of walnuts, that they could not recover their former eſtate (which was not very well) in a fortnight after.

The 26th three more deſired that they alſo might go out to try their fortunes, but they returned worſe diſabled, and even almoſt ſtifled with the cold.

This evening the *Moon* roſe in a very long oval along the horizon.

By the laſt of this month, the carpenter had ſet up 17 ground timbers and 34 ſtaddles, and (poor man) he proceedeth the beſt he can, though he be fain to be led unto his labour.

In brief, all this month hath been very cold. The wind about the N. W. the ſnow as deep as it hath been all this winter: but to anſwer an objection that may be made; you were in a wood (may ſome men ſay unto us) and therefore you might

might make fire enough to keep you from the cold. It is true, we were in a wood, and under a ſouth-bank too, or otherwiſe we had all ſtarved. But I muſt tell you withal, how difficult it was to have wood in a wood: And firſt, I will make a muſter of the tools we had. The carpenter in his cheſt had two axes indeed, but one of them was ſpoiled in cutting down wood to pile about our houſe before *Chriſtmas*. When we came firſt a-land, we had but two whole hatchets, which in a few days broke two inches below the ſockets. I called for three of the cooper's hatchets: The carpenter's axe and the cooper's beſt hatchet I cauſed to be lockt up; the other two hatchets to be new helv'd, and the blades of the two broken hatchets to be put into a cleft piece of wood, and then to be bound about with rope-yarn, as faſt as might be, which muſt be repaired every day; and theſe were all the cutting-tools we had: Moreover, the 6th of *Feb.* the carpenter had out his beſt axe about ſomething, and one of the company in his abſence, by his undiſcreet handling of it, brake that too, two inches below the ſocket; we muſt henceforth order theſe pieces of tools the beſt we could; wherefore I gave order that the carpenter ſhould have one of the cooper's hatchets; they that lookt for timber in the woods the other; and they that cut down wood to burn, were to have the two pieces: And this was before *Chriſtmas*.

The three that were appointed to look crooked timber, muſt ſtalk and wade (ſometimes on all four) thorow the ſnow; and where they ſaw a tree likely to fit the mould, they muſt firſt heave away the ſnow, and then ſee if it would fit the mould, if not, they muſt ſeek farther; if it did fit the mould, then they muſt make a fire to it, to thaw it, otherwiſe it could not be cut; then cut it down and fit it to the length of the mould, and then with other help get it home, a mile thorow the ſnow.

Now for our firing. We could not burn green wood; it would ſo ſmoke, that it was not indurable; yea, the men had rather ſtarve without in the cold, than ſit by it. As for the dry wood, that alſo was bad enough in that kind, for it was full of turpentine, and would ſend forth ſuch a thick ſmoke, that would make abundance of ſoot, which made us all look as if we had been free of the company of chimney-ſweepers. Our clothes were quite burnt in pieces about us, and for the moſt part we were all without ſhoes: but to our fuellers again. They muſt firſt (as the former) go up and down in the ſnow, till they ſaw a ſtanding dry tree; for that the ſnow covered any that were fallen. Then they muſt hack it down with their pieces of hatchets, and then others muſt carry it home thorow the ſnow. The boys with cutlaſſes muſt cut boughs for the carpenter; for every piece of timber that he did work, muſt firſt be thaw'd in the fire, and he muſt have a fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual labour throughout the forementioned cold, beſides our tending of the ſick and other neceſſary imployments.

April 1632.

The firſt of this month being *Eaſter-day*, we ſolemnized as religiouſly as God did give us grace. Both this day, and the two following holy-days were extreme cold: And now ſitting all about the fire, we reaſoned and conſidered together upon our eſtate. We had five men (whereof the carpenter was one) not able to do any thing. The boatſwain and many more were very infirm; and of all the reſt we had but five that could eat of their ordinary allowance. The time and ſeaſon of the year came forwards apace, and the cold did very little mitigate. Our pinnace was in an indifferent forwardneſs, but the carpenter grew worſe and worſe. The ſhip (as we then thought) lay all full of ſolid ice, which was weight enough to open the ſeams of any new and ſound veſſel, eſpecially of one that had lain ſo long upon the ground as ſhe had done. In brief, after my diſputations, and laying open of our miſerable and hopeleſs eſtates, I reſolved upon this courſe: That notwithſtanding it was more labour, and tho' we declined weaker ſtill and weaker; yet that with the firſt warm weather, we would begin to clear the ſhip, that ſo we might have the time before us, to think of ſome other courſe. This being ordered, we lookt to thoſe tools we had, to dig the ice out of her; we had but two iron-bars aſhore, the reſt were ſunk in the ſhip, and one of them was broken too: Well, we fell to fitting of thoſe bars, and of four broken ſhovels that we had, with which we intended (as after we did) to dig the ice out of her, and to lay that ice on a heap, upon the larboard-bow, and to ſink down that ice to the ground ſo faſt, that it ſhould be a barricado to us, when the ice brake up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th was the deepeſt ſnow we had all this year, which filled up all our paths and ways, by which we were uſed to go unto the wood; this ſnow was ſomething moiſter

er and greater than any we had all this year; for formerly it was as dry as duſt, and as ſmall as ſand, and would drive like duſt with the wind.

The weather continued with this extremity until the 15th; at which time our ſpring was harder frozen, than it had been all the year before. I had often obſerved the difference betwixt clear weather and miſty refractious weather, in this manner. From a little hill which was near adjoining to our houſe, in the cleareſt weather, when the ſun ſhone with all the purity of air that I could conceive, we could not ſee a little iſland which bare off us S. S. E. ſome four leagues off; but if the weather were miſty (as aforeſaid) then we ſhould often ſee it from the loweſt place. This little iſland I had ſeen the laſt year, when I was on *Danby* iſland.

The 13th, I took the height of it inſtrumentally, ſtanding near the ſea-ſide, which I found to be 34 minutes, the ſun being 28 degrees high. This ſhows how great a refraction here is. Yet may this be noted by the way, that I have ſeen the land elevated, by reaſon of the refractious air, and nevertheleſs the ſun hath riſen perfect round.

The 16th was the moſt comfortable ſunſhine day that came this year; and I put ſome to clear off the ſnow from the upper decks of the ſhip, and to clear and dry the great-cabin, by making fire in it. Others I put to dig down thorow the ice, to come by our anchor, that was in ſhoal water, which the 17th in the afternoon we got up and carried aboard.

The 18th I put them to dig down thorow the ice, near the place where we thought our rudder might be. They digged down and came to water, but no hope of finding of it: We had many doubts that it might be ſanded, or that the ice might have carried it away already the laſt year; or if we could not recover it by digging before the ice brake up and drove, there was little hope of it.

The 19th we continued our mineing work aboard the ſhip, and returned in the evening to ſupper aſhore. This day the maſter and two others deſired that they might lie aboard, which I condeſcended to; for indeed they had lain very diſcommodiouſly all the winter, and with ſick bed-fellows, as I my ſelf had done, every one in that kind taking their fortunes. By lying aboard they avoided the hearing of the miſerable groanings, and lamenting of the ſick men all night long, enduring (poor ſouls) intolerable torments.

By the 21ſt we had laboured ſo hard, that we came to ſee a caſk, and could likewiſe perceive that there was ſome water in the hold. This we knew could not be thawed water, becauſe it did ſtill freeze night and day very hard aboard the ſhip, and on the land alſo.

By the 23d in the evening, we came to pierce the forementioned caſk, and found it was full of very good beer, which did much rejoyce us all, eſpecially the ſickmen, notwithſtanding that it did taſte a little of bulge-water. By this we at that time thought that the holes we had cut to ſink the ſhip were frozen, and that this water had ſtood in the ſhip all the winter.

The 24th we went betimes in the morning to work, but found that the water was riſen above the ice, where we had left work, about two foot; for that the wind had blown very hard at north the night before. In the morning the wind came about ſouth, and blew hard, and although we had little reaſon for it, we yet expected a lower veer of the water. I thereupon put them to work on the out-ſide of the ſhip, that we might come to the lower hole, which we had cut in the ſtern-ſhootes. With much labour by night, we digged down thorow the ice to it, and found it unfrozen, (as it had been all the winter) and to our great comforts, we found that on the inſide, the water was ebb'd even with the hole; and that on the outſide it was ebbed a foot lower. Hereupon I made a ſhot-board to be nail'd on it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the water came in any other way. As to the other two holes, we had digged on the inſide, we found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the ſhip foundered, we might reſolve of ſome courſe to ſave or prolong our lives, by getting to the main before the ice were broken up; for as for our boat it was too little, and bulged; beſides that, our carpenter was by this time paſt hope, and therefore little hope had we of our pinnace: But which was worſt of all, we had not four men able to travel through the ſnow over the ice, and in this miſerable eſtate were we at this preſent.

The 25th we ſatisfied our longing; for the wind now coming about northerly, the water roſe by the ſhip's-ſide (where we had digged down) a foot and more above the hold, and yet did not riſe within board. This did ſo incourage us, that we fell very luſtily to digging, and to heave out the ice out of the ſhip. I put the cook and ſome others to thaw the pumps, who by continual pouring of hot water into them, by the 27th in the morning they had cleared one of them, which we aſſaying, found that it did deliver water very ſufficiently. Thus we fell to pumping; and having cleared

cleared two foot water, we then left to have a ſecond trial. Continuing our work thus in digging the ice, by the 28th we had cleared our other pump, which we alſo found to deliver water very well: We found likewiſe that the water did not riſe any thing in hold.

The 29th it rained all day long a ſure ſign to us, that winter was broken up.

The 30th we were betimes aboard at work, which day and the 31ſt were very cold with ſnow and hail, which did pinch our ſick men more than any time this year. This evening being *May* even, we returned late from our work to our houſe, and made a good fire, and choſe ladies, and did ceremoniouſly wear their names in our caps, endeavouring to revive ourſelves by any means. And becauſe you hear us in this merry humour, I will make known to you what good cheer we kept at *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*; and how we had dieted our ſelves all the winter.

At our coming forth of *England*, we were ſtored with all ſort of ſea proviſions; as beef, pork, fiſh, *&c.* but now that we had little hope of refreſhing, our cook did order it in this manner.

The beef which was to ſerve on *Sunday* night to ſupper, he did boil on *Saturday* night, in a kettle full of water, with a quart of oat-meal, about an hour. Then taking the beef out, he boiled the reſt till it came to half the quantity; and this we called porridge, which with bread we did eat, as hot as we could; and after this we had our ordinary of fiſh. *Sunday* dinner we had pork and peas, and at night the former boiled beef made more porridge. In this manner our *Tueſday*'s beef was boiled on the *Monday* nights; and the *Thurſday*'s upon the *Wedneſday*. And thus all the week (except *Friday* night) we had ſome warm thing in our bellies every ſupper. And (ſurely) this did us a great deal of good. But ſoon after *Chriſtmas* many of us fell ſick, and had ſore mouths, and could neither eat beef, pork, fiſh, nor porridge. Their diet was only this. They would pound bread or oatmeal in a mortar to meal; then fry it in a frying-pan with a little oil, and ſo eat it. Some would boil peas to a ſoft paſte, and feed as well as they could upon that. For the moſt part of the winter, water was our drink. In the whole winter we took not above a dozen foxes; many of which would be dead in the traps two or three days oftentimes; and then when the blood was ſettled, they would be unwholeſome. But if we took one alive, that had not been long in the trap, him we boiled, and made broth for the weakeſt ſick men of him; the fleſh of it being ſoft boiled, they did eat alſo.

Some white partridges we kill'd; but not worth the mentioning towards any refreſhing.

We had three ſorts of ſick men: Thoſe that could not move nor turn themſelves in their beds, who muſt be tended like an infant. Others that were as it were crippled with ſcurvy-aches. And others, laſtly, that were ſomething better. Moſt of all had ſore mouths. You may now ask me, how theſe infirm men could work? I will tell you: Our ſurgeon (who was diligent, and a ſweet-condition'd man as ever I ſaw) would be up betimes in the mornings; and whilſt he did pick their teeth, and cut away the dead fleſh from their gums, they would bathe their own thighs, knees, and legs. The manner whereof was this: There were no trees, buds, nor herb, but we made trial of it; and this being firſt boiled in a kettle, and then put in a ſmall tub and baſon, they put it under them, and covered themſelves with clothes upon it. This would ſo mollify the grieved parts, that although when they did riſe out of their beds they would be ſo crippled, that they could ſcarce ſtand; yet after this done half an hour, they would be able to go (and muſt go) to wood through the ſnow, to the ſhip, and about their other buſineſs. By night they would be as bad again; and then they muſt be bathed, anointed, and their mouths again dreſt, before they went to bed. And with this diet, and in this manner, did we go through our miſeries.

I ever doubted that we ſhould be weakeſt in the ſpring; and therefore had I reſerv'd a ton of *Alicant* wine unto this time. Of this, by putting ſeven parts of water to one of wine, we made ſome weak beverage; which (by reaſon that the wine, by being frozen, had loſt his virtue) was little better than water. The ſicker ſort had a pint of *Alicant* a day, by itſelf; and of ſuch poor *aqua vitæ* too, as we had, they had a little dram allowed them next their hearts every morning; and thus we made the beſt uſe of what we had, according to the ſeaſons.

May, 1632.

The firſt of this month we went aboard betimes to heave out the ice.

The ſecond it did ſnow and blow, and was ſo cold, that we were fain to keep houſe all day. This unexpected cold at this time of the year did ſo vex our ſick men, that they grew worſe and worſe; we cannot now take them out of their beds, but they would ſwoon, and we had much ado to fetch life in them.

The third, thoſe that were able went aboard betimes to heave out the ice. The ſnow

ſnow was now melted in many places upon the land, and ſtood in plaſhes; and now there came ſome cranes and geeſe to it.

The fourth, while the reſt wrought aboard, I and the ſurgeon went with a couple of pieces, to ſee if we could kill any of theſe fowl for our ſick men, but never did I ſee ſuch wild-fowl, they would not indure to ſee any thing move. Wherefore we returned within two hours, not being able to indure any longer ſtalking thro' the ſnow, and the wet plaſhes. I verily thought that my feet and legs would have fallen off, they did ſo torment me with aching.

The ſixth, *John Warden*, the maſter of my ſhip's chief mate, died; whom we buried in the evening (in the moſt chriſtian-like manner we could) upon the top of a bare hill of ſand, which we called *Brandon-Hill.*

The weather continued very cold; freezing ſo hard in a night, that it would bear a man.

By the ninth we were come to, and got up our five barrels of beef and pork, and had found four buts of beer, and one of cyder, which God had preſerved for us. It had lain under water all the winter; yet we could not perceive that it was any thing the worſe. God make us ever thankful for the comfort it gave us.

The tenth it did ſnow and blow ſo cold, that we could not ſtir out of the houſe; yet nevertheleſs by day the ſnow vaniſheth away apace on the land.

The eleventh we were aboard betimes, to heave out ice.

The twelfth at night we had cleared out all the ice out of the hold, and found likewiſe our ſtore-ſhoes, which had lain ſoak'd in the water all the winter; but we dried them by the fire, and fitted our ſelves with them. We ſtruck again our cables into the hold. There ſtow'd we a butt of wine alſo, which had been all the winter on the upper-deck, and continued as yet all firm frozen. We fitted the ſhip alſo, making her ready to ſink her again, when the ice brake up. We could hitherto find no defect in her, and therefore well hop'd that ſhe was ſtanch. The carpenter, nevertheleſs, did earneſtly argue to the contrary; alledging, that now ſhe lay on the ground, in her dock; and that the ice had fill'd her defects; and that the ice was the thing that kept out the water; but when ſhe ſhould come to labour in the ſea, then doubtleſs ſhe would open. And indeed we could now ſee quite through her ſeams betwixt wind and water. But that which did trouble us as ill as all this, was the loſs of her rudder; and that ſhe now lay in the very ſtrength of the tide, which, whenever the ice drove, might tear her to pieces. But we ſtill hoped the beſt.

The thirteenth, being the ſabbath-day, we ſolemniz'd, giving God thanks for thoſe hopes and comforts we daily had; the weather by day-time was pretty warm, but it did freeze by night; yet now we could ſee ſome bare patches of land.

The fourteenth we began a new ſort of work. The boatſwain and a convenient number ſought aſhore the reſt of our rigging, which was much ſpoiled by pecking of it out of the ice; and this they now fell to fitting, and to ſerving of it. I ſet the cooper to fit our cask, although (poor man) he was very infirm; my intent being to paſs ſome cables under the ſhip, and ſo to buoy her up with theſe caſks, if otherwiſe we could not get her off. Some others I ordered to go ſee if they could kill ſome wild-fowl for our ſick men, who grew worſe and worſe. And this is to be remember'd, that we had no ſhot but what we did make of the aprons of our guns, and ſome old pewter that I had; for the carpenter's ſheet-lead we durſt not uſe.

The fifteenth I manured a little patch of ground, that was bare of ſnow, and ſowed it with peaſon, hoping to have ſome of the herbs of them ſhortly to eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to comfort us.

The eighteenth our carpenter, *William Cole* died, a man generally bemoaned of us all, as much for his innate goodneſs, as for the preſent neceſſity we had of a man of his quality. He had endured a long ſickneſs with much patience, and made a godly end. In the evening we buried him by Mr. *Warden*, accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal men lay then expecting a good hour. And now were we in the moſt miſerable eſtate that we were in all the voyage. Before his extreme weakneſs he had brought the pinnace to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be boulted and trennel'd, and to be joined together to receive the plank; ſo that we were not ſo diſcouraged by his death, but that we did hope of our ſelves to finiſh her, if the ſhip proved unſerviceable.

This our pinnace was 27 foot by the keel, 10 foot by the beam, and 5 foot in hold. She had 17 ground timbers, 34 principal ſtaddles, and eight ſhort ſtaddles. He had contrived her with a round ſtern, to ſave labour; and indeed ſhe was a well proportioned veſſel. Her burthen was twelve or fourteen ton.

In the evening the maſter of our ſhip, after burial, returning aboard ſhip, and looking about her, diſcover'd ſome part of our gunner, under the gun-room ports. This man

man we had committed to the ſea at a good diſtance from the ſhip, and in deep water, near ſix months before.

The nineteenth in the morning I ſent men to dig him out. He was faſt in the ice, his head downward, and his heel upward, for he had but one leg, and the plaiſter was yet at his wound. In the afternoon they had digged him clear out; after all which time he was as free from noiſomneſs as when we firſt committed him to the ſea. This alteration had the ice and water, and time only wrought on him, that his fleſh would ſlip up and down upon his bones, like a glove on a man's hand. In the evening we buried him by the others. This day one *George Ugganes* (who could handle a tool beſt of us all) had indifferent well repaired our boat; and ſo we ended this mournful week. The ſnow was by this time prettily well waſted in the woods; and we having a high tree, on the higheſt place of the iſland, which we called our watch-tree, from the top of it we might ſee into the ſea, but found no appearace of breaking up yet.

The twentieth, being *Whit-ſunday*, we ſadly ſolemnized, and had ſome taſte of the wild-fowl, but not worth the writing.

The 21ſt was the warmeſt ſun-ſhine day that came this year. I ſent two a fowling; and my ſelf taking the maſter, the ſurgeon, and one more, with our pieces and our dogs, we went into the woods to ſee what comfort we could find. We wandered from the houſe eight miles, and ſearch'd with all diligence; but returned comfortleſs, not an herb nor leaf eatable, that we could find. Our fowlers had as bad ſucceſs. In the woods we found the ſnow partly waſted away, ſo that it was paſſable. The ponds were almoſt unthaw'd; but the ſea from any place we could ſee all firm frozen.

The ſnow doth not melt away here with the ſun or rain, and ſo make any land-floods, as in *England*; but it is exhaled up by the ſun, and ſuck'd full of holes, like honey-combs, ſo that the ſand whereon it lies will not be at all wetted. The like obſervation we alſo had; that let it rain ever ſo much, you ſhall ſee no land-floods after it.

The 22d we went aboard the ſhip, and found that ſhe had made ſo much water, that it was now riſen above the ballaſt, which made us doubt again of her ſoundneſs. We fell to pumping, and pump'd her quite dry. And now by day ſometimes we have ſuch hot glooms, that we cannot endure in the ſun, and yet in the night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalneſs of the ſeaſon did torment our men, that they now grew worſe and worſe daily.

The 23d our boatſwain (a painful man) having been long ſick, (which he had heartily reſiſted) was taken with ſuch a painful ach in one of his thighs, that we verily thought he would have preſently died. He kept his bed all day in great extremity; and it was a maxim amongſt us, that if any one kept his bed two days, he could riſe no more. This made every man to ſtrive to keep up for life.

The 24th was very warm ſun-ſhine, and the ice did conſume by the ſhore's ſide, and crack'd all over the bay, with a fearful noiſe. About three in the afternoon, we could perceive the ice with the ebb to drive by the ſhip; whereupon I ſent two with all ſpeed unto the maſter to beat out the hole, and to ſink the ſhip; as likewiſe to look for the rudder betwixt the ice. This he preſently performed; and a happy fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the ice, ſtruck upon it, and it came up with his lance; who crying that he had found it, the reſt came and got it up on the ice, and ſo into the ſhip. In the mean ſpace, with the little drift that the ice had, it began to riſe and mount into high heaps againſt the ſhoal ſhores and rocks; and likewiſe againſt the heap of ice, which we had put for a barricado to our ſhip, but with little harm to us. Yet we were fain to cut away 20 fathom of cable, which was frozen in the ice. After an hour, the ice ſettled again, as not having any vent outwards. Oh! this was a joyful day to us all; and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it.

The 25th was a fine warm day, and with the ebb the ice did drive againſt the ſhip, and ſhake her ſhrewdly.

The 26th I took the ſurgeon with me, and went again to wander the woods; and went to that bay, where laſt year we had loſt our man *John Barton*. But we could find no ſign of him, nor of other relief.

By the 28th it was pretty clear betwixt the ſhip and the ſhore, and I hoped the ice would no more dangerouſly oppreſs us; wherefore I cauſed the lower hole to be firmly ſtopp'd, the water then remaining three foot above the ballaſt.

The 29th, being prince *Charles*'s birth-day, we kept holy-day, and diſplay'd his majeſty's colours both a-land and a-board, and named our habitation, *Charles-town*, by contraction *Charlton*; and the iſland, *Charlton-iſland*.

The 30th we launched our boat, and had intercourſe ſometimes betwixt the ſhip and the ſhore by boat, which was news to us.

The laſt of this month we found on the beach ſome vetches to appear out of the ground, which I made the men to pick up, and to boil for our ſick men.

This day we made an end of fitting all our rigging and ſails; and it being a very hot day, we did dry and new make our fiſh in the ſun, and aired all our other proviſions. There was not a man of us at preſent able to eat of our ſalt proviſions, but myſelf and the maſter of my ſhip. It may be here remember'd, that all this winter we had not been troubled with any rheums, nor flegmatical diſeaſes. All this month the wind hath been variable, but for the moſt part northerly.

June, 1632.

The four firſt days it did ſnow, hail, and blow very hard; and was ſo cold, that the ponds of water did freeze over; and the water in our cans did freeze in the very houſe; our clothes alſo that had been waſhed, and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

The fifth it continued blowing very hard in the broad-ſide of the ſhip, which did make her ſwag and wallow in the dock for all ſhe was ſunken, which did much ſhake her. The ice withal did drive againſt her, and gave her many fearful blows. I reſolved to endeavour to hang the rudder; and when God ſent us water (notwithſtanding the abundance of ice that was yet about us) to have her farther off. In the afternoon we under-run our ſmall cable to our anchor, which lay a-ſtern in deep water, and ſo with ſome difficulty gate up our anchor. This cable had lain ſlack under foot, and under the ice, all the winter, and we could never have a clear ſlatch from ice, to have it up before now; we found it not a jot the worſe. I put ſome to make colrakes, that they might go into the water, and rake a hole in the ſands to let down our rudder.

The ſixth we went about to hang it. And our young luſtieſt men took turns to go into the water, and to rake away the ſand; but they were not able to endure the cold of it half a quarter of an hour it was ſo mortifying; yea, uſe what comforts we could, it would make them ſwoon and die away. We brought it to the ſtern-poſt, but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugg'd up the upper holes within board, and fell to pumping the water again out of her.

The ſeventh we wrought ſomething about our rudder, but were again forced to give over, and to put out our cables over-board, with meſſengers unto them; the anchors lying to that paſs, that we might keep her right in her dock, when we ſhould have brought her light.

By the eighth at night we had pump'd all the water out of her; and ſhe at a high water would fleet in her dock, though ſhe were ſtill dock'd in the ſands almoſt four foot. This made us to conſider what was to be done. I reſolved to heave out all the ballaſt, for that the bottom of her being ſo ſoak'd all the winter, I hoped was ſo heavy, that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower deck, and take out her maſts; and ſo with our cask to buoy her off.

The ninth betimes in the morning we fell to work. We hoiſted out our beer and cyder, and made a raft of it, faſtening it to our ſhore-anchor. The beer and cyder ſunk preſently to the grouud, which was nothing ſtrange to us; for that any wood or pipe-ſtaves that had lain under the ice all the winter, would alſo ſink down, ſo ſoon as ever it was heav'd over-board. This day we heav'd out ten tun of ballaſt. And here I am to remember God's goodneſs towards us in ſending thoſe forementioned green vetches; for now our feeble ſick men, that could not for their lives ſtir theſe two or three months, can indure the air and walk about the houſe; our other ſick men gather ſtrength alſo, and it is wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recovered. We uſed them in this manner: Twice a day we went to gather the herb or leaf of theſe vetches, as they firſt appeared out of the ground; then did we waſh and boil them, and ſo with oil and vinegar that had been frozen, we did eat them. It was an excellent ſuſtenance and refreſhing; the moſt part of us eat nothing elſe. We would likewiſe bruiſe them, and take the juice of them, and mix that with our drink. We would eat them raw alſo with our bread.

The eleventh was very warm weather, and we did hang our rudder. The tides did now very much deceive us; for a northerly wind would very little raiſe the water. This made us doubt of getting off our ſhip.

The thirteenth I reſolved of the latitude of this place; ſo that having examined the inſtruments, and practiſed about it this fortnight, I now found it to be in 52 deg. and 3 min.

The fourteenth we had heaved out all the ballaſt, and carried all our yards, and every thing elſe of weight aſhore, ſo that we now had the ſhip as light as poſſible it could be.

The fifteenth we did little but exerciſe ourſelves; ſeeing that by this time our men that were moſt feeble, are now grown ſtrong, and can run about. The fleſh of their gums became ſettled again, and their teeth faſten'd; ſo that they can eat beef with their vetches.

This day I went to our watch-tree; but the ſea (for any thing I could perceive to the contrary) was ſtill firm frozen; and the bay we were in, all full of ice, having no way to vent it.

The ſixteenth was wondrous hot, with ſome thunder and lightning, ſo that our men did go into the ponds aſhore to ſwim and cool themſelves; yet was the water very cold ſtill. Here had lately appeared divers ſorts of flies; as butter-flies, butchers-flies, horſe-flies, and ſuch an infinite abundance of blood-thirſty muſcatoes, that we were more tormented with them than ever we were with the cold weather. Theſe (I think) lie dead in the old rotten wood all the winter, and in the ſummer they revive again. Here be likewiſe infinite company of ants, and frogs in the ponds upon the land; but we durſt not eat of them, they look'd ſo ſpeckled like toads. By this time were neither bears, foxes, nor fowl to be ſeen; they are all gone.

The ſeventeenth the wind came northerly, and we expecting a high tide in the morning betimes, put out our ſmall cable aſtern out at the gun-room-port; but the morning tide we had not water by a foot. In the evening I had laid marks, by ſtones, *&c.* and methoughts the water did flow apace. Making ſigns therefore for the boat to come aſhore, I took all that were able to do any thing with me aboard; and at high-water (altho' ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe clear out of her dock) yet we heav'd with ſuch a good-will, that we heav'd her thro' the ſand into a foot and a half deeper water. Further then ſo, we durſt not yet bring her, for that the ice was all thick about us. After we had moor'd her, we went all to prayers; and gave God thanks that had given us our ſhip again.

The eighteenth we were up betimes; the cooper, and ſome with him, to fill freſh water; myſelf with ſome others to gather ſtones at low water; which we piling up in a heap, at high water the cockſwain and his gang fetch'd them aboard; where the maſter with the reſt ſtowed them. The ſhip at low water had a great luſt to the offing; by which means we could the better come and ſtop the two upper holes firmly; after which we fitted other convenient places, to make others to ſink here, if occaſion were.

The nineteenth we were all up betimes to work, as afore ſpecified. Theſe two days our ſhip did not fleet, and it was a happy hour when we got her off, for that we never had ſuch a high tide all the time we were here. In the evening I went up to our watch-tree; and this was the firſt time I could ſee any open water any way, except that little by the ſhore-ſide, where we were. This put us in ſome comfort, that the ſea would ſhortly break up, which we knew muſt be to the northward, ſeeing that way we were certain, there was above two hundred leagues of ſea.

The twentieth we laboured as aforeſaid. The wind at N. N. W. The tide roſe ſo high, that our ſhip fleeted, and we drew her further off, into a foot and a half deep water. Thus we did it by little and little, for that the ice was ſtill wonderful thick about us.

The 22d there drove much ice about us, and within us, and brought home our ſtern anchor. At high water (notwithſtanding all the ice) we heav'd our ſhip farther off; that ſo ſhe might lie a-float at low water.

The next low water we ſounded all about the ſhip, and found it very foul ground; we diſcovered ſtones three foot high above the ground, and two of them within a ſhip's breadth of the ſhip, whereby did more manifeſtly appear God's mercies to us; for if when we forced her aſhore, ſhe had ſtrucken one blow againſt thoſe ſtones, it had bulged her. Many ſuch dangers were there in this bay, which we now firſt perceived, by the ice's grounding and riſing againſt them. In the evening we tow'd off the ſhip unto the place where ſhe rid the laſt year, and there moor'd her, ſheering the ſhip night and day, flood and ebb, amongſt the diſpers'd ice that came athwart of us.

The 23d we laboured in fetching our proviſions aboard; which to do we were fain to wade to carry it to the boat a full flight ſhot, and all by reaſon the wind was ſoutherly. This morning, I took an obſervation of the moon's coming to the ſouth, by a meridian-line of one hundred and twenty yards long, which I had rectified many weeks before-hand.

The 24th I took another obſervation of the moon's coming to the meridian; for which I refer you to the obſervations in the latter end of this journal.

Whereas I had formerly cut down a very high tree, and made a croſs of it, to it I now faſtened (uppermoſt) the king's and queen's majeſties pictures drawn to the life, and doubly wrapt in lead, and ſo cloſe, that no weather could hurt them. Betwixt both theſe I affixed his majeſty's royal titles; *viz.* Charles *the firſt, king of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *as alſo of* Newfoundland, *and of theſe territories; and to the weſtward as far as* Nova Albion; *and to the northward, to the latitude of* 80 *degrees*, &c.

On the out-ſide of the lead, I faſten'd a ſhilling and a ſix-pence of his majeſty's coin; under that we faſten'd the king's arms fairly cut in lead, and under that the arms of the city of *Briſtol.* And this being *Mid-*

ſummer-Day,

ſummer-day, we raiſed it on the top of the bare hill, where we had buried our dead fellows; formally by this ceremony taking poſſeſſion of theſe territories to his majeſty's uſe.

The wind continuing ſoutherly, and blowing hard, put all the ice upon us; ſo that the ſhip now rid amongſt it, in ſuch apparent danger, that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her. We labour'd, flood and ebb, both with poles and oars, to heave away and part the ice from her. But it was God that did protect and preſerve us; for it was paſt any man's underſtanding, how the ſhip could endure it, or we by our labour ſave her. In the night the wind ſhifted to the weſtward, and blew the ice from us, whereby we had ſome reſt.

The 25th in the morning, the boatſwain, with a convenient crew with him, began to rig the ſhip, the reſt fetching our proviſions aboard. About ten a-clock, when it was ſomething dark, I took a lance in my hand, and one with me with a musket and ſome fire, and went to our *watch-tree*, to make a fire on the eminenteſt place of the iſland, to ſee if it would be anſwer'd. Such fires I had formerly made, to have knowledge if there were any ſavages on the main or the iſlands about us. Had there been any, my purpoſe was to have gone to them, to get ſome intelligence of ſome chriſtians, or ſome ocean ſea thereabouts. When I was come to the tree, I laid down my lance, and ſo did my conſort his musket; and whilſt my ſelf climbed up to the top of the tree, I ordered him to put fire unto ſome low tree thereabouts. He (unadviſedly) put fire to ſome trees that were to windward; ſo that they (and all the reſt too, by reaſon it had been very hot weather) being ſear and dry, took fire like flax or hemp; and the wind blowing the fire towards me, I made haſte down the tree. But before I was half way down, the fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed ſo fiercely upwards, that I was fain to leap off the tree, and down a ſteep hill, and in brief, with much ado, eſcap'd burning. The moſs on the ground was as dry as flax; and it would run moſt ſtrangely, and like a train along the earth. The musket and the lance were both burnt. My conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me; for he thought verily I had been burned. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the fire increaſing, and ſtill burning moſt furiouſly. We could ſee no anſwer of it. I ſlept but little all night after; and at break of day I made all our powder and beef to be carried aboard. This day I went to the hills to look to the fire; where I ſaw how it did ſtill burn moſt furiouſly, both to the weſtward and northward: leaving one upon the hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new ſuit of ſails, and carry them to the ſeaſide. ready to be caſt in, if occaſion were, and to make haſte to take down our houſes. About noon the wind ſhifted northerly; and our centinel came running home, bringing us word, that the fire did follow him hard at his heels, like a train of powder. It was no need to bid us take down and carry all away to the ſea-ſide. The fire came towards us with a moſt terrible rattling noiſe, bearing a full mile in breadth; and by that time we had uncovered our houſes, and laid hand on, to carry away our laſt things, the fire was come to our town, and ſeized on it, and (in a trice) burnt it down to the ground. We loſt nothing of any value in it; for we had brought it all away into a place of ſecurity. Our dogs in this combuſtion would ſit down on their tails, and howl, and then run into the ſea, on the ſhoals, and there ſtay. The wind ſhifted eaſterly; and the fire ranged to the weſtward, ſeeking what it might devour. This night we lay all together aboard the ſhip, and gave God thanks that he had ſhipt us in her again.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our things aboard, as likewiſe our water, which we muſt tow off with the ebb, and bring it to the ſhip with the flood. Moreover, we muſt go about the eaſter-point for drift-wood; for our tools were all ſo ſpent, that we could cut none. Wherefore, about ſome three days agone I had cauſed our pinnace to be ſawed to pieces, and with that we ſtowed our cask, intending to burn it at low waters, and ſuch other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard. I employed the men in fetching ſtones; and we did build three tombs over our three dead fellows, filling them up with ſand in a decent and handſome faſhion. The leaſt tomb had two tons of ſtones about it.

The 30th we moſt earneſtly continued our labour, and brought our ſails to yard; and by eleven a-clock at night had made a priddy ſhip; meaning to have finiſhed our buſineſs with the week and the month, that ſo we might the better ſolemnize the ſabbath aſhore to morrow, and ſo take leave of our wintering iſland.

The wind hath been variable a great while, and the bays are now ſo clear of ice, that we cannot ſee a piece of it, for it was all gone to the northward. Hoping therefore that it give content to ſome readers, I will relate the manner of the breaking of it up. It is firſt to be noted, that it doth not freeze (naturally) above ſix foot, the reſt is by accident. Such is that

that ice that you may ſee here, ſix fathom thick. This we had manifeſt proof of, by digging the ice out of the ſhip, and by digging to our anchors before the ice broke up.

In *May*, when the heat increaſeth, it thaws firſt on the ſhoal by the ſhore ſide; which when it hath done round about, then the courſes of the tides (as well by the ebb and flood, as by their riſing and falling) do ſo ſhake the main ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath gotten room for motion, then runs one piece of it upon another; and ſo bruiſes and grinds it ſelf againſt the ſhoals and rocks, that it becomes abbreviated, inſomuch that a ſhip may have well paſſage through it. Beſides this, much of it is thruſt upon the ſhoals, where it is much conſumed by the heat of the ſun. The ſeaſon here in this climate is moſt unnatural; for in the day-time it will be extreme hot, yea, not indurable in the ſun, which is, by reaſon that it is a ſandy countrey. In the night again it will freeze an inch thick in the ponds, and in the tub about and in our houſe; and all this towards the latter end of *June*.

The muſcatoes, upon our coming away, were moſt intolerable. We tore an old ancient in pieces, and made us bags of it to put our heads in; but it was no fortification againſt them. They would find ways and means to ſting us, that our faces were ſwoln hard out in pimples, which would ſo itch and ſmart, that we muſt needs rub and tear them. And theſe flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us than all the cold we had heretofore endured.

July, 1632.

The firſt of this month, being *Sunday*, we were up betimes. And I cauſed our ſhip to be adorned the beſt we could; our antient on the poop, and the king's colours in the main-top. I had provided a ſhort brief of all the paſſages of our voyage to this day: I likewiſe wrote in what ſtate we were at preſent, and how I did intend to proſecute the diſcovery, both to the weſtward, and to the ſouthward, about this iſland. This brief diſcourſe I had concluded, with a requeſt to any noble minded traveller, that ſhould take it down, or come to the notice of it; that if we ſhould periſh in the action, then to make our endeavours known to our ſovereign lord the king. And thus with our arms, drum and colours, cook and kettle, we went aſhore, and firſt we marched up to our eminent croſs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead fellows. There we read morning prayer, and then walked up and down till dinner-time. After dinner we walked to the higheſt hills, to ſee which way the fire had waſted. We deſcried that it had conſumed to the weſtward ſixteen miles at leaſt, and the whole breadth of the iſland. Near about our croſs and dead it could not come, by reaſon it was a bare ſandy hill. After evening prayer I happened to walk along the beach-ſide; where I found an herb reſembling ſcurvy-graſs. I made ſome to be gathered, which we boiled with our meat to ſupper. It was moſt excellent good, and far better than our vetches. After ſupper we went all to ſeek and gather more of it; which we did to the quantity of two buſhels, which did afterwards much refreſh us. And now the ſun was ſet, and the boat come aſhore for us; whereupon we aſſembled our ſelves together, and went up to take the laſt view of our dead, and to look unto their tombs, and other things. Here leaning upon mine arm, on one of their tombs, I uttered theſe lines, which though perchance they may procure laughter in the wiſer ſort (which I ſhall be glad of) they yet moved my young and tender-hearted companions at that time with ſome compaſſion. And theſe they were:

I were unkind, unleſs that I did ſhed,
Before I part, ſome tears upon our dead;
And when my eyes be dry, I will not ceaſe
In heart to pray, their bones may reſt in peace:
Their better parts (good ſouls) I know were given,
With an intent they ſhould return to heaven.
Their lives they ſpent, to the laſt drop of blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their countrey's good;
And as a valiant ſoldier, rather dies,
Than yields his courage to his enemies;
And ſtops their way, with his hew'd fleſh, when death
Hath quite depriv'd him of his ſtrength and breath:
So have they ſpent themſelves, and here they lie
A famous mark of our diſcovery.
We that ſurvive, perchance may end our days
In ſome employment meriting no praiſe:
And in a dunghil rot; when no man names
The memory of us, but to our ſhames,
They have out-liv'd this fear, and their brave ends,
Will ever be an honour to their friends.
Why drop you ſo, mine eyes? Nay rather pour
My ſad departure in a ſolemn ſhower.

The winter's cold, that lately froze our blood,
Now were it ſo extreme, might do this good,
As make theſe tears, bright pearls: which I would lay,
Tomb'd ſafely with you, till doom's fatal day.
That in this ſolitary place, where none
Will ever come to breathe a ſigh or groan,
Some remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithful love I ever tender'd you.
Oh, reſt in peace, dear friends, and let it be
No pride to ſay the ſometime part of me.
What pain and anguiſh doth afflict the head,
The heart and ſtomach, when the limbs are dead;
So griev'd, I kiſs your graves; and vow to die
A foſter-father to your memory.

FAREWEL.

So faſtening my brief to the croſs, which was ſecurely wrapt up in lead, we preſently took boat and departed, and never put foot more on that iſland.

This iſland and all the reſt (as likewiſe the main) is a light white ſand, covered over with a white moſs, and full of ſhrubs and low buſhes; excepting ſome bare hills, and other patches. In theſe bare places the ſand will drive with the wind like duſt. It is very full of trees, as ſpruce and juniper; but the biggeſt tree I ſaw was but a foot and a half over. At our firſt coming hither, we ſaw ſome deer, and kill'd one, but never any ſince. Foxes all the winter we ſaw many, and kill'd ſome dozen of them; but they went all away in *May*. Bears we ſaw but few, but kill'd none. We ſaw ſome other little beaſts. In *May* there came ſome fowl, as ducks and geeſe; of which we kill'd very few. White partridges we ſaw, but in ſmall quantities; nor had we any ſhot to ſhoot at them. Fiſh we could never ſee any in the ſea; nor no bones of fiſh on the ſhore ſide, excepting a few cockle-ſhels, and yet nothing in them neither. Other things remarkable I have before mentioned.

OUR DISCOVERY AND Coming Home.

July 1632.

MOnday being the 2d of *July*, we were up betimes, about ſtowing and fitting our ſhip and weighing of our anchors, which when the laſt was a-trip, we went to prayer, beſeeching God to continue his mercies to us, and rendering him thanks for having thus reſtored us. Our ſhip we found no defect in; we had abundance of ſuch proviſions as we brought out of *England*, and we were in indifferent health, and did gather ſtrength daily. This being done, we weighed and came chearfully to ſail: The wind at N.W. bad to get away; wherefore we ſtood over to *Danby* iſland, to take in more wood, and there to be ready to take the opportunity of a fair wind. I went aſhore my ſelf with the boat; for that ſome of the company had told me, that they had ſeen ſtakes the laſt year droven into the ground. When we came aſhore, whilſt ſome gather'd wood, I went to the place, where I found two ſtakes droven into the ground about a foot and a half, and firebrands, where a fire had been made by them. I pull'd up the ſtakes, which were about the bigneſs of my arm; and they had been cut ſharp at the ends with a hatchet, or ſome other good iron tool, and driven in as it were with the head of it. They were diſtant about a ſtone's throw from the water-ſide. I could not conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould be there ſet, unleſs it were for ſome mark for boats. This did augment my deſire to ſpeak with the ſalvages; for without doubt they could have given notice of ſome chriſtians, with whom they had ſome commerce. About four in the evening I returned aboard with a boat's lading of wood, and the wind ſomething favouring we weighed, with our lead ſeeking out a channel amongſt theſe perilous ſhoalds. In the evening the wind oppoſing it ſelf, we came to anchor betwixt *Charleton* iſland, and that iſland we named the laſt year, (in memory of that honourable gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Carie*, one of the bed-chamber to the king) *Carie*'s iſland, where we rid all night.

The 3d at break of day, we weighed with a bare wind, and ſounding up and down for a channel, we were many times in five and four fathom water. The wind larging upon us, we ſtood away weſt: By noon we ſaw all ice to the northward of us; endeavouring therefore to compaſs about the weſtern point of *Charleton* iſland, and ſo to ſeek to the ſouthward, we found it all ſhoalds, rocks and breaches. By four in the afternoon we ſaw the weſtern land, but all full of ice; whereupon as the wind favoured us, we ſtood along it in ſight to the northward.

The 4th was calm, but ſo very thick fog with all, that we could not ſee a piſtol-ſhot about us: Wherefore we came to an anchor, and there rid all this day and the next night.

The 5th at three in the morning we weighed; but ice being all about us, we knew not which way to turn us: Now to avoid telling the ſame thing twenty times, we were continually, 'till the 22d, ſo peſtered and tormented with ice, that it would ſeem incredible to relate it: ſome-we were ſo blinded with fog, that we could not ſee about us; and being now become wilful in our endeavours, we ſhould ſo ſtrike againſt the ice, that the fore-part of the ſhip would crack again, and make our cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the ſhip had been beaten all to pieces. Indeed we did hourly ſtrike ſuch unavoidable blows, that we did leave the hatches open, and twenty times in a day the men would run down into the hold, to ſee if ſhe were bulged.

Sometimes when we had made her faſt in the night, to a great piece of ice, we ſhould have ſuch violent ſtorms, that our faſtning would break, and then the ſtorm would beat us from piece to piece moſt fearfully; otherwhile we ſhould be faſt incloſed among great ice as high as our poop. This was made (as I have formerly ſaid) by one piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten fathom water.

Beſides which, the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the bulge, with pieces of five, ſix, yea of eight tun; that many times we have pump'd clear water for an hour together; before we could make the pump ſuck. Amongſt theſe ſeveral and hourly dangers, I overheard the men murmur and ſay, that they were happy that I had buried; and that if they had a thouſand pounds they would give it, ſo they lay fairly by them; for we (ſay they) are deſtined to ſtarve upon a piece of ice. I was fain to indure all this with patience, and to comfort them up again, when I had them in a better humour.

The 22d having been vext with a ſtorm all laſt night, and this morning with a thick fog, we drove in thirteen fathom water. About noon it cleared, and we ſaw land, and at the inſtant had a good obſervation, whereby we knew it to be cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the maſter ſtand in with it, and in the mean time we fitted a croſs, and faſtened the king's arms and the arms of the city of *Briſtol* to it; we came to an anchor within a mile of the ſhore, in ſix fathom water; ſo we hoiſted out the boat, and took our arms and our dogs, and went aſhore. Upon the moſt eminent place we erected the croſs, and then ſeeking about, we ſoon ſaw ſome deer, and by and by more and more: We ſtole to them with the beſt ſkill we had, and then put our dogs on them, but the deer ran clear away from them at their pleaſure. We tired the dogs and wearied ourſelves, but to no purpoſe, neither could we come to ſhoot at them. I ſaw in all about a dozen (old and young) very goodly beaſts. We took half a dozen young geeſe on the pools, by wading in to them; and ſo returned to our boat vext, that now we had found a place where there was refreſhing, and we could get none of it: Whereas therefore we had kept our dogs with a great deal of inconvenience aboard the ſhip all the winter, and had pardoned them many miſdemeanors, (for they would ſteal our meat out of the ſteeping tubs) in hope they might hereafter do us ſome ſervice; and ſeeing they now did not, and that there was no hope they could hereafter, I cauſed them to be left aſhore. They were a dog and a bitch; buck-dogs of a very good race. The dog had a collar about his neck, which it may be hereafter may come to light. I did ſee no ſign at all of any ſalvages, nor could we find any herbs or other refreſhing here.

In the evening, (being returned aboard) and the wind blowing fair at ſouth, I cauſed the maſter to weigh and come to ſail, and to loſe no time, for we did hope for an open ſea to the N. W. This cape hath a very ſhoald point that lies off it, which we endeavoured to compaſs about.

Sailing therefore amongſt ſhattered ice, we came to very ſhoald water, (four and five fathom deep) and could not avoid it. At length ſtanding N. the water deepened, but we came amongſt great pieces of ice; which by reaſon of ſome open water, there went a pretty ſea. Theſe hard pieces of ice made a moſt fearful noiſe. It proved a fair moon-ſhine night, otherwiſe it had gone ill with us. We turned amongſt this ice, ſtaying the ſhip ſometimes within her length of great pieces, as bad as rocks; but by reaſon we were often forced to bear up, we did ſag upon the main rand of ice, and that we thought would be worſe for us, we let fall an anchor, and ſtood all on the decks to watch the ice's ſheering of the ſhip (to and again) to avoid it. Thus having poles and oars to fend it, we could not keep our ſelves ſo clear, but many pieces came foul of us. We brake two of our great poles with it, which were made to be handled by four men, beſides ſome other damages. At break of day we weighed, and ſought all ways to clear ourſelves of ice, but it was impoſſible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular days paſſages, which was much alike to us. Our endeavours were ſometimes with our ſails, giving and receiving 500 fearful blows in a day. Sometimes we would ſtop at an anchor, when we could get a little open water, and ſo ſuffer the ice to drive to leeward; other whiles we ſhould be encloſed amongſt it, and then it would ſo break and riſe, and leap up under us, that we expected to be beaten every hour to pieces.

Moreover, we ſhould have ſuch ſtorms in the dark nights, that would break the mooring we had made faſt to ſome piece of ice for ſecurity in the night ſeaſon; and then we ſhould beat moſt dangerouſly from piece to piece till day-light, that we could ſee to make her faſt again. I forbear to ſpeak of thick fogs which we had daily, which did freeze our rigging day and night; beſides all which, we ſhould come into moſt uncertain depths, ſometimes twenty fathom, next caſt ten, next fifteen, then nine, rocky foul ground. The great deep ice withal, driving on theſe uncertain depths, did ſo diſtract the tides, and deceive us ſo much in our accounts, that by the 30th we were driven back ſo far to the eaſtward, and to the ſouthward of the cape, that at five a clock in the evening it bare N. W. of us ſome three leagues off, contrary to our expectations. With

all theſe miſchiefs our ſhip is now become very leaky, that we muſt pump every half watch. Here I called a conſultation; and after conſideration of all our experience, we were all of the ſame opinion, that it was impoſſible to get to the northward, or to the eaſtward, by reaſon of the ice; wherefore I reſolved upon this courſe; when the wind blew ſouth, it would blow the ice off the ſouth ſhore, then we would ſeek to get to the weſtward, betwixt it and the ſhore. I muſt confeſs, that this was a deſperate reſolution, for all the coaſt we knew to be ſhoald and foul ground, all rocks and ſtones; ſo that if the wind ſhould ſhift to the northward, there would be (without God's mercies) little hope of us. But here we muſt not ſtay; the nights grew long, the cold ſo increaſed, that betwixt the pieces of ice, the ſea would be frozen. I cauſed the ſhip to be fitted, and places convenient again prepared to ſink her the ſecond time, if ſo be we were put to extremities. We preſently put our project in execution (the wind being at ſouth) and got about the ſhoals of the cape, ſtanding then into the ſhoreward, to get betwixt it and the ice, we came into four fathom water (very foul rocky ground) thinking to come to an anchor all night, and let the ice drive to leeward. But ſtill there was ſo much ice betwixt us and the ſhore, that we were fain to bear up amongſt it into deeper water, and to let the ſhip drive amongſt it. The wind increaſing, we endured a moſt dangerous dark night of it. In the morning we fell to work to get the ſhip again out of the ice into ſome clear water, which we ſaw W. by S. of us. Some of our company went out upon the ice, to heave her with their ſhoulders, whilſt others ſtood aboard with poles; the reſt ſtood to ſpill and fill the ſail. By nine in the morning we had gotten into ſome clear water, and ſtood weſt and by ſouth, and into four fathom water foul grouud. But being not able to weather ſome rands of ice which did drive, we were fain to ſtand off again, and (when the evening grew dark) to come to an anchor.

About midnight there came a great piece of ice (which we could not avoid) athwart of our cable, and made the ſhip drive and drag her anchor. This drove her into ſhoald water, it being very rocky and foul ground. We brought the cable to capſtan, and heav'd with ſuch a courage, that we heaved home our anchor from under it. Thus we did endeavour (the beſt we could) to keep our ſelves in eight and ten fathom water. It then pleaſed God that the wind blew along the ſhore, otherwiſe it had gone far worſe with us.

Auguſt 1632.

The firſt of this month at break of day, when we could ſee a little about us, we fell to ſtruggle and ſtrive again with the ice, and to get in nearer to the ſhore. There by reaſon the wind was oppoſite to come to an anchor, we let the ice drive to leeward, hoping that there was a clear ſea to the weſtward. The ice drove very thick upon us, and one piece came foul of us, which did touch our ſpritſail-yard, and made the ſhip drive, but we ſoon clear'd ourſelves of it. Then we weigh'd and ſtood in nearer to the ſhore, but the water ſhoalded, and there were ſo many great rands of ice betwixt us and the ſhore, that there was no coming to an anchor: So we turned betwixt the ice, many pieces of it being a-ground in ſhoald water, and few pieces diſtant one from the other a cables length. This day we ſaw two ſea-morſes on the ice.

The 2d in the morning we were glad of the break of day, having moſt dangerouſly turned amongſt the ice all night, and endured many a heavy blow. We ſtood in again to the ſhoreward, to ſee if we could get ſome clear water; for to the northward it was all impaſſable ice. We ſtood into five and four fathom, but ſtill all incompaſt with ice; ſo we ſtood off again into deeper water, and in the evening we were incloſed amongſt extraordinary great pieces; it was a very thick fog withal, ſo that we made faſt the ſhip to a great flat piece, and went to ſleep and refreſh ourſelves after our extreme pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th and 5th we were incloſed amongſt very great ice, and it blew ſuch a ſtorm of wind, that we ſometimes endeavouring to get forward to the weſtward, did ſtrike ſuch heavy blows, that made all the forepart of the ſhip crack again: Then we would give over working, and let her alone amongſt it; but then the ice would break and riſe under us, that would endanger us as bad as the former. Our ſhip doth make above a ton of water every watch, which we muſt pump out, beſide our other labour. God think on us, and be merciful to us amongſt all theſe dangers.

The 5th at noon we were in latitude 55. 30. the cape bearing off us S. E. by E. ſome twelve leagues off; and this is all we have gotten ſince the 22d of *July*. All night it blew a violent gale of wind at W. N. W. and about midnight our hawſer (which we had made faſt to a piece of ice) broke, and we loſt fourteen fathom of it. We beat all night moſt fearfully, being toſt from piece to piece, becauſe that in the dark we durſt not venture our men to go forth on the ice for fear of loſing them.

All the 6th the ſtorm indured and drove us again with the ice, almoſt to the cape.

The 7th was the moſt comfortable day we had ſince we came out of our wintering-place; the wind came up fair at eaſt, and we got (although with our former inconveniencies and dangers) nearer to the ſhore, and into ſome open water, making good way to the weſtward. Moreover, our leak now ſtopt of its own accord, ſo that now we pumpt but little. We ſailed all night, keeping good watch on the forecaſtle, bearing up for one, and looffing for another.

Thus did we the 8th alſo, but then the wind ſhifting to the N. W. it drove the ice on the ſhore, and we came to an anchor in eight fathom water. The main ice we had ſome two mile to windward of us, but the ſet of the tide kept it off from us. At noon we were in latitude 55. 34. In the evening a rang of ice drove upon us, which made us weigh and ſtand in nearer the ſhore, into ſix fathom, and there to come to an anchor. The wind increaſing about midnight, the ſhip did drive, and was quickly in five fathom water; wherefore we let fall our ſhoot-anchor, and both held her. But that that troubled us was, that we expected every minute, when the main ice would come upon us, and then there would be no hope but to be put aſhore.

The 9th in the morning we weighed our ſecond anchor, the ice being within leſs than a mile of us. About eight in the morning a point of it came foul of us, which we prevented by weighing, and came to an anchor in three fathom and a half water. The wind continued N. N. W. which was in on the ſhore. This morning I cauſed all our empty caſk to be filled with water, and the ſhip to be left unpumpt, and the places lookt to that we had prepared to ſink her; for we were at preſent in as apparent danger as any time this voyage, and (to our great griefs) it was all foul rocky ground: The danger of this was, if we made faſt to a piece of ice that drew deep water, then as ſoon as it came to ground on theſe rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our deſtruction. About noon there came foul of us the point of a range of ice, which we reſolved to endure the extremity of with an anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving ſome open water beyond it; thruſting therefore and fending with our poles, at laſt a great piece came thwart our hawſer, and there went a pretty ſea amongſt it. The ſhip did now fall upon it ſo violently, that I expected every blow ſhe would beat out her bows. At length ſhe did drive with it, ſo that I thought the cable had been broken. We brought it to capſtan to heave it in, but found that our ſhoot-anchor was broken in the middle of the ſhank. We preſently ſet our ſails thereupon, endeavouring that way to edge in amongſt the ice off of this perilous ſhore. It pleaſed God to favour our labour ſo, that by eight in the evening we got off into ſeven fathom; and a dark night coming on, we made faſt to the biggeſt piece we could find. It blew fairly all night, but about midnight the wind came up at north, which was more on the ſhore than before.

By break of day on the 10th we were driven into four fathom, very foul ground, ſo that the lead did fall off the rocks three or four foot; we ſet our ſails, and uſed our uttermoſt endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the ice to hale her; others ſtood with poles to thruſt by night. At night we had gotten off into eight fathom, and made faſt to the biggeſt piece we could find. If any man ſhould aſk why we now kept ſo near to the ſhore, in this continual danger? I anſwer, Becauſe that in the offing the ice was ſo extraordinary thick, that we could make no way, any way through it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick ice, and that the wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Wherefore we choſe to run this adventure, and ſo prevent and overcome all dangers with God's aſſiſtance and our extreme labour.

The 11th in the morning was a thick fog, yet there ſprung up a gale of wind at eaſt, and we made in for the ſhore.

From the 11th till the 14th the wind continued fair, and we made all the ſail we could (night and day) as the ice would ſuffer us. We had the ſhore in ſight by day on one ſide, and the ice within two miles on the other, and we ſail'd amongſt diſperſt pieces, luffing for one, and bearing up for another.

The 14th at noon we were in latitude 57. 55. In the evening we were imbayed in ice, and ſtood S. W. to clear ourſelves of it, but could not. But ſeeing from topmaſt-head clear water over it, we put into it; but there roſe a very thick fog, and night came on withal, that we were fain to faſten to a piece of ice, expecting day and better weather.

The 15th in the morning (although the fog was very thick) we endeavoured to get out of the ice, and ſtood away weſt; but within two hours the water ſhoalded from forty fathom to twenty five, whereby we knew that we had the ſhoalding of the weſtern ſhore. Then we ſhaped our courſe to the northward, the fog continued ſo thick, that we could not ſee a piſtol-ſhot about us. We had not ſtood this way two hours, but we heard the rut of

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the ice a-head of us, which made the moſt hideous noiſe of any we had heard this voyage. We halled our tacks aboard, and ſtood to the weſtward in this day, hearing of it ſometimes, and ſometimes ſeeing of it, which was very large, deep and high ice above the water. We weathered it all, except ſome few pieces, and got into open water. About ſunſet there came a ſudden guſt N. N. W. and before we could handle our ſails, it was with us, and put us to ſome tronble. It dallied with us by guſts till nine a clock, and then it fell into a moſt violent ſtorm. We conſidered where we might have the cleareſt drift, and ſo took in all and let her drive her head to the ſhoreward. Before midnight the water ſhoalded on us to fifteen fathom. Then we turned her head to the eaſtward, and ſet our main-courſe low ſet, but as much as ſhe could indure. The water deepen'd but little, and we knew that we were on thoſe rocky ſhoalds which we ſtruck on the laſt year; God be merciful to us. Here was the firſt great breaking ſea that we had this year.

The 16th in the morning we were driven to a great rand of ice; to avoid which we ſet our fore courſe to, and ſtood to the ſhoreward in 13 fathom water, and then about again: We ſtood in a mile into the ice; but there went ſuch a great ſwelling ſea in it, that it was indurable, ſo we ſtood out again. About three a clock in the afternoon the ſtorm broke up, and blew fair at N. W. which proved good for us, for we had not drift for four hours; beſides, it was but two leagues betwixt the ſhoalds and the ice. We ſet all our ſails and endeavoured to weather the ice, but in the evening we were ſtill peſter'd with it. By midnight we knew not which way to turn, nor what to do; ſo we took in all our ſails, and let her drive amongſt it. The ice beat us on every ſide, for there went amongſt it a very great full ſea.

The 17th in the morning, when we could ſee about us, we were in the midſt of the ice; but with the laſt ſtorm it was all broken into mammocks, as big as a boat of three or four tons, which did give us many a heavy blow in the dark night. If this ſtorm had taken us amongſt it, it had beaten us all to pieces, without God's miraculous preſervation. We made ſail and endeavoured to clear ourſelves of it to the northward, which by eight in the morning we had done.

We then went to prayer, and gave God thanks that had delivered us out of it. For we were hourly, for the ſpace of ſix weeks, as it were in the jaws of death; yea, never any (that I have heard of) have been ſo long in ſuch long nights upon a foul ſhoald ſhore, tormented with ice, as we have now been. At noon we were in latitude 58. 20.

Now as touching the diſſolution or ruin of the ice, we found that this ſtorm had torn and ſhattered this rand of ice, which was on the outſide, although it muſt have a long time to work into the main body of it. I have in *July*, and in the beginning of *Auguſt*, taken ſome of the ice into the ſhip, and cut it ſquare two foot, and put it into the boat, where the ſun did ſhine on it with a very ſtrong reflex about it: And notwithſtanding the warmth of the ſhip (for we kept a good fire) and all our breathings and motions, it would not melt in eight or ten days.

It was our practice, when we ſhould be two days together faſt to a piece of ice, to ſet marks on it, to ſee how it did conſume, but it yielded us ſmall hope of diſſolving. We could not in that time perceive any diminution by the ſinking of it or otherwiſe. Nevertheleſs, I think that it is ruined with ſtorms, or conſumed with heat ſome years, or elſe the bay would be filled choke-full; but I confeſs that theſe ſecrets of nature are paſt my apprehenſion.

Being out of it, (but no otherways than that we yet ſaw it from off the decks, all to the eaſtward) I ordered the maſter to ſteer away north and by eaſt, keeping the ſhoalding of the weſtern ſhore.

The 18th at noon we were in latitude 59. 30.

The 19th we continued our courſe betwixt N. N. E. and the N. by E. and at noon were in latitude 61. 7. ſome 12 leagues off the ſhore. I ordered the maſter to ſhape his courſe north eaſt, to look to that place betwixt *Carie*'s *Swans-neſt* and *Ne ultra*.

The 20th we were in latitude 61. 45. This day we ſaw ſome few ſeols about the ſhip.

The 21ſt the water ſhoalded ſo that we made account we did approach the land; but about noon the wind came up at N. E. our direct oppoſite. We looſt as near it as we could, and as it larg'd we came to ſtand E. and E. and by N.

The 22d we fell with the land to the weſtward of *Carie*'s *Swan's-Neſt*, where we had forty fathom three leagues off. We ſtood in within a league of the ſhore, into thirteen fathom; and ſeeing the land to the ſouthward of us, we compaſt about it, it being *Carie*'s *Swan's-Neſt*, which is in latitude 52. 00.

All the 23d we ſailed N. E. and for the moſt part in ſight of land.

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The 24th at noon, (by judgment) we were in latitude 63. 30. having ſail'd a N. E. courſe. All this day was a very thick fog, which about one a clock clear'd a little, ſo that I expected to ſee the land. Some of our men being better ſighted, ſpied it out about ſome two leagues off from us. I knew it could be no other than *Nottingham* iſland, though it were ſomething contrary to the expectation of our beſt mariners. We ſtood into it to make it. It was the north end of it, and it bare off us due eaſt; I was ſoon aſſured of it, and I ordered the maſter to ſhape his courſe N. W. and by N. Both he and others were unwilling, but without much ado ſubmitted themſelves, (how loth ſoever) for that it was ſo very foul thick weather. The reaſons of my reſolution were theſe; the time of the year was far ſpent, and the diſcommodities of winter came upon us, and therefore would I make the ſhorteſt way, betwixt the lands already diſcovered. If I found an open ſea, I had my deſire, and did then intend to proceed to the utmoſt of our power; if we met with the land, I ſhould then finiſh the diſcovery, it being not paſſing fifteen leagues from land to land, and not paſſing ten leagues from *Nottingham* iſland to the main of the north ſhore. We made what ſail we could, it blowing a very ſtiff gale of wind until eight in the evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our top-ſails, and ſtood under our two courſes and bonnets. At nine it blew a violent ſtorm at S. S. E. ſo that we took in our foreſail, and let her drive N. W. All the night it continued an extraordinary ſtorm; ſo that we heaved the lead every half watch; but the ſhip did drive ſo faſt, that ſhe would be paſt the lead before there was twenty fathom of line out, all the night being exceeding cold withal.

The 25th the ſtorm continued in his utmoſt malice, and did ſo perplex us, that there were but few that did ſleep or eat a bit theſe 24 hours. About ſix a clock in the afternoon the ſtorm began to ſlacken, yet blew there a fierce gale of wind betwixt the S. and S. W. We ſtood W. N. W. and made a N. W. way, when ſuddenly the ſea became very ſmooth. We reaſoned thereupon amongſt ourſelves, what might be the cauſe of it. We all thought it to be the leeward tide, nothing doubting what afterwards we encountered. The ſhip had very quick way in this ſmooth water.

The 26th by two a clock in the morning, we were ſuddenly come in amongſt the ice; and it pleaſed God that the moon at the inſtant gave us ſo much light, that we could ſee a little about us. We would have ſtaid the ſhip, but it was ſo thick to windward, and ſo near us, that we durſt not. We then bore up in this unexpected accident; and (I verily believe) did not eſcape ſtriking the length of a foot againſt the ice as hard as rocks, two or three times; the ſhip now having way, after twelve leagues a watch. Then we ſtood cloſe by a wind to the eaſtward, expecting day, that we might ſee about us: We could from topmaſt-head ſee the ice to N. N. W. the N. W. and ſo round about by the S. to the E. and ſome there was to leeward of us. It was all flat ſound ice, in main rands, and the ſea as ſmooth as a well amongſt it. This ſtruck us all into a dump, whereupon I called a conſultation of my aſſociates; namely, *Arthur Price* maſter, *William Clemens* lieutenant, *John Whittered* maſter's mate, *Nathaniel Bilſon* chirurgeon, and *John Palmer* boatſwain, requiring them to adviſe and counſel me, how to proſecute our buſineſs to effect. Theſe all went together, and reaſoned amongſt themſelves, and then brought me their opinions in writing under their hands, *viz.* Our advice is, That you repair homeward from this preſent 26th, and that for theſe reaſons:

Firſt, For that the nights are long and ſo extreme cold withal, that we can hardly handle our ſails and riggings. Secondly, The times are now ſubject to ſtormy and guſty weather, as witneſſeth the preſent ſeaſon, it having continued a ſtorm ever ſince the 24th, and doth yet continue no weather to diſcover in. Thirdly, we doubt whether *Hudſon's Streights* be ſo clear of ice, that it may be paſſable in convenient time, (winter coming now on apace) before we be frozen up, ſeeing the ice lies here all over the ſeas in rands and ranges. Fourthly, We muſt have a ſet of fair weather to paſs the ſtraight, which we may ſtay a long time for, if we neglect the firſt opportunity. Fifthly, For that our ſhip is very leaky, ſo that in foul weather we are fain to pump every glaſs, which is great labour. Moreover we know her to be ſo ſorely bruiſed with rocks and blows of the ice, that ſhe is no more to be adventured amongſt it, but in ſaving of our lives homewards. Beſides all this, our men grow very weak and ſickly, with extreme labour. Sixthly, the ſeaſon of the year is ſo far ſpent, that we can expect no other weather than we have had, both lately and at preſent; that is to ſay, ſnow and fog freezing our rigging, and making every thing ſo ſlippery, that a man can ſcarce ſtand; and all this with the wind ſouther-ly, which if it ſhould come to the north-

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ward, then we are to expect far worſe. Seventhly and laſtly, that the ice lies all in thick rands and ranges, in the very way we ſhould go, as you and all men here may ſee. And therefore we conclude as aforeſaid, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding farther; wherefore we here counſel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable paſſage, and return us home ſafe into our native countries, if we take time, and not tempt him too far by our wilfulneſs.

Indeed moſt of theſe reaſons were in view, and I could not tell what to ſay to oppoſe them; nor any reaſon could I give, how we might proceed farther; wherefore (with a ſorrowful heart, God knows) I conſented that the helm ſhould be born up, and a courſe ſhap'd for *England*, well hoping that his majeſty would graciouſly cenſure of my endeavours, and pardon my return. And although we have not diſcovered populous kingdoms, and taken ſpecial notice of their magnificence, power and policies, brought ſamples home of their riches and commodities, pried into the myſteries of their trades and traffick, nor made any great fights againſt the enemies of God and our nation; yet I wiſh our willingneſs in theſe deſart parts may be acceptable to our readers. When we bore up helm, we were in latitude 65. 30. at leaſt N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham* iſland. Some were of an opinion, that we were farther to the northward; but by reaſon it was by judgment, I choſe to ſet down the leſſer diſtance.

The 27th the wind came up at N. W. with which wind we could not have gone on in our deſign: That wind made no great ſwelling ſea. By noon we were athwart of cape *Charles*, ſo that we went in betwixt that cape and *Mill* Iſlands. The laſt night it did ſnow very much, and was very cold, ſo that all our rigging and ſails were frozen, and all the land covered over with ſnow. And here (ſithence I have formerly ſpoken that it ſnows very much) it will not be amiſs to conſider of the reaſons of it. When I was upon *Charleton* iſland, (our wintering place) and in *June*, when the ſnow was clearlieſt gone off the ground, I have in the nights, (and ſome of them following the hotteſt days) obſerved, whether there fell any dew or no; but I could never perceive any, and (under correction of the learned) from moſs and ſand, little (methoughts) was to be expected. Now of what was exhal'd from the ſnowy ice and cold ſea; what could there probably be returned but the like again? Generally we continued on our courſe, blinded with foggy and dirty weather; and that, intermixt with ſnow and froſt, amongſt diſperſt pieces of ice, many of them higher than our topmaſt-head.

With great variety of winds, we were alſo driven within three leagues of both ſhores; ſo that the laſt of this month, we were in the narrow of the ſtraight, which is about fifteen leagues over; the ſouth ſhore was much peſtred with ice.

September 1632.

The 1ſt and 2d we continued our endeavour to get on our way.

The 3d in the evening, as the weather cleared up, we did ſee the ſouth end of the *Iſland of Reſolution*.

Theſe three days and nights had been extreme cold with fog and froſt, inſomuch that our men in the evening could hardly take in our topſails and ſpreetſail. We have ſailed thorow much mountainous ice, far higher than our topmaſt-head; but this day we ſailed by the higheſt that I ever yet ſaw, which was incredible indeed to be related. Now as the wind comes eaſterly we feel another ſea out of the ocean, and the ſhip labours with another motion, than ſhe hath done with any that ever we obſerved to come out of the weſtward.

From the 3d to the 8th we had variety of winds, and were gotten clear out of the ſtreights, but were now come into ſuch a tumbling ſea, (the weather dirty and guſty, and by interims calm again) that the ſhip did ſo labour and rowl, that we thought verily ſhe would have rowled her maſts by the board. This made her ſo leaky, that we were fain to pump every glaſs; yea, her ſeams did ſo open aloft, we lay all wet in her.

This was the laſt day that we ſaw any ice. The wind now favouring us, we made all the haſte we could homeward. By the way, (having endeavoured, obſerved and experimented ſome things in my unfortunate voyage) I perfected up my ſaid obſervations, which being after commanded to publiſh, I here moſt ſubmiſſively offer unto the judicious readers, and raine our private opinion withal, concerning the feiſeableneſs of the action intended, which was to find a *Paſſage into the South-Sea*.

What hath been long ago fabled by ſome *Portugueſe*, that ſhould have come this way out of the *South-Sea*, the meer ſhadows of whoſe miſtaken relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. Theſe hopes have ſtirred up from time to time, the more active ſpirits of this our kingdom, to reſearch that merely imaginary paſſage. For my own part, I give no credit to them at all; and as little to the vicious and abuſive wits of later

later *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, who never ſpeak of any difficulties, as ſhoald water, ice, nor ſight of land, but as if they had been brought home in a dream or engine. And indeed their diſcourſes are found abſurd, and the *Plots* (by which ſome of them have practiſed to deceive the world) meer falſities, making ſea where there is known to be main-land, and land where is nothing but ſea.

Moſt certain it is, that by the only induſtry of our own nation, thoſe northern parts of *America* have been diſcovered to the latitude of 80 degrees and upwards. And it hath been ſo curiouſly done, (the labours of ſeveral men being joined together) that the main land hath been both ſeen and ſearcht, and they have brought this ſuppoſed paſſage to this paſs, that it muſt be to the north of 66 degrees of latitude. A cold clime peſtered with ice and other diſcommodities, and where the *Spaniards* diſpoſitions and their weak ſpeeke ſhips can hardly long endure it. And withal it is thus known, that the entrance of *Hudſon*'s *Streights* is but fifteen leagues broad, in the middle not ſo much; and betwixt *Saliſbury* iſland and the main, that it is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the northwards, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from main to main. This in length is but about 140 leagues, as may more plainly appear by the map. Moſt infinitely peſtered withal it is with the ice until *Auguſt*, and ſome years not paſſable then; yea I believe the ſtreight is never clear of ice thorowly.

Now moſt probable it is, that there is no paſſage, and that for theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, that there is a conſtant tide flood and ebb ſetting into *Hudſon*'s *Streights*, the flood ſtill coming from the eaſtward, which as it proceeds (correſpondent to the diſtance) it alters his time of full ſea. This alſo entering into bays, and broken ground, it becomes diſtracted, and reverſes with half tides.

Secondly, here is no ſmall fiſh, as cod, *&c.* and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen; nor are there any bones of whales, ſea-horſes, or other great fiſh to be found on the ſhore, nor any drift-wood.

Thirdly, That we found the ice in the latitude of 65. 30. to be lying all over the ſea in rands; and I am moſt certain that the ſhoalds and ſhoald-bays are the mother of it. Had there now been any ocean beyond it, it would have been broke all to pieces; for ſo we found it coming thorow the ſtreight into the ſea to the eaſtward.

Fourthly, the ice ſeeks his way to the eaſtward, and ſo drives out at *Hudſon*'s *Streights*, which I have often obſerved, being a land upon the iſland of *Reſolution*, and driving amongſt the ice in the ſtreight.

Now admit there were a paſſage, yet is it known, that it is partly narrow, for 140 leagues, and to be infinitely peſtered with ice withal, as every one have found, who have gone that way. Comparing therefore ſome obſervations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and at *Firando* in *Japan*, and the diſtance betwixt *Japan* and the weſtern part of *Califurnia*, with the obſervations taken at *Charleton* iſland, (referring all to the meridian of *London*) and then the diſtance betwixt the meridians of cape *Charles* and the weſtern part of *Califurnia*, will be found to be about 500 leagues in the latitude of 66. 00. where yet the meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about cape *Charles*, the variation is 29 degrees to the weſt, which is a probable argument, that there is much land to the weſtward; and that this ſtreight muſt be very long, and that you have no time to paſs it but in *Auguſt* and *September*, when the nights are ſo long, and the weather ſo cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, that neither can any great ſhips, which are fit for carrying of merchandize, indure the ice, and other diſcommodities, without extraordinary danger.

Moreover, a thouſand leagues is ſooner ſailed to the ſouthward, and about the cape *de Bona Speranza*, (where the winds are conſtant) and that with ſafety, than a hundred in theſe ſeas, where you muſt daily run the hazard of loſing ſhip and lives: Put hereunto that comfort for the ſick, or refreſhing for your men, here is none to be had in theſe quarters.

Towards the latter end of *Auguſt* and in *September*, the weather grows tempeſtuous, and the winds incline to be weſterly, that there will be but ſmall hope of performing your voyage this way.

But let us (by way of imagination only) inlarge this ſtreight, in this latitude, and free it of ice; yet what advantage, in ſpeedy performance, will be gotten by this paſſage, if the winds be withal conſidered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the northern parts of *Aſia*, it may be the nearer cut; but in navigation, the fartheſt way about is well known, in fewer days to be performed, yea with leſſer pains, and more ſafety of ſhip and goods.

Again: To the *Eaſt-Indies* and other parts, where we have the greateſt commerce and employment of ſhipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of trade might have been obtained in thoſe northern parts of *Aſia*, I will not preſume to ſpeak of; holding that there is a great difference betwixt thoſe parts and the northern parts of *America*; whereas I am ſure that there is none in any place where I have been all this voyage.

The 22d of *October* we arrived in the road of *Briſtol*, having been hindered and croſt with much contrary tempeſtuous winds and weather. The ſhip being brought into harbour, and hal'd dry a ground to look to her, it was there found, that all her cut-water and ſtern were torn and beaten away, together with fourteen foot of her keel; much of her ſheathing cut away, her bows broken and bruiſed, and many timbers crackt within board; and under the ſtarboard bulge a ſharp rock had cut thorow the ſheathing, the plank, and an inch and a half into a timber that it met withal. Many other defects there were beſides, ſo that it was miraculous how this veſſel could bring us home again. Being all here arrived, we went all to church and gave God thanks for his preſervation of us amidſt ſo many dangers. I very well know that what I have here haſtily written, will never diſcourage any noble ſpirit, that is minded to bring this ſo long tried action to abſolute effect; and it is likely withal, that there be ſome, who have a better underſtanding, and a ſurer way of proſecuting of it, than myſelf have: To whoſe deſigns I wiſh a happy ſucceſs. And if they do but make a review of what hath been done, and give more certain celeſtial obſervations, hydrographical deſcriptions, or exacter practice in navigation, it will be a moſt commendable labour. For although I have ſpent ſome years of my ripeſt age, in procuring vain intelligence from foreign nations, and have travelled unto divers honourable and learned perſonages of this kingdom, for their inſtructions; have bought up whatever I could in print or manuſcript, and what plot or paper ſoever conducing to this buſineſs, that poſſibly I could procure; and have ſerved voluntarily beſides, and ſpent ſome time in rendering a relation, (ſince my coming home) and expended withal of my own monies, in my aforeſaid endeavours, and in furniſhing of extraordinary neceſſaries above 200 *l.* in ready money; yet I repent not myſelf, but take a great deal of comfort and joy, in that I am able to give an account (in ſome reaſonable way) of thoſe parts of the world, which heretofore I was not ſo well ſatisfied in.

THE

THE

COPY of the LETTER

Which I left at

CHARLETON,

Faſtened to the Croſs, *July* 1, 1632.

BE it known to any that ſhall haply arrive here, on this iſland of *Charleton*, that whereas our ſovereign lord, *Charles* I. king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* having a deſire to be certified, whether there were any paſſage or not, by the north-weſt or north-weſtward, thorough theſe territories into the ſouth ſea: Some of the better minded merchants, of the worſhipful company of merchant-adventurers of the city of *Briſtol*, to ſatisfy his majeſty therein, did voluntarily offer to ſet forth a convenient ſhip for that purpoſe, well mann'd, victualled, and furniſhed with all other neceſſaries. This free offer of theirs was not only commended, but graciouſly accepted of by his majeſty. Whereupon, they fitted and furniſhed forth a ſhip, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the burthen of 70 tuns, victualled for 18 months. A number thought convenient to manage ſuch a buſineſs was 22 men, whereof 19 were choice able men, two younkers, and my unworthy ſelf their commander. All which, the *Briſtol* merchants did moſt judiciouſly and bountifully accommodate, and had in a readineſs, the firſt of *May*, 1631.

The 3d of *May* we began our voyage out of the road of *Briſtol*, commonly called *King's Road*, paſſing about the cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*, upon many courſes, but reduced to a weſt north-weſt, we ſailed along, and upon the 4th of *June*, we made the land of *Greenland* to the northward of cape *Farewell*, where for the ſpace of two days, we were dangerouſly ingaged amongſt the ice. Being clear of it, we doubled cape *Farewell* to the ſouthward, and ſo continued our courſe to the weſtward, continually ſailing and thruſting the ſhip thorough much ice.

The 19th of *June* we made the iſland of *Reſolution*, and endeavouring to compaſs about it to the ſouthward, we were taken with a ſtrong weſterly wind, which drove the ice and it us, upon the ſhore. In that diſtreſs, (ſeeing it was broken grounds and main inlets into it) I ſent the ſhallop to ſeek and ſound a place for our refuge; but when ſhe was departed, ſhe was in as great danger as we, and could not return to us by reaſon of the ice. We being now driven very near the rocks, were fain to ſet our ſails, and force the ſhip into an opening, adventuring her amongſt unknown dangers to avoid apparent, before we could moor her in a place (as we thought) ſafe from danger.

The 22d of *June*, (this inlet being full of ice) that ice upon the ebb, ſo jamb'd one piece into another, that it altered the ordinary courſe of it, and it came upon the ſhip, and put her againſt the rocks, notwithſtanding our utmoſt reſiſtance. As the water ebb'd away, the ſhip hung by the keel upon a rock, and heel'd to the offing. As ſoon as we perceiv'd this, we made faſt ſome hawſers to her maſts, and to the rocks, to hold her upright; but all in vain; ſhe ſunk ſtill, as the water ebb'd away; ſo that ſhe was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Hereupon, we got all upon a piece of ice, looking upon her, and praying God to be merciful to us. The rock that ſhe hung upon, was a little abaft the mainmaſt, which made her hang after the head, and ſhe ſunk over ſo much, that the portlaſs of the forecaſtle was in the water. At length, it pleaſed God the flood came, before it had ebb'd ſo low as the tide before and after, by a foot; and the ſhip roſe, and was ſafe and ſound: And thus were we miraculouſly delivered. With the

the firſt wind, we proceeded to the weſtward, continually being peſtred with ſo much ice, that it was about the middle of *July* before we could attain to Sir *Dudley Digg*'s iſland. And here I was put to my conſideration; for whereas by my directions, I was to ſearch eſpecially two places; one from *Digg*'s iſland to the northward, and failing there, to go to the *Checks* and *Hubbart*'s hope, and ſo to ſearch it to the ſouthward; I now finding the ſea much peſtered with ice in the latitude of 64. 00. and as far as we could ſee to the northward; and that the time was ſo far ſpent, as that before I could do any thing that way, it would be *Auguſt*, and then as much trouble to return again to *Digg*'s iſland; and that by that time, the year would be ſo far ſpent, the nights ſo long and cold, that I fear'd I ſhould be forced with ſhame to return into *England* again that year. Wherefore I took my way to the weſtward, by *Mansfield*'s iſland; on which I landed twice, ſtill hindred and incumbred with ice. Thence I proceeded weſtward, hoping for an open ſea in the bay. We were there more troubled with ice, than in any place before; ſo that it was the 11th of *Auguſt*, before we had ſight of the weſtern land, which we made in latitude 59. 30. ſomething to the ſouthward of the *Checks*. We were not able to attain thither, by reaſon of the contrary winds and ice, but were obſervant of the current of the tides; which after, by experience, we found to come from the northward. We coaſted along the ſhore, in ſight of land, and in ten fathom water to the ſouthward; and entred that inlet, which heretofore was called *Hubbart*'s hope; which was the very place where the paſſage ſhould be, as it was thought by the underſtandingeſt and learneded intelligencer of this buſineſs in *England*. We ſailed to the very bottom of it, into three fathom water, and found it to be a bay of ſome eighteen or nineteen leagues deep. From thence we proceeded to the ſouthward, in ſight of land for the moſt part; and although I was as careful to keep the lead always going (it blowing a freſh gale of wind, and a pretty big ſea) our depth eight, nine, and ten fathom; yet before the lead was up, the ſhip ſtruck upon a flat rock; (ſhe then being under foreſail, foretopſail, maintopſail, and ſpritſail) and gave three ſore knocks, and got over it. Being paſt this danger, we proceeded, and paſs'd by port *Nelſon*. Finding the land trend to the eaſtward, we began our diſcovery of it more carefully; becauſe that no man (that ever I could hear or read of) did ever ſee this land before. We ſtood into ſix and five fathom; for it is very low land, and trends for the moſt part E. S. E. and E. by S.

The 27th of *Auguſt* I entred upon it, and in the name of the merchants-adventurers of *Briſtol*, took poſſeſſion of it to his majeſty's uſe, naming it, *The New South-Weſt Principality of Wales*. I brought from the land ſome ſmall trees and herbs, and killed divers ſorts of fowl, in ſign of ſeizure, which I brought aboard. Not long after, (being put back to the weſtward with contrary winds) we ſpake with captain *Fox*, in a ſhip of his majeſty's, ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe that we were: I invited him aboard, and entertained him with ſuch fare as we had taken in this new diſcovered land; and made him a relation of all our endeavours: The like did he to us, and withal told us, that he had been in port *Nelſon*, where he had put up a ſhallop, and found there many things which Sir *Thomas Button* had left there. The next day he departed from us, and ſtood to the weſtward, and we never ſaw him ſince. His ſhip, he, and all his company were very well. We continued our diſcovery to the eaſtward, and came to the eaſtern-point, which is in latitude 55. 06. which we named cape *Henrietta Maria*. There the land trends to the ſouthward, and we followed it in ſight, but were put off with foul weather; which being over-blown, we ſtood in again for the weſtern ſhore, (that we might leave no part unſeen) and followed it again to latitude 54. 40. The ſecond time we alſo put off, with like foul weather, which made us ſtand to the eaſtward. In this way we paſt by ſome iſlands, and happened amongſt broken grounds and rocks, in latitude 53. 30. where we came to an anchor, and ſheltred ourſelves ſome few days, ſhifting roads. Now the winter began to come on, and the nights to be long and cold; that amongſt theſe dangerous places, we were fain to ſpend the day to look for ſecurity for the night. Here, by misfortune, our ſhip came aground; and that amongſt great ſtones, as big as a man's head, where ſhe did beat for the ſpace of five hours moſt fearfully. In this time, we lightned her, and carried ſome of our things aſhore; ſo that by the great favour of God, we got her off again; whereupon we named this iſland, *The iſland of God's Favour*. After that again, amongſt thoſe rocks, we were put to many extremities. At length, (having a gentle ſoutherly wind) we ſtood along the eaſtern ſhore to the northward, now looking for a convenient place to winter in. And here again, were we aſſaulted with a violent ſtorm, in which we loſt our ſhallop, and were driven amongſt divers dangers;

and ſeeing an opening betwixt two iſlands, we ventured to go in, in very foul weather. We found it to be a very good ſound, and there we came to an anchor. We landed on one of them, which we named, *The Lord Weſton's Iſland*; and mann'd out our old ſhip boat upon it. The other iſland, we named my *Lord of Briſtol's Iſland*. Parting from hence, we ſtood to the ſouthward, to look for a wintering place, becauſe the time of diſcovery was paſt for this year. Many were our troubles amongſt theſe iſlands, ſhoals and broken grounds, which made us ſtrain our ground tackle for life many a time.

The 6th of *October* we arrived in this bay, it ſeeming a very likely place to find a harbour in; but ſearching the likelieſt places, we found it all ſo ſhoaled flats and rocks, and ſtony by the ſhoreſide, that we could by no means bring our ſhip near the ſhore, but were forced to ride a league off, in three fathom and a half water.

The winter came on apace, the weather proved tempeſtuous, and the cold ſo multiplied, that our ſails froze in lumps to the yards unmanuable. Neither could our only boat go from the ſhip, by reaſon of the weather. About the middle of *October*, I cauſed a houſe to be made aſhore, where our ſick men might the better recover; but always with an intent to take it down, if we found otherwhere a place for our ſhip. I ſent likewiſe men afoot, (ſeeing the boat could not go) to diſcover the iſland, and to ſee if they could find ſome creek or cove, but all in vain; we ſpent the time with hope of fairer weather, till now the cables began to freeze in the houſe, and the ſhip to be frozen over with the ſprew of the ſea; ſo that we were fain to ſhovel the ſnow off our decks. Moreover, the water began ſo to congeal by the ſhore ſide, that the boat could hardly get aſhore. Yet for all that, if the wind blew N. W. there went a very great ſurf on the ſhore, and ſuch a great ſea in the bay, that there was no bringing of our ſhip aground. Beſides this, ſhe would have then lain open to the E. and S. E. and S. and indeed the neareſt land, all about that way, was two leagues off. Hereupon, we continued out the extremity at an anchor.

The 29th of *November*, the ice came about us on all ſides, and put us from our ground tackle, and would have driven us out of the bay upon rocks and ſhoals, (where undoubtedly we had periſhed) but that by God's great goodneſs, it proved ſo warm a day, (the wind at S.) that ſuddenly we brought up ſome ſail, and hoiſt it up with ropes, and ſo forced her aſhore; where ſhe beat all that night very ſorely. The ſhip being now grounded and quiet, we conſidered what was beſt to do with her, and reſolved to ſink her; but the next tide, before we had any of our proviſions aſhore, the wind came N. W. ſo that the ſhip beat moſt fearfully. We got all our dry proviſions up to the upper deck, and made a hole to ſink her; but before ſhe was ſunk, ſhe beat ſo extraordinarily, that we all thought ſhe had been foundered. Being ſunk down ſo low, that the water came on the upper deck, we took our boat and went all aſhore, in ſuch pitiful cold weather, that we were all ſo white frozen, that ſome ſick men that were aſhore before, did not know us one from another.

The next day we fell to land our proviſions: Firſt our bread, fiſh, and dry things, the men driven to wade in the water up to the middles, moſt lamentable to behold. Within two days, what with great flat pieces that ſtuck about us, and that which froze, it was become firm ice, betwixt the ſhip and the ſhore; ſo that then we were fain to carry all things on our backs a mile from the ſhip to the houſe. Within few days, the hold became ſo frozen, that we could not get all our things out of it, but were fain there to leave it frozen till the next year. Then we made us two other houſes: Our firſt houſe was our manſion houſe, wherein we did all lie together; our other was to dreſs our victuals; and the third for a ſtore-houſe; which we built a pretty diſtance off, for fear of fire. And now we conſidered of the eſtate we were in, we all doubted that the ſhip was foundered, eſpecially our carpenter. But ſuppoſe ſhe were ſound, yet was it a queſtion, whether we could get her off in the ſummer, when the tides are low. Moreover, ſhe might be ſpoiled, lying in the tides way, when the ice brake up; and then we ſhould be deſtitute of any veſſel to bring us home. The carpenter undertook to build a pinnace, of the burthen of twelve or fourteen tun, that ſhould be ready by the ſpring; that if we found the ſhip unſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the ſhips plank. Upon this we reſolved, and by *May* brought it to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be joined together to receive the plank. But God mercifully provided otherwiſe for us: We indured a bitter cold winter, in which it pleaſed God to viſit us with ſickneſs; ſo that in the beginning of *May* 1632, there was but myſelf, and the maſter and ſurgeon, perfectly ſound, and he began to find ſome defect alſo. About the beginning of *April*, we began to dig the ice out of our ſhip, which by the middle of *May*, we had effected.

The

The 24th of *May* the ice began to break up betwixt the ſhip and the ſhore; and about the middle of *June* we had off our ſhip, and found her to be ſtanch and ſound, contrary to all our expectations. Before this time, about the middle of *May*, our carpenter died; and with him the hope of our pinnace: Maſter *Wardon* died the 6th of *May*; our gunner, *Richard Edwards*, had his leg broken (which was cut off) at the capſtang in *Auguſt* 1631, and languiſhed till the 22d of *November*, on which day he died. Theſe three men lie buried here under theſe tombs of ſtones. We loſt another man, one *John Barton* our quartermaſter, who miſcarried in the little bay that is due weſt from this croſs three miles; the ice breaking under him, ſo that he ſunk down, and we never ſaw him more. The two pictures which are wrapt in lead, and faſtened uppermoſt on this croſs, are the lively pictures of our ſovereign lord and lady, *Charles* I. and queen *Mary* his wife, king and queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. The next under that is his majeſty's royal arms; the lowermoſt is the arms of the city of *Briſtol*.

And now we are in a readineſs to depart this day, and I intend to proſecute our diſcovery to the weſtward, in this latitude of 52. 03. and to the ſouthward alſo, although with little hope. Failing there, I mean to haſte to *Digg*'s iſland, and endeavour to diſcover to the northward. Thus having had ſome experience of the dangers of the ice, ſhoals, and rocks of unknown places, I thought it neceſſary to leave this teſtimony of us and our endeavours, if God ſhould take us into his heavenly kingdom, and fruſtrate our return into our native countrey. Wherefore I deſire any noble minded traveller, that ſhall take this down, or come to the knowledge of it, that he will make relation of it to our ſovereign Lord the king's majeſty, and to certify his grace, that we cannot as yet find any hope of a paſſage this way; and that I do faithfully perſevere in my ſervice; accounting it but my duty to ſpend my life to give his majeſty contentment, whom I beſeech God to bleſs with all happineſs. And that they would likewiſe advertiſe our worſhipful adventurers of all our fortunes; and that if as aforeſaid, we periſh, it was not by any want or defect in ſhip or victual, or other neceſſaries; all which we have in abundance for four months and above; which if occaſion be, we can prolong to ſix months. Thus being at preſent unable to expreſs a grateful mind otherwiſe but in my prayers to God, I heartily beſeech him to pour out his bountiful bleſſing upon all their honeſt endeavours, and to continue their noble diſpoſitions in actions of this kind. And I faithfully promiſe, that if I ſhall come where the like letters and tokens ſhall be left, to make a true relation of it, as it ſhall be deſired. So deſiring the happineſs of all mankind, in our general Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus*, I end,

Charleton, July 2. 1632. *Thomas James.*

The

The NAMES *of the ſeveral* INSTRUMENTS, *I provided and bought for this Voyage.*

A *Quadrant* of old ſeaſoned pear-tree wood, artificially made; and with all care poſſible divided with *diagonals*, even to minutes. It was of four foot (at leaſt) *ſemidiameter*.

An *equilateral triangle* of like wood, whoſe *radius* was five foot at leaſt, and divided out of *Petiſcus*'s table of *tangents*.

A *quadrant* of two foot *ſemidiameter* of like wood; and with like care projected.

The *ſights*, *centers*, and every other part of them look'd to, and tried with convenient *compaſſes*, to ſee if they had been wrong'd or alter'd. And this continually, before they were made uſe of.

Staves *for taking* altitudes *and* diſtances *in the heavens.*

A *ſtaff* of ſeven foot long, whoſe *tranſome* was four foot, divided into equal parts by way of *diagonals*, that all the *figures* in a *radius* of ten thouſand, might be taken out, actually.

Another of ſix foot, near as convenient, and in that manner to be uſed.

Mr. *Gunter*'s *croſs-ſtaff*.

Three *Jacob's ſtaves*, projected after a new manner, and truly divided out of the table of *tangents*.

Two of Mr. *Davis*'s *back-ſtaves*, with like care made and divided.

Of Horizontal Inſtruments.

Two *ſemicircles*, two foot *ſemidiameter*, of ſeaſoned pear-tree wood, and divided with *diagonals*, to all poſſible exactneſs.

Six *meridian compaſſes*, ingeniouſly made; beſides ſome dozens of others, more common.

Four *needles* in ſquare boxes, of ſix inches *diameter*, and other ſix of three inches *diameter*.

Moreover, four ſpecial *needles* (which my good friends Mr. *Allen* and Mr. *Marre* gave me) of ſix inches *diameter*, and touch'd curiouſly, with the beſt *load-ſtone* in *England*.

A *load-ſtone* to refreſh any of theſe, if occaſion were, whoſe *poles* were marked for fear of miſtaking.

A *watch-clock* of ſix inches *diameter*, and another leſſer *watch*.

A *table* every day *calculated*, correſpondent to the *latitude*, according to Mr. *Gunter*'s directions in his book, the better to keep our *time* and our *compaſs*, to judge of our *courſe*.

A *cheſt* full of the beſt and choiceſt *mathematical books*, that could be got for money in *England*; as likewiſe Mr. *Hackluite*, and Mr. *Purchas*; and other books of *journals* and *hiſtories*.

Study inſtruments, of all ſorts.

I cauſed many ſmall *glaſſes* to be made, whoſe part of time, I knew to a moſt inſenſible thing, and ſo divided and appropriated the *log-line* to them; making uſe of *Wilbrordus Snellius* his numbers of feet anſwering to a *degree*, and approved of by Mr. *Gunter*.

I made a *meridian-line* of 120 yards long, with ſix *plumb-lines* hanging in it; ſome of them being above 30 foot high, and the weights hung in a hole in the ground, to avoid wind. And this to take the *ſun*'s or *moon*'s coming to the *meridian*. This line we verified, by ſetting it by the *pole* itſelf, and by many other ways.

Two pair of curious *globes*, made purpoſely; the workman being earneſtly affected to this voyage.

This was the manner that we took the variation of the Compaſs, *and that as often as conveniently we could, but divers of the tables, by negligence of my boy are loſt; but theſe (I hope) may ſuffice to give ſatisfaction of our care in navigation.*

July 13, 1631. Theſe 13 *Azimuths*, with the *Altitu. Dec.* were taken upon a great piece of ice, with three *Needles* together; then the *Declination* was not equated, the laſt three ſet forth by themſelves, proves the reſt; *viz.* the *Azimuth* of W. with his *Variation*, the *Azimuth* at due W. and the *Variation* by the *Altitude* and *Azimuth* at due W.

Theſe were taken 20 leagues to the eaſtward of *Saliſbury* iſland; and two *Quad.* one of four, another of two foot, *Semid. Semicircle* of two foot *Semid.*

Latitud.	*Declin.*	*Al. Sun.*	*AZM.*	*F.*	*T. AZ.*	*F.*	*Variat.*
63 01	20 14	39 42	77 50	S.	50 11	S	27 39
63 01	20 14	35 33	90 00		62 12	S	27 48
63 01	20 14	34 24	76 30	N	65 07	S	27 23
63 01	20 14	31 24	80 18	N	72 12	S	27 30
63 01	20 14	30 57	78 53	N	73 21	S	27 46
63 01	20 14	29 00	74 50	N	77 28	S	27 42
63 01	20 14	27 10	71 00	N	98 42	N	27 42
63 01	20 14	25 52	68 28	N	96 02	N	27 34
63 01	20 14	25 00	66 40	N	94 16	N	27 36
63 01	20 14	24 00	64 50	N	92 16	N	27 26
63 01	20 14	23 30	64 00	N	91 18	N	27 44
63 01	20 14	22 30	27 55	N	89 58	N	27 33
63 01	20 14	22 20	61 34	N	89 18	N	27 44

The mean variation is 27 36 00

The variation of the altitude and azimuth of Weſt. 27 33 00
The variation of the azimuth of Weſt. —— 27 48 00
The variation by azimuth a due Weſt. —— 27 35 00

The mean of theſe three, is, 27 38 00

July 22, 1631. Theſe three *Azimuths* and *Altitudes* were taken upon a piece of ice, the *Magnetical Azimuths* by the ſun's ſhade in the water, the air thick of fog, that the ſun gave no perfect ſhade otherways, ten leagues weſt from *Mansfield*'s iſland.

Latitud.	*Declin.*	*Al. Sun.*	*AZM.*	*F.*	*T. AZ.*	*F.*	*Variat.*
60 33	18 25	34 06	90 00	S	64 34	S	25 26
60 33	18 25	31 34	84 48	N	70 08	S	25 04
60 33	18 25	18 25	71 35	N	82 54	N	25 21

The mean is 25 17 00

July 24, 1631. Theſe 11 *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of ice about the middle of the great bay; ſome of them by the ſhade, and ſome by the ſight of the ſun in the water, the weather being thick of fog.

Latitud.	*Declin.*	*Al. Sun.*	*AZM.*	*F.*	*T. AZ.*	*F.*	*Variat.*
59 20	17 40	36 44	82 50	S	59 04	S	22 46
59 20	17 40	35 44	83 40	S	61 18	S	22 22
59 20	17 40	33 02	90 00		67 14	S	22 46
59 20	17 40	29 49	84 25	N	73 40	S	21 55
59 20	17 40	27 25	79 50	N	75 10	S	22 00
59 20	17 40	26 27	78 10	N	87 14	S	22 14
59 20	17 40	23 48	72 35	N	84 38	S	22 47
59 20	17 40	21 16	68 47	N	88 38	S	22 35
59 20	17 40	20 40	67 30	N	90 00		22 30
59 20	17 40	20 10	67 00	N	89 00	N	22 12
59 20	17 40	19 34	66 00	N	88 10	N	22 10

The mean is 22 23 21

July 31, 1631. Theſe ſeveral *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of ice, 50 leagues off the weſtern ſhore.

Alt. Sun		*AZ. M.*		*F.*	*T. AZ.*		*F.*	*Variat.*	
24	00	76	26	N	99	20	N	22	54
23	35	76	00	N	98	38	N	22	38
22	50	75	00	N	97	18	N	22	18
22	05	73	40	N	96	04	N	22	24
20	32	71	20	N	93	32	N	22	12
18	40	67	55	N	90	24	N	22	29
18	30	67	30	N	90	02	N	22	32

The mean is 22 29 34

Latitude 58 43 43

Declinat. 15 43 43

Auguſt 1, 1631. Theſe ſeveral *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of ice about forty leagues off the weſtern ſhore.

Alt. Sun		*AZ. M.*		*F.*	*T. AZ.*		*F.*	*Variat.*	
26	36	83	05	N	104	36	N	21	31
25	24	81	25	N	103	06	N	21	41
24	26	78	38	N	100	42	N	22	04
22	30	75	16	N	97	22	N	22	06
21	31	73	50	N	95	42	N	21	52
20	10	71	27	N	93	24	N	21	57
18	42	68	40	N	90	58	N	22	18
18	07	67	25	N	89	56	N	22	31

The mean is 22 00 00

Latitude 58 45 00

Declinat. 15 25 00

Auguſt 5, 1631. Theſe *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of ice, and calculated by all the figures of the canon, about forty leagues off the weſtern ſhore.

Alt. Sun		*AZ. M.*		*F.*	*T. AZ.*		*F.*	*Variat.*	
23	14	79	12	N	101	02	N	21	50
22	11	76	40	N	99	12	N	22	32
21	11	75	11	N	97	28	N	22	17
20	00	73	02	N	95	48	N	22	46
18	59	71	24	N	93	47	N	22	23
17	15	68	35	N	90	53	N	22	18
16	42	67	28	N	90	00		22	32
15	39	65	32	N	88	18	N	22	46

The mean is 22 25 30

Latitude 58 37 00

Declinat. 14 12 00

Theſe obſervations were taken the 10th of *November*, 1631. the latitude 52. 03. the difference may be conceived, to grow by reaſon of the ſun's low altitude and refraction. The others about the ſummer ſolſtice, where difference of Meridians is avoided, and are more exact.

Alt. Sun		*AZ. M.*		*T. AZ.*		*Var. Weſt.*	
G.	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*
14	25	42	25	26	11	16	14
14	00	45	25	27	30	17	55
13	15	47	25	29	54	17	31
12	18	48	10	32	33	15	37
12	03	49	20	33	16	16	04
11	41	51	07	34	15	16	52
10	57	53	25	36	04	17	21
9	42	55	25	38	58	16	27
9	15	57	45	40	00	17	14
8	50	58	37	40	52	17	45

The mean is 16 57 00 Weſt.

An APPENDIX *touching Longitude.*

LAtitude and longitude are two primary affections of the earth; by the help of theſe two, doth the geographer ſtrive to repreſent the parts of the earth that they may keep ſymmetry and harmony with the whole. Latitude then is an arch of the Meridian, comprehended between the æquator and a parallel; but longitude is an arch of the æquator, intercepted between the prime meridian and the meridian of a place, the difference of longitudes being the difference of two meridians. The meaſure of the former is the meridian, the æquator of this latter. For the exact ſettling of latitudes we have many and abſolute helps, ſo that the error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect handling of the artiſt. But the longitude of a meridian is that which hath, and ſtill wearieth, the greateſt maſters of geography. Nevertheleſs hath not the wiſe creator left man unfurniſhed of many excellent helps to attain his deſire: For beſides eclipſes, eſpecially of the moon, (whoſe leiſure we muſt often wait, and perhaps go without, if the heavens be not propitious to us) we have the concourſe of quick pac'd inferior planets, with ſuperior ſlow ones, or their appulſes with ſome fixed ſtar of known place, or elſe ſome other artifice derived from their motions and poſitions. As for the magnetical needle to argue a longitude from its variation, is altogether without ground. And though well furniſh'd ſeamen are able by their dead reckonings (as they term them) to determine the difference of meridians ſomewhat near, yet by reaſon of the unknown quantity of a degree in a given meaſure, (which is the rule of the ſhips way) varieties of adverſe winds, different ſets of tides, and other involved incumbrances, they come often wide of the mark they aim at. The beſt way yet known to the world, is that which is deduced from the cæleſtial apparences, which being performed by judicious artiſts, may in ſhort time rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hitherto in moſt places foully diſtorted. It is my intent here, to give an inſtance from two ſeveral obſervations drawn from the cœleſtial bodies, by the author of this diſcourſe, in his diſcovery for the N. W. at the bottom of the bay, being his wintering place, and called by the name of *Charlton*, which for judgment, circumſpection, and exactneſs, may compare with moſt: The firſt, from the eclipſe of the moon; the ſecond, from the moons mediation of heaven, or her coming to the plan of his meridian of *Charlton*.

The captain then mindful of the lunar eclipſe, which was to happen *October* 29, *Anno* 1631, was waiting on the moon with his inſtruments, but by reaſon of the interpoſition of the clouds, could make no obſervation on the beginning of her obſcuration, but at her emerſion or total recovery of light, the heavens being more ſerene, he took the altitude of the ſuperior limb of the moon 29 deg. 11 min. the latitude of *Charlton* being 52 deg. 3 min.

At that very time, myſelf, with ſome friends, found the exact time of the moons emerſion at *London* in *Greſham* college, (by a quadrant of ſix foot *Radius*, actually cut to each minute of the quadrant) to be *October* 29. 13 h. 7 min. 28 ſec. or *October* 30 day, at one of the clock, 7 min. and about a half in the morning.

Now becauſe the tables of the cœleſtial motions, lately publiſhed by the moſt learned and induſtrious *Lanſberg*, do much amuſe the world, with that lofty title of perpetuity, it ſhall not be amiſs to enquire after the time of the captain's obſervation from them, that ſo by comparing the one with the other, we may obtain the difference of meridians, which is the matter now ſought after.

The middle motions of the luminaries anſwerable to the equal time of the emerſion of the moon, are theſe which follow.

		Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The middle motion of the	Sun	3	47	39	26
	Center of the ſun	3	15	49	58
	Apogæum of the ſun	1	35	45	44
The middle motion of the	Longitude of the moon	2	59	29	1
	Anomaly of the moon	0	5	11	39
	Latitude of the moon	4	32	8	15
The Proſthaphæreſis of the æquinox		0	0	12	30

Being thus furniſhed with theſe middle motions, we are next to enquire for the true places of the luminaries and their concomitants, as their right aſcenſions, the declination, latitude, ſemidiameter, parallax, and refraction of the moon, that ſo the true altitude of

of the moons center, and conſequently the time of the emerſion may be had at *Charlton*.

	Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
For the ſun's true place.				
The middle motion of the ſun's center	3	15	49	58
The Proſthaphæreſis of the center add	0	1	37	0
The proportional ſcruples				
The middle motion of the ſun's apogæum	1	35	45	44
The true motion of the apogæum ſubtr.	1	37	22	24
The middle motion of the ſun is	3	47	39	26
The anomaly of the ſun's orb	2	10	16	42
The proſthaphæreſis of the ſun's orb	0	1	32	43
The exceſs to be added	0	0	0	20
The abſolute proſthaphæreſis of the ſun's orb ſubtr.	0	1	33	3
The middle motion of the ſun from the true equinoctial	3	47	51	56
The true motion of the ſun from the true æquinoctial	3	46	18	53
Therefore the ſun's true place was in *Virgo*	0	16	18	53
And his right aſcenſion		223	49	53
For the moon's true place.				
The anomaly of the moon's center	5	59	18	2
The proſthaphæreſis of the moon's center	0	0	5	36
The proportional ſcruples	0			
The anomaly of the moon's orb	0	5	11	30
The æquated anomaly of the moon's orb	0	5	5	54
The proſthaphæreſis of the moon's orb ſubtr.	0	0	24	4
The middle motion of the moon's longitude from the ſun	2	59	39	1
The true motion of the moon's longitude from the ſun	2	59	14	57
The middle motion of the ſun from the true æquinoctial	3	47	51	56
The true motion of the moon from the true æquinoctial	0	47	6	53
Therefore the moon's true place was in *Taurus*	0	17	6	53
For the moon's latitude.				
The middle motion of the moon's latitude	4	32	8	15
The moon's abſolute proſthaphæreſis of her orb ſubtr.	0	0	24	4
The moon's true motion of latitude	0	31	44	11
The moon's northern latitude was	0	0	9	5
And her reductive ſcruples ſubtr.	0	0	0	26
But the moon's true motion in her proper orb was	0	17	6	53
Therefore the moon's true place reduced to the eclipt. *Taurus*	0	17	6	27
And becauſe the north latitude of the moon was	0	0	9	5
Therefore will her right aſcenſion be	0	44	35	10
And her declination	0	17	7	49
And becauſe we have the diſtance of the moon, from the earth in ſemidiameters of the earth	0	64	15	0
Therefore ſhall the moon's apparent ſemidiam. be	0	0	15	0
And her parallax of altitude	0	0	47	0
Now becauſe the altitude of the limb of the moon was found by obſervation to be	0	29	11	0
If we ſhall ſubſtract her ſemidiameter	0	0	15	0
And the refraction	0	0	2	0
We have the apparent altitude of the moon's center	0	28	54	0
To this if we add the parallax of altitude	0	0	47	0
We ſhall have the true altitude of the moon's center	0	29	41	0
Having thus the latitude of the place, the moon's true altitude with her declination, by the reſolution of a ſphærical triangle, according to the 11 *Prob. Lib.* 2. *Part.* 2. of our *Britiſh* Trigonometry, we have the diſtance of the moon from the merid.	0	63	26	0

And by comparing this arch with the difference of the aſcenſions of the luminaries, the time of the moon's total recovery of her light at *Charlton*, will be 7 h. 49 min. 28 ſec. which ſubtr. from the time of the emerſion at *London*, 13 h. 7 min. 28 ſec. The difference of meridians, in reſpect of time, will be 5 h. 18 min. ſo that *Charlton* is removed from *London* weſtwards, 79 deg. 30 min.

This may likewiſe be confirmed by a ſecond different obſervation made at the inſtant of the moon's culmination or mediation of heaven, at which time the altitude of the brighteſt ſtar in the aſteriſm of the northern crown, (being of the ſecond magnitude) was found to be 33 deg. 27 min. eaſterly, *Anno* 1632, *June* 23.

It

It may be problematically delivered after this manner.

Having the latitude of a place, with the altitude of a known fixed ſtar at the moment of the moon's culmination, to find the longitude.

This fixed ſtar is of known longitude and latitude, therefore was his declination 27. 59. and right aſcenſion 229. 46. Now by the reſolution of a ſphærical triangle of three known ſides, we have the diſtance of this ſtar from the meridian, and by conſequence the right aſcenſion of the moon, whence we conclude her culmination to be with the 28 deg. 10 min. of *Aquarius*; but the moon's true place was much leſs. Here note, that the ſcrupuloſity of time is unknown, and therefore we cannot argue the moon's true place from thence, (though I grant it might be evinced) for that were to beg the queſtion, and to know that firſt, which we look after.

In the next place we are to enquire with what point of the ecliptick the moon did culminate with us here at *London*, that ſo from the difference of her places of the like affection, we may deduce the difference of meridians.

Obſervation on the moon's culmination here at *London* we made none; therefore muſt we have recourſe to the aforeſaid tables of *Lanſberg*, and from thence calculate the ſame. Now becauſe the moon was not far removed from the ſun's oppoſite point, it will not be amiſs to enquire firſt the moon's place at midnight.

	Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The ſun's oppoſite place at midnight in *Aquarius*	0	11	18	15
The moon's true place at midnight reduced to the eclip. was in *Aquarius*	0	23	33	18
The ſouth latitude of the moon was	0	4	56	38
Therefore the difference of aſcenſions will be	0	14	6	0
The diurnal motion of the moon	0	14	24	0
Therefore the moon's proper motion anſwerable to the difference of aſcenſions is	0	0	33	59
Which added to the moon's true place at midnight	0	23	33	18
Gives us the moon's true place reduced to				
The ecliptick at her culmination at *London*	0	24	7	8

Now becauſe the moon's ſouthern latitude was 4 deg. 56 min. 38 ſec. the arch therefore of the ecliptick comprehended between the moon's true place and the culminating point of the ecliptick, will trigonometrically be found to be 54 min. 38 ſec. which added to the moon's true place before found, gives us the culminating point of the ecliptick, 25 d. 1 min. 46 ſec. which is leſs than that found at *Charleton*, the difference being 3 d. 8 min. 24 ſec. therefore is the place of obſervation weſterly of *London*. Having therefore the moon's diurnal motion, and the difference of the culminating points, we conclude the meridian of *Charlton* to be diſtant from this of *London* 5 h. 14 min. of time, or 78 deg. 30 min. of the equator.

The difference between that of the eclipſe, and this latter obſervation, is only 4 min. of time, or one deg. a difference eaſily pardoned, eſpecially if we ſhall compare the ſame with ſome other places, yea even ſuch as border nearly on each other. To give an inſtance on two eminent places which lie in the heart of *Europe*, *Rome* and *Norenberg*: Their difference of longitude, *Regiomotanus* makes 36, *Werner* 32, *Appian* 34, *Mæſtlin* and *Origan* 33, *Stoſler* 18, *Maginus* 26, *Schoner* 12, *Mercator* and *Hondius* as much, *Stadius* 13, *Janſonius* 10, *Longomontanus* 16, *Lanſberg* 10, *Kepler* by two obſervations on two lunar eclipſes, but 4 min. of time.

This variety among theſe great artiſts, will I hope, pardon us this difference of 4 min. and be a means to encourage our *Engliſh* ſeamen, and others, to make ſuch or the like obſervations in foreign parts as the heavens ſhall be offered unto them.

H. GELLIBRAND.

To the Venerable Artiſts and younger Students in Divinity, in the famous Univerſity of Cambridge.

YOU nobly-witted and ingenuouſly ſtudied *academians*, whoſe excellency in all kinds of learning, all foreign univerſities do admire, and none attain unto; I here preſent you a voyage to *Cholcos*, though not the golden fleece with it; the ſearch, I mean, but not the finding, of that ſo much talk'd of, ſo often ſought for, north-weſt paſſage, and nearer way into the *South-Sea*. That, wherein ſo much time and treaſure have been expended, ſo many brave ſpirits employed, and yet none diſcovered. Perchance, there is no ſuch paſſage to be found, and that the *Spaniards*, by the gullery of their falſe ſea-charts, and the fable of an old *Greek* pilot, have but diverted our *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſeamen, from their golden *Indies*. This plot of theirs hath taken, for theſe many years, and it appears to be but a plot, for that themſelves never make uſe of this paſſage. For mine own part, I ſuppoſe that the philoſopher's ſtone is in the north-weſt paſſage. My argument for it, is, for that there's ſo much philoſophy in the way to it.

So much, and ſuch variety; ſuch variety, and that ſo various (I think) from what is received in the ſchools; that it were well worth the diſquiſition of an univerſity, (and I wiſh you the firſt honour of it) either to find out, how theſe obſervations may be reduced to *Ariſtotle*'s philoſophy; or whether they need any other enquiry, and ought to be examined by ſome other rules, than *Ariſtotle* hath yet light upon. This is my purpoſe of inſcribing it unto you. Of this one thing am I confident: that you are all ſo rational and ingenious, as to prefer truth before authority: *Amicus Plato, amicus Ariſtoteles*, but *magis amica veritas*. Your ſciences, then, being liberal; your ſtudies, I know, have ſo far paſſed into your manners, that your minds are ſo too, and that ſuch as have already profited beyond the credulity required in a young learner, and are themſelves promoted to be maſters of the arts; though they ſtill reverence their old *Greek* tutor, yet they will not ſuffer that of *Pythagoras*'s ſchool, ſo to domineer in *Ariſtotle*'s, as to let an *ipſe dixit*, go away with it: much leſs allow it the authority of a mayor's hammer, with one knock to ſilence all arguments.

Upon this confidence, I with all due reſpects here prefer two *propoſitions* unto your diſcuſſing.

The firſt this, *Whether thoſe rules of* Ariſtotle's *philoſophy be to be allowed ſo univerſal, that they hold all the world over.*

The ſecond this, *Whether they ought to be ſo magiſterial, as to preſcribe againſt all other examinations.*

The firſt of theſe I ſhall but *problematically* propound unto you: but in the ſecond, I hope a man of my cloathing may be allowed the freedom of being ſomething more earneſt.

But that I may not come with prejudice to the making of theſe motions, or be thought upon ſome *ignorance* or *ambition*, to ſpeak againſt the *incomparable Ariſtotle*; I ſhall deſire all my fellow *academians* to allow me ſo much diſcretion, as to know, that he that ſhall in your hearings oppoſe your *Ariſtotle*, does like the ſhip here ſpoken of, run againſt a rock, endanger his own bulge, and the ſtaving of his veſſel. No, I ſo far honour the old *Ariſtotle*, that I will allow him to be *maſter* and *moderator of the ſchools*; and that there is the ſame reſpect due to him in the *ſchools*, which, by *reaſon* and *long cuſtom*, is due to one of the *king's ſhips* in the *narrow ſeas*; *That in acknowledgment of a ſovereignty, every other name ought to ſtrike ſail to him.* *Ariſtotle* (it muſt be confeſs'd) hath made all learning beholden to him: no man hath learned to confute him, but by him; and unleſs he hath plow'd with his heifer. He had the moſt incomparable wit, and was the moſt logical and demonſtrative deliverer of himſelf, of all the ſons of nature: One who beſt of all deſerved to be called, *her principal ſecretary*; one who not only *adorns* a *library*, but *makes it*: *Qui habet Ariſtotelem, habet bibliothecam*, is truer of him, than of the *great comparer*. This is my opinion of him; and I wiſh him more ſtudied.

'Tis not therefore the name or the authority of the great *Ariſtotle*, that my propoſitions meddle withal; but whether his obſervations gathered out of this part of the world alone, could, like a *royal paſs* or *commiſſion*, carry a man all the world over?

It muſt be confeſt, that in reſpect of the *equinoctial*, and the *latitude* that *Ariſtotle* lived in, he was but a *northern man*; and 'twas his own rule, that *nihil agit extra ſphæram activitatis ſuæ*. So then it would be put to voices, to conſider whether he that knew but theſe northern parts, and the *Mediterranean* ſea, could poſſibly make ſuch collections, by what was here to be learned, as ſhould be unfailable in the *ſouthern hemi-*

ſphere and the two *Indies?* Plainly, thoſe that are converſant in *navigations* and *books of voyages* into thoſe parts, have found ſo many contrarieties to obſerve, that it were rather *tedious* than difficult, to fill up a *note-book* with them.

The antients, we know (as if they had meaſured the world by the yard-wand) reſtrained the *limits* of *temperature* and *habitation*, by the five *zones*, without conſideration of any interloping or concurring cauſes, which experience hath now found out, to have quite altered their obſervation. I add, that a good leiſure and diligence might obſerve, how in the contrary part of the world there be found clean contrary *cauſes* and *effects*, unto thoſe in this part of the world. The *ſouth* wind there brings *cold* and *winter*, and the *north* is the rainy wind. How will the *thunder* and the *wind* be made agree with *Ariſtotle*'s definition of a *meteor?* In ſome places of the mountains *Andes* by *Peru*, it thunders ever. The *Eaſt Indies* have their *Monſons* and their ſteady winds, conſtant for ſix months together; and who ſhall aſſign their cauſes? Then the *doctrine* of the *tides*, nothing ſo uncertain; which *ebb* and *flow* in ſome places *different*, and in others *contrary* to the *moon* and her *motions*. This (as I remember) is *Ariſtotle*'s definition of a *meteor*, that it is *an imperfect mix'd body, generated out of an infirm and inconſtant concretion of the elements, which therefore cannot be durable.* Now the *Monſon* is both conſtant in his continuance this year, and in his return next year; moſt conſtantly keeping his ſeaſons half year one way, and half year another way for all ages, nothing more conſtantly or durably, and therefore nothing like *Ariſtotle*'s *meteor*. And ſo for the *thunder* upon the *Andes:* It is firſt, perpetual; ſecondly, not cauſed by a *dry exhalation* (as *Ariſtotle* wills) but hanging over ſuch hills as are covered with ſnow, and a perpetual winter. Witneſs the *thunder* on the *Alps* alſo; yea, and that in the middle of the ſea, five hundred leagues from the ſhore, or any thing that is dry. Yea, it frequently both *ſnows* and *thunders* upon the *Andes*, at one inſtant; and in *dry* places that are hard by, ſcarce ever *thundering*.

Ariſtoteles, 1. *meteor* 1.

But not to paſs the *line* for it; you ſee in this little book how *Charleton* iſland, which is no more northerly than your *Cambridge*, is yet ſo unſufferably cold, that it is not habitable; and that there encounter ſo many different (at leaſt ſo ſeeming) occurrences of nature, as were well worth the diſquiſition of a *philoſopher*. I could (in my ſmall reading) inſtance in many other particulars, which I had rather ſhould be found out by ſome induſtrious ſearchers after *nature*, in the *modern relations* of our *diſcoverers*, than in this my ſhort *propoſition*. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that the careful reading of of our *books of voyages*, would more elucidate the *hiſtory of nature*, and more conduce to the improvement of *philoſophy* than any thing that hath been lately thought upon. Theſe *navigations* have in part fulfill'd that of the prophet, *many ſhall paſs to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be encreaſed.* This, I ſuppoſe, might be obſerved from this ſtudy, that the great and infinite *creator* hath ſo diſpoſed and varied every thing, that it is impoſſible for man's reaſon and obſervation to conclude him; and therefore, tho' vulgar and received *philoſophy* may give a man a *general* hint, all the world over; yet no *univerſal* and unfailing certainty. Dan. 12. 4.

This brings me to my *ſecond propoſition*, That ſeeing God will not have his works, (no more than his kingdom) to come by obſervation; *Whether then ought any human dictates to be ſo magiſterial, as to preſcribe againſt all other examination?* Luk. 17. 20.

No human ſtudy more conduces to the ſetting forth of God's glory, than the contemplation of his great works in *philoſophy:* For tho' a ſmattering knowledge in *ſecond cauſes* warps the mind towards *atheiſm*; yet a higher ſpeculation of them, brings it about again to religion. No man, I believe, will think it fit for us to have a *pope in philoſophy*; one that no body ſhall preſume to cenſure of, but all be bound to advance his *decretals* above the *holy ſcriptures*. This is the ſcandal that myſelf and divers good men take at the undue authority in ſome heats pinn'd upon the *Stagyrite*.

I am ſorry that the *Iſraelites* dotage upon *Solomon*'s *philoſophy*, ſhould have cauſed the zealous *Hezekiah* to call in and to ſuppreſs thoſe unvaluable *phyſicks*; for fear, I ſuppoſe, leſt their credit ſhould have as much derogated from the authority of the *holy Scriptures*; as the *brazen ſerpent* (which he deſtroy'd about the ſame time) had done from *religion*. None will believe, that *Solomon*'s *philoſophy* was contrary to the *ſcriptures*, ſeeing the *ſcripture* commends *Solomon* for them. 'Twas not *Hezekiah*'s fear, therefore (or not only) leſt there might have been a competition between them, but a neglect of one of them: He was jealous leſt the *ſcripture* might have any writing ſet up *by* it, tho' not againſt it. *Suidas*, & *Rabbini*.

Can *divines* then be blamed for ſpeaking, when they hear *Ariſtotle*'s *philoſophy* to be ſolely magnified, and the ſtudy of the *ſcripture philoſophy*, diſreſpected? Or that when 'tis confeſſed, that ſuch a thing is true in *divinity*, and yet in the *moderating* of the point, *determine* for *philoſophy?* Nay, to hear it call'd *abſurd* and *ridiculous*, to have ſcripture urged at all in point of *philoſophy?* No doubt

doubt there is; *But whatſoever is falſe in divinity, is alſo falſe in nature*, how much ſhew of truth ſoever it paſſes with in *philoſophy*. *Philoſophy* hath taken its turn in the *ſchools*; and the *holy texts* by the *ſchoolmen*, have even been ſubmitted unto *Ariſtotle*'s: Yea, to the great corruption of *theology*, as the complaint is, hath this man been ſo far advanc'd, that *contra eſt philoſophus, & contra eſt apoſtolus*, have familiarly paſſed up and down for equal *oppoſitions*; ſo that it hath been a *meaſuring caſt* oftentimes betwixt the *prophet* and the *peripatetick*, and by foul play hath the meaſure been made to ſtand the harder at the *peripatetick*, for that the *prophet* hath been enforced to comply with him by a *wreſted interpretation*. Thus had St. *Paul* need give his caveat unto *theology* as well as unto *theologues*, *Beware leſt any man ſpoil you through philoſophy*.

All this were to no purpoſe, unleſs the *text of God* were excellent in this kind, and embelliſhed here and there with moſt admirable *philoſophy*. What incomparably rare foot-ſteps of it have we in the books of *Geneſis*, *Job*, and the *Pſalms?* How noble a ſtudy then were it, and how worthy the leiſure of ſome excellently learned to beſtow ſome time upon it? *Valeſius* the *phyſician* hath in his *Sacra philoſophia* done ſomething in this kind; who yet might have done better here and there, for the honour of the ſcriptures. I am not ſo ſottiſh to believe, that every particular is to be drawn out of *ſcripture*; 'tis none of my dotage, that: Or, that *God* in *ſcripture* did intend, every where, the accurateneſs of *philoſophy*; or ſtand to be ſo curious in *definitions* and *deciſions*. Nor ſo fooliſh would I be thought, as to have all *philoſophy* taken in pieces, and new moulded by the *ſcriptures*: Nor, that nothing ſhould be determined on, till a *text* confirm'd it. But this perchance might profitably be thought upon, that where the *ſcriptures* have any thing in this kind, it ſhould more reverently be eſteemed; collections out of ſcatter'd places (as is done out of *Ariſtotle*, made; theſe compared, and their *reſultances* obſerv'd. This ſurely would amount to more than is yet thought of; and, a-God's name, let ſcholars be ſo bold with *Ariſtotle*, as to examine him upon good aſſurance, by what is *truth's touchſtone*. Received *philoſophy* is a moſt neceſſary handmaid to the *ſcriptures*; but let her not be ſet above her lady, nor no competition be maintained betwixt them.

Something elſe remains to be thought of: That ſeeing the ſame *God*, who gave *Ariſtotle* theſe good parts, hath, in like manner, raiſed up many excellent ſpirits moe, whether it were not injurious unto what is done, and a diſcouragement to what might be done; to have the inventions or obſervations of thoſe excellent wits and great induſtries, ſo abaſh'd with *Ariſtotle*'s authority, that they can have no credit in the world, for that his *dictates* have pre-occupated all good opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal to examine the *firſt cogitations* of the *old philoſophy*, by the *ſecond thoughts* of our more modern *artiſts*: For that the ſame improvement may by this means accrue unto our *phyſicks*, that hath advanced our *geography*, our *mathematicks*, and our *mechanicks*. And let it not be thought ſo inſolent, to refuſe *Ariſtotle*'s authority ſingly, where his reaſon is not ſo concluding; ſeeing other men have taken the boldneſs to do that before us in ſeveral kinds. Some have perfected, and others controul'd his *ethicks* by the *ſcriptures*; as *Scultetus*, *Wallæus*, and ſome others. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſurnamed the *philoſopher*, hath purpoſely written *contra dogmata Ariſtotelis*. *Baſſon* and *Gaſſendus* (two brave men) have newly written point-blank againſt him: nor have they taken away all liberty from thoſe that are to follow them.

And thus, with renewing my former proteſtation for mine own reſpects to *Ariſtotle*, I conclude my two *propoſitions*; which I deſire may receive a favourable conſtruction from all ingenuous, incapricious *ſcholars*. I meant them out of good-will to promote learning; to encourage and countenance future undertakings: and in ſuch a caſe, a little too much ſaying, may be thought not to have exceeded an *honeſt rhetorician*; for I would not be thought too earneſt in it. The hint for all this I took from this book; which in mine own and ſome better judgments, is (to ſay no more) as well done, and enriched with as ſure and uſeful obſervations, as any in this kind. I was deſired by the able author, and ſome other friends, to overlook the written copy of it, and to amend the *Engliſh* here and there; in which I did not deſpair of doing ſomething, for that, in my younger time I had a little acquainted myſelf with the *language of the ſea*. That which put me in the head to inſcribe it unto your names (moſt excellently learned *Academians*) was, for that the place of this *wintering*, was within a *minute* or two of the *heighth* of our *Cambridge*; which my prayer to *God* is, that your ſtudies may make famous.

Yours, X. Z.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF TWO

VOYAGES;

The FIRST of

Feodor *ISKOWITZ BAC'KHOFF*,

The MUSCOVITE Envoy,

INTO

CHINA.

The SECOND of

Mr. *ZACHARY WAGENER*,

A Native of DRESDEN in MISNIA,

Thro' a great part of the WORLD,

As alſo into CHINA.

Tranſlated from the High-Dutch *original printed at* Berlin.

Advertiſement

TO THE

READER.

AMONG thoſe many voyages which lately have been uſhered into the World, the following Muſcovite *embaſſy may juſtly challenge a place, eſpecially for its uſefulneſs in geography, which I here preſent to the reader, without the leaſt alteration, according to the copy thereof, ſent to me by* Johannes Sculteſus, *councellor of ſtate of his electoral highneſs of* Brandenburgh. *And as the voyages of Mr.* Zacharias Wagener, *are very famous in* Holland, *and the following abſtract thereof being communicated to me by his brother-in-law Mr.* Chriſtian Bothe, *a conſiderable merchant in* Dreſden, *I thought it not unſeaſonable to ſubjoin the ſame, for the benefit of the courteous reader.*

THE

THE TRAVELS OF Feodor *Iskowitz Backhoff* FROM *MUSCOW* into *CHINA.*

(1.) *The road from* Muſcow *to* Siberia.

MOST generally they take their way over *Uſtingha*, ſeated upon the river *Dwina*, from whence we continu'd our journey to *Tobolſko*, the capital city of *Siberia*, being three thouſand verſts, or ſix hundred *German* leagues from the city of *Muſcow*. Before you have travell'd the third part of your way, you come to a great ridge of mountains, called *Camiani Rojas*, i. e. *the ſtone girdle*, by the *Muſcovites*; it being their opinion, that they extend round the terreſtrial globe. I ſuppoſe them to be the ſame the antients called *montes Siberei*. This mountain being fifty leagues over, and interwoven with deep valleys, which are generally, but eſpecially in *Autumn*, overflown with water, is impaſſable in the ſummer; but theſe being well frozen in the winter, afford a ſwift and convenient paſſage for ſleds, ſo that in twenty four hours you may travel eighteen or twenty leagues, and conſequently perform the whole journey from *Muſcow* to *Tobolſko* in ſix or ſeven weeks. The firſt city you come to in *Siberia* is called *Worchaturia* from the river *Tura*, upon which it lies.

(2.) *Of the cities, rivers, and fertility of* Siberia.

Siberia has twenty three cities, the capital of which *Tobolſko*, ſituate upon a hill near the river ſide, is a place of no great traffick; the inhabitants being for the moſt part *Bouchar* and *Calmuck Tartars*, who are very poor; the chiefeſt place of trading being *Jeneſſay*, lying a great way beyond *Tobolſko*, which conſiſts in ſables, martins, and ſuch like furs. *Dauri* is the utmoſt frontier place of *Siberia*, on the *Calmuck* ſide. *Siberia* is watered by many rivers, among which the river *Oby* is the chiefeſt. It contains many iſlands well ſtor'd with trees. This river is in ſome places a *German* league, in other places about half a league broad, and falls into the *Tartarian ſea*. It produces abundance of fiſh, and among the reſt *Beluja's* or *white fiſh*. The cities of *Siberia* are, *Worchaturia*, *Japonſoi*, *Tumen*, *Tobolſko*, *Damianſky*, *Samara*, *Sergouz*, *Berofott*, *Narin*, *Tomoko*, *Koſneotz*, *Kraſnozar*, *Ket*, *Jeneſſay*, *Nallen*, *Dauri*, *Takow*, *Magaſcy*. Theſe as well as all the other cities of *Siberia*, are not very populous. There are very good corn-fields here, the ſoil whereof is ſo good, that it bears very well without dung. It has no ſea-ports, the *Tartarian ſea* being cover'd with ice ſummer and winter; however fiſher-boats venture as far as the iſle of *Malgamſay*, over-againſt the mouth of the river *Oby*.

(3.) *Of*

(3.) *Of the inhabitants of* Siberia.

THE antient inhabitants were *Tartars*, governed by their own princes or kings; one of the family of their laſt prince living not long ago, with the *Czar*'s permiſſion, in *Siberia*, till his houſe was plunder'd, and he forced to fly the country, by the *Ruſſians* that trade that way in ſalt, with the *Calmuck Tartars*, which they bring thence in great barges. This prince having afterwards married among the *Calmuck Tartars*, makes ſometimes an inroad into *Siberia*, and takes a ſevere revenge of the *Muſcovites* there. The natives being not very forward to oppoſe him, as living ſtill in hopes, that one time or other he may be inſtrumental in delivering them from the *Muſcovite* yoke. The *Calmuck* and *Mogul Tartars* border upon *Siberia*, (beſides divers other *Tartarian* nations) their country extending from thence to the frontiers of *China*. There are alſo divers other hords, living on the frontiers of *Siberia*; as the *Tingoſkoy*, the *Watzkoy*, *Tyrgyſkoy* and *Barrabanſkoy*, which have each their particular captains or leaders. The natives of *Siberia* are much addicted to ſorcery. There are not many *Ruſſians* living among them, by reaſon of the great diſtance of this country from *Muſcow*.

(4.) *How* Siberia *was brought under the obedience of the* Muſcovites.

ABove a hundred years ago, under the reign of the *Czar Joan Bazilowitz*, a certain *Coſaen* named *Jormac Timorſof*, leader of a certain gang of robbers, having taken ſome veſſels loaden with ammunition belonging to the *Czar*; he iſſued his ſtrict orders to ſeize the ſaid *Jormac*, coſt it what it wou'd; ſo that *Jormac* dreading the *Czar*'s revenge, got with his gang into the river *Cama*, and ſo to *Czotrava*, an iſle about five or ſix hundred *Verſts* above *Caſan*, which at that time belong'd to a vaſt rich *Ruſſian* merchant named *Daniel Stroginot*, living in a city built by him, and called *Stroginot* after his name. Having repreſented to this merchant the eaſy conqueſt of *Siberia*, he obtained ſome arms and ammunition of him to accompliſh his deſign; accordingly he went up the river *Tagit*, till he came to the river *Toura*, where is a conſiderable iſland, inhabited by *Tartars*; theſe he ſoon chaſed thence, and continuing his march to the city of *Tumen*, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of it, the ſame he did afterwards with *Tobolſko* the reſidence of their king. However he march'd forward fifty leagues to the river *Irtiſh*, in purſuit of the enemy, who retreated before him. Having refreſhed his people hereabouts for ſix weeks, he ſent three hundred of them to purſue the flying *Tartars*, which they did with ſo much eagerneſs, that being ſurrounded by the enemy, they were almoſt all kill'd, few eſcaping their hands. *Jormac* having no more than two hundred men left, intrench'd himſelf in an iſle, but being attack'd in the night-time by the *Tartars*, he was killed with all his followers, except forty, who made a ſhift to get into *Muſcovy*; and having repreſented unto the *Czar* all the circumſtances of the matter, he ſent ſix hundred choſen men under the command of one of theſe *Coſacks* (who had been *Jormac*'s lieutenant) who retook the city of *Tobolſko*; where having fortify'd himſelf, and being recruited with freſh troops, he made ſuch frequent excurſions into the neighbouring *Tartarian* countries; that they at laſt grew weary of the war, and ſubmitted to the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*. The ſame fortune attended the *Czar* in his conqueſt of the kingdom and city of *Aſtracan*, which he made himſelf maſter of in one campaign, but he paid pretty dear for *Caſan*, having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of that city, the firſt time, but took it in the ſecond ſiege.

(5.) *The revenues of the kingdom of* Siberia.

THE *Czar*'s revenues in this kingdom ariſe from the tribute of the ſables, martins, red and white foxes ſkins, and other furs, out of which he has the fifth for his ſhare; certain officers being appointed by the *Czar* for that purpoſe. Mr. *Fletcher*, who was *Engliſh* envoy in *Muſcovy* in 1588, affirms, that in one year there were brought into the *Czar*'s treaſury out of *Siberia*, no leſs than 466 *Zimmer* of ſable (40 ſables to each *Zimmer*) and 180 *Siberian* fox skins. The ordinary revenue of *Siberia* amounts now to 200000 *Roubles*. They have different ways of catching the ſables; either by wooden

wooden traps, not unlike our mice-traps, or by ſnares, which being laid under the trees where they feed, the trees are cut down, and they entangled in the ſnares. They alſo go a ſable hunting in ſleds drawn by dogs, and kill them with their bows and arrows.

The Journals of Feodor Iskowitz Backhoff *from* Tobolsko, *the capital city of* Siberia, *into* China, *called* Kattay *by the* Ruſſians.

* *Underſtand from the beginning of the world according to the* Ruſſians *computation, viz. in the year of Chriſt* 1644.

IN the year 7162 *, in the month of *May*, I left *Tobolſko*, purſuant to his *Czariſh* majeſty's orders, and travell'd to the city *Tax* upon the river *Irtiſh*, where I arriv'd the 27th of *July*, having ſpent a month and three days in this journey. From *Tax* I went up the river the firſt of *Auguſt*, and for want of horſes ſpent four weeks of my journey to the *white lake*, where being furniſhed with forty camels and fifty horſes from *Snablai Tniſcha*, or prince of the *Bouchar Tartars*, we left the ſaid lake the 16th of *October*, and continued our journey in three weeks time to *Kabalgakuna*, inhabited by the *Calmuck Tartars*, who live in brick houſes, built after the *Ruſſian* manner. From *Kabalgakuna* to the *ſeven elms* is two days travelling; and from thence to the rivulet of *Jelkuſa*, which ariſes from among the mountains, and falls into the *Irtiſh*, another day's journey. From the river of *Jelkuſa*, along the right ſide of the *Irtiſh*, to the reſidence of that *Calmuck prince* (who is a prieſt) reſiding on the left ſide of the ſaid river, is three days journey. Their fields, which produce wheat, barley, and peas, are plowed by ſome of the *Bouchar Tartars*. From hence, all along the right ſide of the river *Irtiſh* to *Ablawich* (near the *Bouchar* cornfields) is fourteen days journey, thro' high mountains, full of birch-trees.

We arrived at *Ablawich* the 22d of *November*, where they live in plaiſter'd houſes; their fruits are wheat, barley, and peas; and they abound in fiſh. Their prince named *Albai Tonſcha* did invite me to his houſe, where after he had demanded the *Czar*'s preſents (which I gave him) he entertained me very handſomly. The 30th of *November* I continued my journey thro' the *Bouchar Tartars*, who are for the moſt part huſbandmen, among whom I tarried four months and ten days.

The third of *April* 7163, I went from thence to the brook of *Botka*, twelve days journey from the *Bouchar* cornfields; near this brook the before-mentioned prince *Ablai Tonſcha* was building for himſelf two houſes of ſtone, by *Chineſe* workmen. Here I ſtayed five weeks and five days.

The 30th of *June*, 7163, having receiv'd my paſſport from *Ablai Tonſcha*, I continu'd my journey from the brook *Botka* to *Conjaja Toucha*, or *Koltaſching's children* in fourteen days, and in five days more to the ſmall city of *Rontaſhina*, inhabited by *Calmuck* prieſts. From this place to the lake, through which paſſes the river *Irtiſh*, is fourteen days journey.

From hence to *Miſganſko Teſcha* is two days journey, and from thence through the mountains ſeven days more. Hereabouts live the princes of the *Mogul Tartars*, who ſpeak both the *Mogul* and *Calmuck* languages; there is three days journey from hence to the reſidence of the prince named *Dobruna*, whoſe territories extend fifteen days journey to the frontiers of *China*. However many petty princes have their territories interſperſed here, who are alſo of the race of the *Moguls*.

From the uttermoſt frontiers of *China* to *Cokatana*, their firſt city, is a journey of three months. The mountains along the river *Irtiſh* and the *white lake* to the frontiers of *China*, are inhabited by the *Moguls* and *Calmuck Tartars*; the firſt live very poorly, and I was often obliged to ſtay among them to furniſh my ſelf with water and proviſions. After I had ſtayed nine days at *Cokatana* in expectation of two guides, we continued our journey thence the twelfth day of *January* 7164 to *Koſki*, a journey of twelve days. Hereabouts alſo live divers petty princes of *Mogul Tartars*, who call themſelves *Tiobetzanſky*, but are under the *Chineſe* juriſdiction. *Kanki* is ſituate among the rocks; here I ſaw the famous *Chineſe* wall, being three fathoms high, and one and a half thick, fill'd up in the inſide with ſmall ſtones; the ſtone towers ſtand not in the ſame line cloſe to the wall, but at ten fathoms diſtance, and are a hundred fathoms diſtance from one another, reaching as long as the wall to the ſea-ſide. The 20th of *February*, having received orders from the king of *China* for the continuation of my journey, we ſet out the 21ſt from *Capki*, ſeven days journey from *Cambalu*, (or *Pekin*) having twenty eight cities lying between them, ſurrounded with ſtone walls, upon which we ſaw ſome canon, but of a ſmall ſize. The ſoldiers that keep the guard at the gates were armed with a kind of carabines, not above half a yard long, with threefold muzzles, but without firelocks. They have generally ſtone-bridges built over their canals or rivulets, but have

not many rivers of note; the governours of the places are generally carried in *Palanka's* or litters, upon mens ſhoulders, attended by a guard on both ſides.

We came to *Cambalu* the third of *March* 7164; about an *Engliſh* mile out of town, we were met by two deputies, one whereof was the chancellor of the *Pricas*, or ſecretary's office of the foreign affairs, the other of that of the *Chineſe* affairs. They received us in a ſpacious ſtructure of ſtone, inhabited by ſome prieſts, and built as we were told, for the reception of the *Dalac Lama*, or the *Tartarian* high-prieſt, who is reverenced among them like a god. At the entrance of this houſe they deſired me to alight from my horſe, and to pay my reſpects to their king upon my knees: Unto which I replied, that it was not our cuſtom to ſalute even our *Czar* upon our knees, but only with a very low bow, and bare-headed; unto which they gave no other anſwer, but that the *Dutch* never refuſed it, and therefore I ought not. They then preſented me with ſome *Thee*, made with cow's milk and butter, in the king's name; it being *Lent*, I refuſed to drink it. They told me, that I being ſent from one great *Czar* to another mighty prince, I ought at leaſt to accept it, which I did, and ſo returned back. As we were making our entry, I ſaw in the gate ſtanding three braſs cannon, and ſo we marched forward for three *Verſts*, thro' moſt markets, before we came to the court prepared for our reception, which had two houſes of ſtone, hung with tapeſtry. Our daily allowance of proviſions was one ſheep and a ſmall caſk of *Spaniſh* brandy, two fiſhes, a middle-ſized *Jaſy*, a certain quantity of wheaten flour, *Sichay*, and rice, and two cups of brandy. The 4th of *March* certain perſons ſent by the *Chineſe* king came to my lodgings to demand the preſents I had brought along with me from the *Czar*; I told them, that it was not cuſtomary at our *Czar*'s court to deliver the preſents till we had been admitted to the audience of the king, and delivered our credentials. Unto which they replied, *One king ought not to preſcribe laws to another*; *our cuſtoms are different from yours. Our Bogday* (king) *has ſent us to demand the preſents, but if you come to ſell them, let us know your price.* I replied, That I was not ſent by the *Czar* to merchandize, but to eſtabliſh a friendly concurrence betwixt the two kings, and to offer him ſome preſents. They then told me, That ſince I own'd I was ſent with preſents to their king, they would take by force what our *Czar* had ſent; and as for my credentials, care ſhould be taken of them hereafter; and thus actually took the preſents by force.

The 6th of *March* word was ſent me to bring my credentials to the ſecretary's office; which I refuſed to comply with, telling the meſſenger that I was ſent with theſe credentials to the king, and not to his miniſters.

Auguſt 21, they ſent again upon the ſame errand; but I refuſing the ſame, they told me, That ſince I had diſobey'd their king's command, they had orders to puniſh me; I gave them no other anſwer, but, if they cut me limb by limb, I would not part with them till I had been admitted to the king's preſence.

The 31ſt of *Auguſt* all the preſents were brought back by certain officers, who told me that it was done by ſpecial command from their king, becauſe I had refuſed to deliver my credentials into the *Prica*'s or ſecretary's office; and one among them told me, *No foreign miniſter, come he from what country he will, is admitted into the preſence of our king, but only of his great miniſters, call'd* Inoanol Boyarde. I can give you no true account of the bigneſs of the city of *Cambalu*, becauſe we had no liberty to take a view of it; but if we may credit the *Moguls* and *Chineſe*, they told us it was ſixty *Verſts* (twelve *German* leagues) in compaſs. Vaſt quantities of ſilk ſtuffs are made and ſold here, but their pearls and precious ſtones they have from *Karatſcho*, two months journey with camels from *Cambalu*, and then in the poſſeſſion of a ſon of the late king. The king's palace fronts a ſpacious market-place, whither all ſorts of people come to ſalute the king, at leaſt three times a month. Every new moon they put out flags as a ſignal to the people to come to make their ſubmiſſion; and the the ſame is done every 22d and 29th day of the month, when they appear in rich brocado'd clothes, upon their bended knees, and among the reſt twenty ſix elephants trained up for that purpoſe. The *Bogday* then regent, was a *Mogul Tartar*; but the late *Chineſe* emperor, after theſe *Tartars* had made themſelves maſters of the *Chineſe* empire (about thirty years before) kill'd himſelf, ſecuring only a young ſon, named *Young Sie*, behind two of the *Chineſe* lords carried to *Karatſcho* in old *China*. The *Chineſes* are much ſtronger in the city of *Cambalu* than the *Moguls*. In the year 7164, the 7th of *July*, 25 *Hollanders* [a], the

(a) *Nieuhoff* p. 181. We underſtand by the ſaid father *Adam*, that there was there a *Muſcovite* embaſſy, with an attendance of 100 perſons (among whom were ſome *Moors*) to treat about certain points relating to traffick; but were not as yet admitted to audience, becauſe the emperor reſided at that time ſometimes in the city, ſometimes at ſome diſtance thence.

remainders

remainders of the three ſhips (who had each of them 100 men aboard, two whereof were loſt) arrived at *Cambalu*, but for want of an interpreter could not converſe with them; they gave me two letters for *Muſcow*. Having obtained my paſſport in 7164 in *September*, I left *Cambalu*, and returned thro' the ſame way I came to *Muſcow*, having had but ill ſucceſs in my negotiation, becauſe I would not reverence their idols (b).

And here it is to be obſerved that *Cambalu* is the capital city of *China*, otherwiſe it is called *Peking*, the firſt being the name given them by the *Tartars*, whence ſome geographers have been miſlead, who have placed *Cambalu* in their maps, in the great *Tartary*. *Tamerlane* a *Tartar* by birth, having conquered *China*, is the reaſon that frequent mention has been made of *Cambalu* in his hiſtory, which has introduced this error of placing *Cambalu* in *Tartary*; add to this, that our ancient hiſtorians of *China* have call'd it *Kattay*, the ſame name that is given to it by the *Ruſſians* to this day; *Kattay* being a *Tartarian* word, ſignifying as much as an incloſed or wall'd place, (ſuch as *China* is) given by them to *China*, whilſt they were in poſſeſſion of it. And becauſe *China* was known or firſt deſcribed by the ancient hiſtorians at the ſame time the *Tartars* were maſters of it, they were eaſily led into that miſtake, by taking the *Grand Tartary* for *China*, and ſo put it down accordingly in their maps, placing *Cambalu* in *Tartary*, whereas it is the ſame with *Peking* the capital city of the *Chineſe* empire. For the ſame reaſon it is, that they have deſcribed *Tartary* as a rich plentiful countrey, whereas it is very mean, and above one half of it not fit for tillage. *Kattay* is indeed a *Tartarian* word, but not a name of their own countrey, but given by them to *China*.

(b) *Introcetta* p. 313. Speaking of this embaſſy: *In quos* (ſc. ritus) *quoniam Muſcoviæ ante biennium legatione functi conſentire nollent, cum dedecore muneribus, quæ attulerunt, redditis rejecti ſunt.* And *Nieuhoff* p. 187, the 14th of *September* our envoys underſtood that the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador was upon his departure, without being admitted to audience, becauſe he refuſed to bend his knees before the imperial ſeat, as looking upon it as a degrading to his maſter's honour. About noon, juſt as our enjoys were at dinner, one of the ſaid ambaſſador's domeſticks came to take leave of us, deſiring in behalf of all the reſt, that we would be pleaſed to give them a certificate to teſtify that they had met with us here, which was readily granted. Afterwards we heard, that the ſaid ambaſſador was ſtopped in the countrey, becauſe he was not provided with a ſufficient paſſport.

A SHORT

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES OF Mr. *ZACHARY WAGENER*,

Perform'd in thirty five Years,

Through *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa* and *America*;

Taken out of his own JOURNAL.

ANNO 1633, the 3d of *June*, I left *Dreſden* (my native city) with conſent of parents and embarked in a ſmall veſſel upon the river *Elbe* in company of Mr. *Frederick Lebzelter*, one of the grooms of the chamber to his electoral highneſs of *Saxony*, for *Hamburgh*, where we arrived ſafely ſome time after; but not meeting with any opportunity of preferment there, I embarked for *Amſterdam*, where I was entertained for a whole year by Mr. *William Johnſon Blawe*, one of the moſt noted bookſellers of that city; and after that, being reſolved upon travelling farther, engaged my ſelf in the ſervice of the *Weſt-India* company, in the quality of a private centinel, and in 1634, the 18th of *July*, embarked aboard a ſtout two deck'd ſhip, bound for *Braſil*, where we arrived after a moſt troubleſome voyage of ſixteen weeks, and came to an anchor before the *Receif*. Not long after our arrival, I was advanced to a muſter-maſter's place in major *Bajart*'s company then in garriſon in the fort *Erneſtus*, and ſometime after was made clerk of the kitchin of his excellency count *John Maurice* of *Muſcow*, general of *Braſil*.

Anno 1638, the 20th of *April*, the beforemention'd earl embark'd with 8000 *European* ſoldiers, and 3000 *Braſilians* aboard 47 ſhips, ſteering their courſe from the *Receif* to the *Bay of all Saints*, in order to beſiege the city of *St. Salvador*; I went along with his excellency in that expedition, which proved unſucceſsful; for the city being impoſſible to be begirt on all ſides, we returned after two months to the *Receif*. *Anno* 1630, I went along with the ſaid earl to *Anthony Vaez*, by the way of the cape of *St. Auſtin* and *Sexinhain*, and ſo farther by land to *Porto Calvo*: In our return we paſs'd thro' the middle of the *Dutch-Braſil*, by the way of *Boſiovegid*, to the city of *Paraiba*, and as we paſſed along took a view of all the gariſons and fortreſſes, ſo that this progreſs took up above, three months. After I had ſpent this ſeven years in *Brazil*, *viz.* three years in the ſervice, and four in his excellency's family, I deſired leave to return home, which being granted, and a paſſport given me, I embark'd in 1641, in *April*, aboard a veſſel called the *Tiger*, bound with two other veſſels freighted with ſugar, tobacco and *Braſil* wood, Mr. *William Honton* commodore for *Holland*. We arrived the 17th of *January* in the *Texel*, when a man of war being then juſt ready to ſail for *Enkhuiſen*, I when aboard her, and lodged that night in the ſaid city. The 18th, early in the morning I went by land over *Horn* to *Burmerent*, and from thence thro' the *Beemſtes* by water to *Amſterdam*. The 20th early

in the morning, I went in the *Trackſhuit* over *Harlem* to *Leyden*, and from thence to the *Hague* and *Delft*, where I delivered the letters and preſents wherewith I was intruſted by his excellency the earl of *Naſſaw*.

But having a longing deſire to ſee my native countrey, I ſet out from *Amſterdam*, *Anno* 1641, the 14th day of *Auguſt*, and taking my way over *Harlem*, thro' *Friſeland*, arrived ſafely at *Hamburgh* the 23d, but the roads being then much infeſted by ſtragling parties, I went up the river *Elbe* as far as *Magdeburg*, where taking coach for *Leipzick*, I continued my journey afterwards from thence to *Dreſden*, the place of my nativity, where I arrived the 12th of *October*, and to our mutual joy, found my parents in good health. I ſtayed with them about fourteen months, but not being able to comply with their manner of living, ſo different from what I had been uſed to of late years, I took a reſolution (with their conſent) to return into *Holland*, and to take a voyage thence into the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Accordingly in 1642, the 10th of *February*, I took ſhipping upon the river *Elbe*, in company of the young Mr. *Dillichius*, and the ſon of the count marſhal, Mr. *Henry Van Tauben*, and paſſing down the river *Elbe*, where my fellow travellers left me, intending to continue their journey thro' *Holland* for *France*; and the river beginning to be full of ice by this time, our veſſel could not get farther than *Tangermunden*, where we were forced to ſtay till the 2d of *March* and then went forward (tho' not without great danger of the ice) for *Hamburgh*, where I arrived the 6th, and ſoon after agreed with a *Dutch* maſter of a veſſel to carry me to *Amſterdam*. The 11th we ſet ſail, and paſſing by *Gluckſtadt*, came to an anchor near *Zell*, where going aſhore, I diverted my ſelf for a ſhort time with one of my relations, and ſo went aboard again, and continued our voyage towards the *Dutch* coaſt. Our Maſter it ſeems was born in a certain village on the *Friſeland* coaſt, called *Maccon*, and being ſeiz'd with a curioſity to ſee his birth-place, took this opportunity to come to an anchor near it, which proved ſo unproſperous, that in a few days after being ſurpriſed by a ſtorm with a violent froſt, I was obliged to ſpend thirteen days at the houſe of a rugged *Friſeland* countrey fellow, whoſe language I did not underſtand. All the comfort I had was to take this opportuny to go to *Franeker*, an univerſity in thoſe parts; and after my return the tempeſt being laid, we ſet ſail again the 26th, and arrived the 28th at *Enkhuiſen*, where changing my veſſel for another, I came the 29th early in the morning to *Amſterdam*; here I received the unwelcome news that the ſhips wherewith I intended to have ſailed to the *Eaſt-Indies*, were already gone ſome days before, and that the next were not to ſail till *Auguſt*; being afraid that my money would ſcarce hold out till that time, I was forced to take a journey into *North-Holland*, to expect the coming of their *Eaſt-India* ſhips, wherewith I returned afterwards. *Anno* 1642, the 10th of *May* we came to an anchor with nine ſhips before the *Texel*, where in two months after, we ſaw ten ſhips richly freighted, Mr. *Francis Caron* commodore, and came along with them in *Auguſt* into *Holland*.

Having in vain endeavoured, by the intereſt of Mr. *Beirmthellen* to get an aſſiſtants place in the chamber of *Amſterdam*, I was forced to take up with a *Cadee*'s place, at the rate of ten *guilders per* month; and being furniſhed with recommendatory letters to the regency of *Batavia*, I ſail'd out of the *Texel* the 29th of *September*, in a new veſſel call'd the *Swan*, in company of two others; and having refreſhed ourſelves at the *Iſle of Wight*, (belonging to *England*) and in the iſle of *St. Vincent*, we came in 1643, the 17th of *April*, ſafely to an anchor in the road of *Batavia*, having outſtrip'd the two others, that were no ſuch ſailers as ours. After I had ſtay'd here for ſome time, the then governor-general *Anthony Van Diemen* removed me from the military ſervice to an aſſiſtant's place worth 20 *guilders per* month. *Anno* 1647, the 20th of *May*, Mr. *Cornelius Vander Lyn*, his ſucceſſor, beſtow'd upon me one of the head clerks places worth 28 *guilders per* month, beſides ſix *Reals* board wages: *Anno* 1648, I being then in the 35th year of my age, married at *Batavia* a certain widow born in the city of *Weſel*, named *Mary*, the relict of Mr. *Aux Brebis*, who then lived with the head factor, Mr. *James Schwern*. *Anno* 1649, the 29th of *September*, the ſaid governor-general Mr. *Van Lyn*, was pleaſed to beſtow upon me the employment of a factor (beſides my clerks place) for five years, with a monthly ſalary of 56 *guilders per* month, and 13 *reals* board wages.

In what quality I firſt went to the Eaſt-Indies.

Anno 1650, I was ſent in an open chaloop from *Batavia* to the *Streights of Sunda*, *Thys Crab* commander, to fetch certain inſtructions, which Mr. *Maximilian le Maire* (who was lately arrived there with the ſhip the *Walfiſch* from *Holland*) had brought along with him; but before we reach'd the ſaid veſſel, we met the ſhip the *Naſſaw*, coming from the weſtern coaſt of *Sumatra*, loaden with pepper, and being willing to ſpeak with them, by the careleſſneſs of our maſter the chaloop run ſo violently againſt the

poop of the ſhip, that it was ready to ſink; I did endeavour to lay hold of the lion's head of the great ſhip, but miſſing my aim, fell into the water, where I narrowly eſcaped being drowned; for the ſhip being under ſail, I got under her, and with much ado got upon the other ſide (yet not without being ſorely cut by the muſſel-ſhells that ſtuck to the bottom) from whence, with much ado they dragged me up with a rope into the ſhip. Afterwards it being reſolved to ſend me along with Mr. *William Verſtegen*, extraordinary councellor of the *Indies*, and commiſſary of the northern quarter, from *Tonquin* to *Tahwan*, my ſalary was raiſed to 66 *guilders per* month.

Anno 1651, the 20th of *April*, we embark'd aboard the *Delfthaven* yacht at *Batavia*, in order to proſecute this intended voyage, which having been accompliſh'd with good ſucceſs, we ſtop'd in our return near the kingdom of *Quinam*, and after having ſettled a firm peace with that king, and obtained the releaſement of our priſoners, we came to an anchor again in the road of *Batavia*, the laſt day of *December*, where in a few days after my arrival, I was conſtituted a member of the council of juſtice by Mr. *Reimerſon*, then governor-general in the abſence of Mr. *Lyn*.

Anno 1653, the 14th of *July*, the time of my former contract being expired, I engaged myſelf again in the companies ſervice for three years longer, at the rate of 85 *guilders per* month; I was ſoon after as commiſſary or envoy of the company ſent with two yachts the *Shellfiſh* and the *Brownfiſh* to *Kanton* in *China* (a) to endeavour the eſtabliſhment of a free commerce for our company there, with the *Tartarian* viceroy; but the *Tartarian* commanders aiming at nothing but our money, and little to be relied upon, I left theſe covetous wretches, and made the beſt of my way with my two yachts towards *Tonquin*, where having left the *Brownfiſh* to refit, I returned, notwithſtanding I was very dangerouſly ill, with the *Shellfiſh* alone the 29th of *December* to *Batavia*. Having immediately after my recovery, given an account of my negotiation, I had ſoon after a place aſſign'd me in the council of juſtice.

Anno 1656, the 12th of *July*, I was ſent in the quality of director in the ſhip call'd the *Calf* to *Japan*, (b) to relieve according to cuſtom, Mr. *John Brichlinus*, his year being expired; where I arrived the 18th of *Auguſt*, and immediately delivered the preſents ſent by the company to the emperor; but had ſcarce been here three days when on the north-ſide of the capital city of *Jedo*, a ſudden fire broke out, which being increaſed by a violent wind, laid not only the whole city (which might for its bigneſs be compared to a whole province) in aſhes in 48 hours, but alſo conſumed the royal palace and near 160000 ſouls; however we had the fortune to eſcape the fury of the flames thro' God's mercy, tho' not without a great deal of danger.

Anno 1657, the 27th of *October*, I returned out of *Japan* (c) in the ſhip the *Flower-Valley*, in company of the head factor, Mr. *John Belgens*, who had received orders to go and reſide at *Tajoan* in the quality of deputy-governor to Mr. *Coyets*; we were put to no ſmall trouble to get into the road of that place, where having ſtay'd ſix days, I ſet ſail again thence, in company of the *Hercules* and the *Watchman*, and came ſafely before *Batavia* the 18th of *December*, where we found ſeveral *Dutch* ſhips (which on the 31ſt returned for *Holland*, under the command of Mr. *John Canæus*) riding at anchor.

Anno 1658, being ready to go a ſecond

(a) Of this voyage *Nieuhoff p.* 29. Hereupon it was reſolved to ſend as commiſſioners Mr. *Schedal* and Mr. *Wagener*, the firſt in the *Brownfiſh*, the other in a veſſel call'd the *Shellfiſh*. They ſet ſail together from *Batavia*, and after a voyage of four weeks, came to the weſtern point of *Haitamon*. From whence they went up the river *Kanton*, as far as *Wangſoe*, three leagues diſtance from *Kanton*, where having ſtaid for ſome time, but in vain, in expectation of the *Mandarins* to conduct them to *Kanton*; Mr. *Schedel*, without leave from the regency of *Kanton*, and againſt the advice of the interpreters, went to ſee his old friend *Haitau*, in whom he much confided; being directed by him to go to ſee *Tautans*, he did accordingly, but finding neither him nor his ſecretary at home, was forced to come aboard again immediately, as not knowing where to lodge all that night.

The ſame *Nieuhoff p.* 32. Mr. *Wagener* finding all his courtſhips to the *Mandarins* of no effect, he returned with both the yachts to *Batavia*, he having not with all his cunning, been able to ſettle a commerce there for his countreymen: What vexed him moſt was, that theſe avaricious wretches had the impudence to demand ſo vaſt a ſum of money, only to procure the reception of his letters, by the viceroy, without the leaſt promiſe of entring afterwards into a conference upon the propoſed commerce.

(b) Concerning this commiſſion, *Arnold Montan* ſays, *p.* 356. Next to this the embaſſy performed by Mr. *Zachary* of *Miſnia*, is no leſs remarkable; and *p.* 369. ſpeaking of this conflagration: Mr. *Wagener* returning early in the morning into the city, found the whole ſouthern part of it in a flame; About noon the fire got into the imperial palace, with ſuch violence, that in an inſtant the ſtrong towers and ſtone watch-houſes were ſeen tumbling into the ditch, where the fire ſtop'd on that ſide; but continuing on the other hand, the emperor's lodgings were conſumed before the night, he having ſcarce time given him to retire with his chief councellors to their ſummer-houſes, built on the north-ſide at ſome diſtance from the palace; in ſhort, in two days time above 100000 houſes were laid in aſhes, inhabited before the fire by 1000000 of ſouls, together with a vaſt number of moſt ſtately palaces, and pagodes or pagan temples.

(c) The ſame *Montan*, *p.* 377. In the mean while Mr. *Wagener* taking a ſhort voyage to *Batavia*, ſoon returned to prepare for his ſecond intended embaſſy to *Japan*. *Anno* 1659, he had made all the neceſſary preparations for it.

time

time as director to *Japan*, to take care of the company's intereſt there, Mr. *John Maetzucker*, who ſucceeded Mr. *Reymers* as governor-general, was pleaſed to appoint me 100 *guilders per* month, without any limited time; I embark'd immediately after aboard the ſhip call'd the *Venenburgh* at *Batavia*, and ſet forward with a proſperous gale till *Auguſt*, when being among the *Maccauſche* iſlands upon the *Chineſe* coaſt, we were overtaken by ſo violent a tempeſt, that we expected every moment to be daſhed againſt the rocks, but thro' God's mercy this ſtorm laſted not above twelve hours; after which the wind proving pretty favourable, we continued our voyage, and the 17th of *September* arrived ſafely in the bay of *Nangaſacka*. Our commerce in *Japan* being eſtabliſh'd upon a good foot, and all other matters ſettled to our ſatisfaction, I began to prepare for my return to *Batavia*; and in 1659, ſet ſail in the ſhip called the *Haverſen*, from the bay of *Nangaſacki*; but the maſter of our veſſel being not well acquainted in thoſe ſeas, we got one night among the rocks *de Paraelles* (a branch of the ſea, formerly part of the continent, but ſwallow'd up by the waves) I was no ſooner awake the next morning, but ſeeing ourſelves among theſe rocks, and that we had miſſed the entrance of the *Streight of Banca*, I gave myſelf over for loſt, and certainly had been ſo, if by the indefatigable labour of the ſeamen, and a favourable gale, we had not made ſhift to get the 20th of *December* into the harbour call'd *Pauloſingen*, where we were forced to ſtay four days before we could get out to make the ſaid ſtreight, from whence we ſailed without any ſiniſter accident to *Batavia*.

Anno 1660, the 22d of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Jacob Carack*, and I were ſent as commiſſioners to *Macaſſar* in the *Poſtilion* yacht, to treat with the king concerning a peace, purſuant to the inſtructions given us for that purpoſe.

The 12th of *November* I returned alone in the ſame veſſel, in order to give an account of my negotiation there, Mr. *Carack* being obliged to ſtay behind about ſome buſineſs of moment in our fortreſs of *Panneholla*.

In the beginning of the year 1661, being without employment, I thought fit to accept of the ſurveyorſhip over the buildings, vacant by the death of Mr. *John Liſtingen*, whereby I a third time obtained a place in the council of juſtice; but finding this office too burthenſome for my gouty carcaſs, which was not able to endure ſuch continual going from place to place, I quitted that employment, and in lieu thereof was ordered to relieve the commander in chief on the *Cape of Good-Hope*, Mr. *John Van Richeck*, who was to have been ſucceeded by Mr. *Gent Van Hoom*, but he dying in his voyage thither, I was pitch'd upon to ſupply his place. Accordingly I left *Batavia Anno* 1662, the 30th of *January*, with all my family, and with two ſhips in ſixteen days time, with a proſperous gale, came in ſight of the cape or utmoſt point of *Africa*. As I was entring the bay, we heard the unwelcome news, that of the ſeven ſhips we ſaw at anchor before *Batavia*, and parted thence about a month before us, four were loſt in a ſtorm near the iſland of St. *Maurice*.

Anno 1663, in *February* I received letters out of *Holland* from the governors of the company, wherein they not only confirm'd me in my governors place here, but alſo appointed me the ſame allowance my predeceſſor had enjoy'd.

Anno 1664, being advertiſed by ſeveral letters ſent to me over land from the bay of *St. Helens*, by captain *Henry Van Wallen*, intimating that a conſpiracy had been diſcovered in the ſhip call'd the *Arms of Horn*, and that he had been obliged to take into cuſtody the maſter of the ſhip and another officer; I embark'd the next day with three horſes, aboard the ſhip called the *Watercock*, but not being able to go beyond the cape of *Satannia*, I landed there, with two ſervants on horſe-back, continued my journey thither by land; but were no ſooner arrived there, when being inform'd by the *Hottentots* (inhabitants of the cape) that the ſaid ſhip was ſailed thence the day before towards the cape; we were forced to make the beſt of our way back to the bay of *Satanhia*, where we arrived the 3d day, but to our great regret, found that the captain had again quitted his firſt ſtation there, and was gone up two leagues farther into the bay; ſo that we ſaw ourſelves under an abſolute neceſſity to take up our reſting place all that night upon the ground near the ſea-ſhore but were not a little ſurpriſed, when the next morning we diſcovered in the land the foot-ſteps of a great lion that had paſſed but a few paces from us, without doing us any harm.

After my return to the cape, *viz. Anno* 1666, my wife, after a month's ſickneſs, departed this life, after I had lived with her in marriage 18 years and four months, but had no children by her; I ordered a ſmall chapel to be built on the cape, wherein ſhe was interred. Not many months after, *viz.* the 16th of *September* Mr. *Cornelius Van Qualbergen*, who was ſent in the ſhip the *Dordrecht* to ſucceed me in my command,

mand, arrived at laſt on the cape, after a moſt tedious and troubleſome voyage of eight months, in which they had loſt 190 men by the ſcurvy and other diſtempers. Having purſuant to the orders ſent me by the council of ſeventeen, given the ſaid Mr. *Qualbergen*, all the neceſſary inſtructions, and ſurrendered the government into his hands, I embark'd with all my moveables the 1ſt of *October*, in the beforementioned ſhip the *Dordrecht*, together with my daughter-in-law, whoſe name was *Mary Bucquoi*, the relict of *Cornelius Vorburgh*, one of the head factors of the company, and with a very moderate and proſperous wind, arrived ſafely at *Batavia*, where being lodged at Mr. *John Bolan*'s houſe, ſhe and I ſhared the inheritance of her mother, according to the determination of two arbitrators choſen for that purpoſe.

Anno 1667, the 1ſt of *September* I embark'd at *Batavia* in the ſhip called the *Eraſmus*, being ſent as an envoy of the companies to the emperor of great *Java* or of *Materan*, with two very fine *Perſian* horſes, beſides other preſents to renew the ancient friendſhip, and good neighbourly correſpondency betwixt them; we came to an anchor near the river *Samaran*, where leaving our ſhip, we travell'd in ſix or ſeven days to the capital city *Materan*, where having diſcharged my commiſſion, I return'd from thence by land, with a numerous attendance to *Samaran*, and from thence ſet ſail towards *Japan*, where having ſtayed a few days to diſpatch ſome buſineſs of moment, we embarked, and arrived the laſt day of *November*, with the ſame yacht, we came in from *Batavia* in that road, where I gave an ample account of my tranſactions to the great council of the *Indies*.

Having by this time ſpent twenty five years in the *Eaſt-India* company's ſervice, I took a full reſolution to return to my native countrey, for which reaſon having deſired my diſcharge from the juſt now mentioned council, the governor-general, Mr. *Maetzucker*, would fain have prevailed upon me to continue there for ſome time longer, offering me his garden-houſe without the gate of *Batavia* for my habitation.

But being reſolved to return to my native countrey, I was forced to refuſe his kind offer, and having obtained my paſſport, I left *Batavia* in 1667, the 8th of *December*, with a ſquadron of ſix ſhips, whereof *John Vander Lahn* was admiral, and my ſelf carrying the vice-admiral's flag aboard the ſhip call'd the *Arms*, bound for *Middleburg* on account of the chamber of *Zealand*. Having happily paſs'd the *Streights of Sunda*, we arrived *Anno* 1668, the 22d of *February*, with fair wind and weather, in the *Table-Bay* of the *cape of Good-Hope*, where to our great ſatisfaction we received the news of the late concluded peace betwixt his *Britannick* majeſty and the ſtates-general at *Breda*.

Whilſt we lay at anchor here, four more ſhips that were left behind at *Batavia* to take in their cargo, arrived likewiſe in the ſaid bay the 10th of *March*; as alſo not long after, the ſhip called *Thuys de Telſen*, being ſent from the chamber of *Amſterdam*, having aboard fourteen conſpirators, (for the moſt part northern country men) who had laid a plot to kill the captain and the other officers of their ſhip, whilſt they were at dinner, and afterwards to ſeize the veſſel; five of the ringleaders of them were ſentenced to be hanged on a gibbet near the fort; ſeven others to be whip'd and burn'd with a red hot iron, and the reſt to be kept in irons for their life-time, and to work in ſuch places as ſhould be appointed by the company, which was put in execution accordingly. *Anno* 1668, the 26th of *March* we ſet ſail from the *Table-Bay* with the whole fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips richly laden, *viz.* the *Holland Hayn*, the *Arms of Middleburgh*, the *Dordrecht*, *Liberty*, *Amerongen*, *Cattenburgh*, the *Sprecaw*, *Outſhorn*, the *Tiger* and the *Young Prince*; and taking our courſe betwixt the continent and the *Red-Iſland*, paſſed the *Green-Sea*, and ſo with a proſperous gale continued our voyage till the month of *July*, when we arrived happily in *Holland*.

N. B. *Mr.* Zachary Wagener, *being in the month of* July *arrived with ten ſhips as vice-admiral in* Zealand, *found himſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that after ſome ſtay at* Middleburgh, *he thought fit to go to* Amſterdam, *to take the advice of the phyſicians of that city; and having accordingly taken up his quarters at the ſign of the city of* Prague, *in the* Warmer-ſtreet, *nothing was left unattempted to remove the indiſpoſition of his body; which notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the beſt phyſicians not availing, he died the 1ſt of* October 1668, *and was inter'd the 6th following, in the* Old Church *of* Amſterdam. *He was then 54 years old and four months, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent in travelling by ſea and land; having ſpent ſeven years in* Braſil, *and ſerved the* Dutch Eaſt-India *company no leſs than 25 years.*

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Actions

OF

Adm. *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,*

AND OF HIS

DISCOVERY

OF THE

WEST-INDIES,

CALL'D

The NEW WORLD,

Now in Poſſeſſion of his CATHOLICK MAJESTY.

Written by his own Son D. FERDINAND COLUMBUS.

THE

Author's Preface.

I *Being the ſon of the admiral* Chriſtopher Columbus, *a perſon worthy of eternal memory, who diſcovered the* Weſt-Indies; *and having myſelf ſail'd with him ſome time, it ſeem'd to me but reaſonable, that among other things I have writ, one and the chiefeſt ſhould be his life, and wonderful diſcovery of the* Weſt-Indies, *or* New-World; *becauſe his great and continual ſufferings, and the diſtempers he laboured under, did not allow him time to form his notes and obſervations into a method fit for hiſtory; yet knowing there were many others who had attempted this work, I forebore, till reading their books I found in them, that which is uſual among hiſtorians,* viz. *that they magnify ſome things, leſſen others, and ſometimes paſs that over in ſilence, which they ought to give a very particular account of. For this reaſon I reſolved to undergo the labour of this taſk, thinking it better I ſhould lie under the cenſure my ſkill and preſumption ſhall be ſubject to, than to ſuffer the truth of what relates to ſo noble a perſon to lie buried in oblivion. For it is my comfort, that if any fault be found in this my undertaking, it will not be that, which moſt hiſtorians are liable to,* viz. *that they know not the truth of what they write; for I promiſe to compoſe the hiſtory of his life of ſuch matter only as I find in his own papers and letters, and of thoſe paſſages of which I myſelf was an eye-witneſs. And whoſoever ſhall imagine, that I add any thing of my own, may be aſſured I am ſatisfied, I can reap no benefit thereby in the life to come; and that the reader alone will have the benefit of it, if it be capable of yielding any.*

The author having given this account of himſelf, I have not much to add, but to inform the reader before he enters upon the work, that in it he will find all the reaſons which induced the admiral to ſuch an undertaking; he will ſee how far he proceeded in perſon upon the diſcovery in four ſeveral voyages he made; how great and honourable the articles were, upon which he entered upon the diſcovery, and which were afterwards confirm'd to him by thoſe two famous princes, king Ferdinand *and queen* Iſabel *or* Elizabeth; *how baſely they were all violated; and he, after ſuch unparalleled ſervices, moſt inhumanly treated; how far he ſettled the affairs of the iſland* Hiſpaniola, *the firſt place the* Spaniards *planted in; what care he took that the* Indians *ſhould not be oppreſs'd, but rather by good uſage and example, prevail'd upon to embrace the* Catholick *faith; alſo the cuſtoms and manners of the* Indians; *their opinions and practice as to religious worſhip; and in a word, all that can be expected in a work of this nature, the foundation whereof was laid by ſo great a man as was the admiral, and finiſhed by his own ſon, who had all the education that could contribute to make him capable of writing ſo notable a life.*

THE DISCOVERY OF THE *WEST-INDIES*, BY *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*, Together with his LIFE and ACTIONS, *&c.*

CHAP. I.

Of the country, original, and name of admiral Chriſtopher Columbus.

Columbus's *original.*

IT being a very material point in the hiſtory of any man of note, to make known his countrey and original, becauſe they are beſt look'd upon, who are born in noble cities and of illuſtrious parents; therefore ſome would have had me ſpent my time in ſhewing that the admiral was honourably deſcended, tho' his parents, thro' the peeviſhneſs of fortune, were fallen into great poverty and want; and that I ſhould have proved they were the offspring of that *Junius Colon*, of whom *Tacitus* in his 12th book ſays, That he brought king *Mithridates* priſoner to *Rome*; for which ſervice the people aſſign'd him the conſular dignity, the eagle or ſtandard and conſular court. And they would have me give a large account of thoſe two illuſtrious *Coloni*, his predeceſſors, who, *Sabellicus* tells us, gained a mighty victory over the *Venetians*, as ſhall be mention'd in the 5th chapter: But I refuſed to undertake that taſk, believing he was particularly choſen by Almighty God for ſo great an affair as that was he performed; and becauſe he was to be ſo truly his apoſtle as in effect he proved it was his will he ſhould in this part be like the others, who were called to make known his name from the ſea and rivers, and not from courts and palaces, and to imitate himſelf, whoſe progenitors being of the blood royal of *Jeruſalem*, yet it pleaſed him that his parents ſhould not be much known. Therefore, as God gave him all the perſonal qualities for ſuch an undertaking, ſo he would have his countrey and original more hid and obſcure. So it is that ſome, who would caſt a cloud upon his fame, ſay he was of *Nervi*, others of *Cugureo*, and others of *Bugieſco*, all ſmall towns near the city of *Genoa*, and upon its coaſt. Others, who were for exalting of him ſay, he was a native of *Savona*, others of *Genoa*; others more vain, make him of *Piacenza*, in which city there are ſome honourable perſons of his family, and tombs with the arms and inſcriptions of the family of *Columbus*; this being then the uſual ſurname of his predeceſſors; tho' he complying with the

His Name.

the countrey whither he went to live, and begin a new ſtate of life, modelled the word, that it might be like the ancient, and diſtinguiſhed the direct from the collateral line, calling himſelf *Colon*. This made me apt to believe, that as moſt of his affairs were guarded by ſome ſpecial providence, ſo this very particular, concerning his name and ſurname, was not without ſome myſtery. We may inſtance many names which were given by ſecret impulſe, to denote the effects thoſe perſons were to produce, as in his is foretold and expreſſed the wonder he performed. For if we look upon the common ſurname of his anceſtors, we may ſay he was true *Columbus* or *Columba*, for as much as he convey'd the grace of the Holy Ghoſt into that new world which he diſcovered, ſhewing thoſe people who knew him not, which was God's beloved ſon, as the Holy Ghoſt did in the figure of a dove at St. *John*'s baptiſm; and becauſe he alſo carried the olive branch and oil of baptiſm over the waters of the ocean, like *Noah*'s dove, to denote the peace and union of thoſe people with the church, after they had been ſhut up in the ark of darkneſs and confuſion. And the ſurname of *Colon* which he reviv'd, was proper to him, which in *Greek* ſignifies a member, that his proper name being *Chriſtopher*, it might be known he was a member of Chriſt, by whom ſalvation was to be convey'd to thoſe people. Moreover, if we would bring his name to the *Latin* pronunciation, that is *Chriſtophorus Colonus*; we may ſay, that as St. *Chriſtopher* is reported to have bore that name, becauſe he carried Chriſt over the deep waters, with great danger to himſelf, whence came the denomination of *Chriſtopher*; and as he convey'd over the people whom no other could have been able to carry; ſo the admiral, *Chriſtophorus Colonus*, imploring the aſſiſtance of Chriſt in that dangerous paſſage, went over ſafe himſelf and his company, that thoſe *Indian* nations might become citizens and inhabitants of the church triumphant in heaven; for it is to be believ'd, that many ſouls, which the devil expected to make a prey of, had they not paſs'd through the water of baptiſm, were by him made inhabitants and dwellers in the eternal glory of heaven.

CHAP. II.

Of the admiral's father and mother, and their quality, and of the falſe account one Juſtiniani *gives of his employ, before he had the title of admiral*

No certainty of Columbus's *parentage.*

NOT to go upon the etymology, derivation and meaning of the word admiral; but to return to the quality and perſons of his progenitors; I ſay, that how conſiderable ſoever they were, being reduced to poverty and want by the wars and factions in *Lombardy*; I do not find after what manner they lived, tho' the admiral himſelf in a letter ſays, that his anceſtors and he always traded by ſea. For my farther information in this particular, as I paſſed thro' *Cugureo*, I endeavoured to receive ſome information from two brothers of the *Columbi*, who were the richeſt in thoſe parts, and reported to be ſomewhat a kin to him; but the youngeſt of them being above 100 years old, they could give me no account of this affair. Nor do I think that this is any diſhonour to us who deſcend from him, becauſe I think it better that all the honour be deriv'd to us from his perſon, than to go about to enquire whether his father was a merchant or a man of quality, that kept his hawks and hounds; whereas it is certain there have been a thouſand ſuch in all parts, whoſe memory was utterly loſt in a very ſhort time among their neighbours and kindred; ſo as it is not known whether there ever were any ſuch men. But I am of opinion that their nobility can add leſs luſtre to me, than the honour I receive from ſuch a father. And ſince his own honourable exploits made him not ſtand in need of the wealth of his predeceſſors, (who notwithſtanding their poverty, were not deſtitute of virtue, but only of fortune) he ought at leaſt by his name and worth, to have been raiſed by authors above the rank of mechanicks and handicrafts. Which yet, if any will affirm, grounding his aſſertion on what one *Auguſtin Juſtiniani* writes in his chronicle; I ſay, that I will not ſet my ſelf to deny it, begging time or means to prove the contrary by teſtimonials; for as much as *Juſtiniani*'s writing it does not make that to be look'd upon as an article of faith, which is no longer in the memory of man; ſo neither will it be thought undeniable, ſhould I ſay I received the contrary from a thouſand perſons. Nor will I ſhow his falſehood by the hiſtories others have

Falſehood of Juſtiniani's *hiſtory.*

have writ of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, but by this ſame author's teſtimony, and writing, in whom is verified the proverb, *that lyers ought to have good memories*, becauſe otherwiſe they contradict themſelves, as *Juſtiniani* did in this caſe; ſaying in his compariſon of the four languages, upon that expreſſion of the pſalm, *in omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum*, theſe very words. This *Chriſtopher Columbus* having in his tender years attain'd ſome elements of learning, when he came to manly years, applied himſelf to the art of navigation, and went to *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, where he learn'd coſmography, taught him by a brother of his who there made ſea charts; with which improvement, and diſcourſing with thoſe that ſail'd to *S. George de la Mira* in *Africk*, and his own reading in coſmography, he entertain'd thoughts of ſailing to thoſe countries he diſcover'd. By which words it appears, that he follow'd no mechanick employment, or handicraft; ſince, he ſays, he employed his childhood in learning; his youth in navigation and coſmography, and his riper years in diſcoveries. Thus *Juſtiniani* convinces himſelf of falſhood, and proves himſelf an inconſiderate, raſh, and malitious countryman; for when he ſpeaks of a renowned perſon who did ſo much honour to his country, whoſe hiſtoriographer *Juſtiniani* made himſelf, tho' the admiral's parents had been very mean, it had been more decent, to ſpeak of his origin, as other authors in the like caſe do; ſaying he was of low parentage, or come of very poor friends, than to uſe injurious words, as he did in his pſalter; and afterwards in his chronicle, falſly calling him a mechanick. And ſuppoſing he had not contradicted himſelf, reaſon it ſelf made it appear, that a man, who had been employed in art manual or handicraft, muſt be born and grow old in it to become a perfect maſter; and that he would not from his youth have travelled ſo many countries, as alſo that he would not have attained ſo much learning and knowledge, as his actions demonſtrate he had, eſpecially in thoſe four principal ſciences required, to perform what he did, which are, aſtrology, coſmography, geometry and navigation. But it is no wonder that *Juſtiniani* ſhould dare to deliver an untruth in this particular, which is hidden, ſince in affairs well known concerning his diſcovery and navigation, he has inſerted above a dozen falſhoods in half a ſheet of paper in his pſalter, which I ſhall briefly hint at without ſtaying to give him an anſwer, to avoid interrupting the ſeries of the hiſtory, ſince by the very courſe of it, and what others have writ on that ſubject, the falſhood of his writing will be made out. The firſt therefore was, that the admiral went to *Lisbon* to learn coſmography of a brother of his own that was there; which is quite contrary, becauſe he liv'd in that city before, and taught his brother what he knew. The ſecond falſhood is, that at his firſt coming into *Caſtile*, their catholick majeſties *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabel*, or *Elizabeth* accepted of his propoſal, after it had been ſeven years bandy'd about and rejected by all men. The third, that he ſet out to diſcover with two ſhips, which is not true, for he had three caravals. The fourth, that his firſt diſcovery was *Hiſpaniola*, and it was *Guarahani*, which the admiral called *S. Salvador*, or *S. Saviour*. The fifth, that the ſaid iſland *Hiſpaniola* was inhabited by *Canibals*, that eat men's fleſh; and the truth is, the inhabitants of it were the beſt people, and moſt civiliz'd of any in thoſe parts. The ſixth, that he took by force of arms, the canoo, or *Indian* boat he ſaw, whereas it appears that he had no war that firſt voyage with any *Indian*, and continued in peace and amity with them till the day of his departure from *Hiſpaniola*. The ſeventh, that he return'd by way of the *Canary* iſlands, which is not the proper way for thoſe veſſels to return. The eighth, that from the ſaid iſland he diſpatch'd a meſſenger to their majeſties aforeſaid, whereas it is certain, that he was not firſt at that iſland, as was obſerv'd, and he himſelf was the meſſenger. The ninth, that the ſecond voyage he return'd with twelve ſhips, and it is manifeſt he had ſeventeen. The tenth, that he arrived at *Hiſpaniola* in twenty days, which is a very ſhort time to reach the neareſt iſlands, and he perform'd it not in two months, and went to others much farther diſtant. The eleventh, that he preſently made from *Hiſpaniola* with two ſhips, and it is known there were three he took to go from *Hiſpaniola* to *Cuba*. *Juſtiniani*'s twelfth falſhood is, That *Hiſpaniola* is four hours diſtant from *Spain*, and the admiral reckons it above five. And farther, to add a thirteenth to the dozen, he ſays, the weſtern point of *Cuba*, is ſix hours diſtant from *Hiſpaniola*, making it further from *Hiſpaniola* to *Cuba*, than from *Spain* to *Hiſpaniola*. So that by his negligence and heedleſſneſs, in being well inform'd and writing the truth of theſe particulars, which are ſo plain, we may plainly diſcern what inquiry he made into that which was ſo obſcure, wherein he contradicts himſelf, as has been made appear. But laying aſide this controverſy, wherewith I believe I have by this time tired the reader, we will only add, that

that conſidering the many miſtakes and falſhoods found in the ſaid *Juſtiniani*'s hiſtory, and pſalter, the ſenate of *Genoa* has laid a penalty upon any perſon that ſhall read or keep it; and has caus'd it to be carefully ſought out in all places it has been ſent to, that it may by publick decree be deſtroy'd and utterly extinguiſh'd. I will return to our main deſign, concluding with this aſſertion, that the admiral was a man of learning and great experience; that he did not employ his time in handicraft or mechanick exerciſes, but in ſuch as became the grandeur and renown of his wonderful exploits, and will conclude this chapter with ſome words taken out of a letter he writ himſelf to prince *John* of *Caſtile*'s nurſe, which are theſe.

I am not the firſt admiral of my family, let them give me what name they pleaſe; for when all is done, David, *that moſt prudent King, was firſt a ſhepherd, and afterwards choſen king of* Jeruſalem, *and I am ſervant to that ſame Lord, who rais'd him to ſuch dignity.*

CHAP. III.

Of the admiral's perſon, and what ſciences he learn'd.

The admiral deſcrib'd.

THE admiral was well ſhap'd, and of a more than middling ſtature, long viſag'd, his cheeks ſomewhat full, yet neither fat nor lean; he had a hawk noſe, his eyes white, his complexion white, with a lovely red: In his youth his hair was fair, but when he came to thirty years of age, it all turn'd grey. He was always modeſt and ſparing in his eating, drinking, and his dreſs. Among ſtrangers he was affable, and pleaſant among his domeſticks, yet with modeſty and an eaſy gravity. He was ſo ſtrict in religious matters, that for faſting and ſaying all the divine office, he might be thought profeſt in ſome religious order. So great was his averſion to ſwearing and curſing, that I proteſt I never heard him ſwear any other oath, but by *S. Ferdinand*; and when in the greateſt paſſion with any body, he would vent his ſpleen by ſaying, *God take you for doing or ſaying ſo.* When he was to write, his way of trying his pen was by writing theſe words, *Jeſus cum Maria ſit nobis in via*, and that in ſuch a character, as might very well ſerve to get his bread. But paſſing by other particulars of his actions and manners, which may be mention'd at their proper time in the courſe of this hiſtory; let us proceed to give an account to what ſcience he moſt addicted himſelf. In his tender years he apply'd himſelf ſo much to ſtudy at *Pavia*, as was ſufficient to underſtand coſmography; to which ſort of reading he was much addicted, for which reaſon he alſo apply'd himſelf to aſtrology and geometry, becauſe theſe ſciences are ſo link'd together, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other: And becauſe *Ptolemy* in the beginning of his coſmography, ſays, that no man can be a good coſmographer unleſs he be a painter too; therefore he learn'd to draw, in order to deſcribe lands, and ſet down coſmographical bodies, plains or rounds.

CHAP. IV.

How the admiral employ'd himſelf before he came into Spain.

Teſtimonies out of Columbus's *own writings.*

THE admiral having gain'd ſome inſight in ſciences, began to apply himſelf to the ſea, and made ſome voyages to the eaſt and weſt; of which and many other things of thoſe his firſt days, I have no perfect knowledge, becauſe he died at ſuch time as I being confin'd by filial duty, had not the boldneſs to ask him to give an account of things; or to ſpeak the truth, being but young, I was at that time far from being troubled with ſuch thoughts. But in a letter writ by him in the year 1501, to their catholick majeſties, to whom he durſt not have writ any thing but the truth; he has theſe following words.

Moſt ſerene princes, "I went to ſea very "young, and have continued it to this day; "and this art inclines thoſe that follow it, to "be deſirous to diſcover the ſecrets of this "world; it is now forty years that I have "been ſailing to all thoſe parts, at preſent "frequented; and I have dealt and con-"verſed with wiſe people, as well clergy "as laity, *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Indians* and "*Moors*, and many others of other ſects; "and our Lord has been favourable to this

"my

" my inclination, and I have received of " him the ſpirit of underſtanding: He has " made me very ſkilfull in navigation, " knowing enough in aſtrology, and ſo " in geometry and arithmetick. God hath " given me a genius and hands apt to " draw this globe, and on it the cities, ri- " vers, iſlands and ports, all in their pro- " per places. During this time I have ſeen, " and endeavoured to ſee, all books of coſ- " mography, hiſtory and philoſophy, and " of other ſciences; ſo that our Lord has " ſenſibly opened my underſtanding, to the " end I may ſail from hence to the *Indies*, " and made me moſt willing to put this in " execution. Fill'd with this deſire, I came " to your highneſſes. All that heard of my " undertaking, rejected it with contempt " and ſcorn. In your highneſſes alone, " faith and conſtancy had their ſeat.". In another letter written from *Hiſpaniola*, in *January* 1495, to their catholick majeſties, telling them the errors and miſtakes commonly made in voyages and piloting; he ſays thus, " It happened to me that king " *Renee*, whom God has taken to himſelf, " ſent to me to *Tunis* to take the galeaſſe " call'd *Fernandina*; and being near to the " iſland of *St. Peter* by *Sardinia*, I was told " there were two ſhips and a barack with " the ſaid galeaſſe, which diſcompos'd " my men, and they reſolved to go no far- " ther, but to return to *Marſeilles* for ano- " ther ſhip and more men; and I perceiv- " ing there was no going againſt their wills, " without ſome contrivance, yielded to their " deſires, and changing the point of the " needle, ſet ſail when it was late, and next " morning at break of day, we found our " ſelves near cape *Cartegna*, all aboard " thinking we had certainly been ſailing for " *Marſeilles*." In the ſame manner in a *Memorandum*, or obſervation he made to ſhow, that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by experience in navigation, he ſays, " In *February* 1467, I ſail'd my ſelf " an hundred leagues beyond *Thule*, *Iſeland*, " whoſe northern part is 73 degrees diſtant " from the equinoctial, and not 63 degrees " as ſome will have it to be; nor does it lie " upon the line where *Ptolemy*'s weſt begins, " but much more to the weſtward; and to " this iſland which is as big as *England*, the " *Engliſh* trade, eſpecially from *Briſtol*. At " the time when I was there, the ſea was " not frozen, but the tides were ſo great, " that in ſome places it ſwell'd 26 fathoms, " and fell as much." The truth is, That the *Thule Ptolemy* ſpeaks of, lies where he ſays, and this by the moderns is call'd *Frizeland*. And then to prove that the equinoctial or land under it is habitable, he ſays, " I was in the fort of St. *George de la Mira* " belonging to the king of *Portugal*, which " lies under the equinoctial, and I am a wit- " neſs that 'tis not uninhabitable, as ſome " would have it." And in his book of his firſt voyage, he ſays, " He ſaw ſome mer- " maids on the coaſt of *Menegueta*, but that " they are not ſo like ladies, as they are " painted." And in another place he ſays, " I obſerved ſeveral times in ſailing " from *Liſbon* to *Guinea*, that a degree on " the earth, anſwers to 56 miles and two " thirds." And farther he adds, " That " in *Scio*, an iſland of the *Archipelago*, he " ſaw maſtick drawn from ſome trees." In another place he ſays, " I was upon the ſea " 23 years, without being off it any time " worth the ſpeaking of; and I ſaw all the " eaſt and all the weſt, and may ſay towards " the north, or *England*, and have been at " *Guinea*; yet I never ſaw harbours for " goodneſs, like thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies*." And a little farther he ſays, " That he took " to the ſea at 14 years of age, and ever " after follow'd it." And in the book of the ſecond voyage, he ſays, " I had got " two ſhips, and left one of them at *Porto* " *Santo*, for a certain reaſon that occurr'd " to me, where ſhe continued one day, " and the next day after I join'd it at " *Liſbon*, becauſe I light of a ſtorm and " contrary winds at ſouth-weſt, and ſhe had " but little wind at north-eaſt, which was " contrary." So that from theſe inſtances we may gather, how much experience he had in ſea affairs, and how many countries and places he travell'd before he undertook his diſcovery.

CHAP. V.

The admiral's coming into Spain, *and how he made himſelf known in* Portugal, *which was the cauſe of his diſcovering the* Weſt-Indies.

Another Columbus.

AS concerning the cauſe of the admiral's coming into *Spain*, and his being addicted to ſea-affairs, the occaſion of it was a famous man, of his name and family, call'd *Columbus*, renown'd upon the ſea, on account of the fleet he commanded againſt infidels, and even in his own country, inſomuch that they made uſe of his name to frighten the children in the cradle; whoſe perſon and fleet, it is likely were very conſiderable, becauſe he at once took four *Venetian* galleys, whoſe bigneſs and ſtrength I ſhould not have believ'd, had I not ſeen them fitted out. This man was call'd *Columbus the Young*, to diſtinguiſh him from another, who was a great ſeaman before him. Of which *Columbus the Younger*, *Marc Antony Sabellicus*, the *Livy* of our age, ſays in the eighth book of his tenth decade, That he lived near the time when *Maximilian*, ſon to the emperor *Frederick* the 3d, was choſen king of the *Romans*: *Jerome Donato* was ſent embaſſador from *Venice* into *Portugal*, to return thanks in the name of the republick to king *John* the 2d, becauſe he had cloathed and relieved all the crew belonging to the aforeſaid great galleys, which were coming from *Flanders*, relieving them in ſuch a manner, as they were enabled to return to *Venice*, they having been overcome by the famous Corſair *Columbus the Younger*, near *Liſbon*, who had ſtrip'd and turn'd them aſhoar. Which authority of ſo grave an author as *Sabellicus*, may make us ſenſible of the afore-mention'd *Juſtiniani*'s malice, ſince in his hiſtory he made no mention of this particular, to the end it might not appear, that the family of *Columbus* was leſs obſcure than he would make it. And if he did it thro' ignorance, he is nevertheleſs to blame; for undertaking to write the hiſtory of his country, and omitting ſo remarkable a victory, of which its enemies themſelves make mention. For the hiſtorian, our adverſary, makes ſo great account of his victory, that he ſays, ambaſſadors were ſent on that account to the king of *Portugal*. Which ſame author in the afore-mentioned eighth book, ſomewhat further, as one leſs obliged to inquire into the admiral's diſcovery, makes mention of it, without adding thoſe twelve lyes which *Juſtiniani* inſerted. But to return to the matter in hand, I ſay, That whilſt the admiral ſail'd with the aforeſaid *Columbus the Younger*, which was a long time; it fell out that underſtanding the before-mentioned four great *Venetian* galleys were coming from *Flanders*, they went out to ſeek, and found them beyond *Liſbon*, about Cape. *St. Vincent*, which is in *Portugal*, where falling to blows, they fought furiouſly, and grappled, beating one another from veſſel to veſſel with the utmoſt rage, making uſe, not only of their weapons, but artificial fire-works; ſo that after they had fought from morning till evening, and abundance were kill'd on both ſides; the admiral's ſhip took fire, as did a great *Venetian* galley, which being faſt grappled together with iron hooks and chains, uſed to this purpoſe by ſea-faring men, could neither of them be relieved, becauſe of the confuſion there was among them, and the fright of the fire, which in a ſhort time was ſo increaſed, that there was no other remedy, but for all that could, to leap into the water, ſo to die ſooner, rather than bear the torture of the fire. But the admiral being an excellent ſwimmer, and ſeeing himſelf two leagues or a little further from land, laying hold of an oar, which good fortune offered him, and ſometimes reſting upon it, ſometimes ſwimming, it pleaſed God, who had preſerved him for greater ends, to give him ſtrength to get to ſhore; but ſo tired and ſpent with the water, that he had much ado to recover himſelf. And becauſe it was not far from *Liſbon*, where he knew there were many *Genoeſes* his countrymen, he went away thither as faſt as he could, where being known by them he was ſo courteouſly received and entertain'd, that he ſet up houſe and marry'd a wife in that city. And foraſmuch as he behav'd himſelf honourably, and was a man of a comely preſence, and did nothing but what was juſt; it happened that a lady whoſe name was *Donna Felipa Moniz*, of a good family and penſioner in the monaſtery of all ſaints, whither the admiral uſed to go to maſs, was ſo taken with him, that ſhe became his wife. His father-in-law *Peter Moniz Pereſtrello*, being dead, they went to live with the mother-in-law, where being together, and ſhe ſeeing him ſo much addicted to coſmography, told him that her huſband *Pereſtrello* had been a a great ſea-faring man, and that he with two other captains having obtained the king of *Portugal*'s leave, went to make diſ-

The admiral ſerves under him.

Comes to Liſbon *and marries.*

coveries

coveries, upon condition, that dividing what they found into three parts they were to caſt lots who ſhould chuſe firſt. Being thus agreed, they ſail'd away to the ſouth-weſt, and arriv'd at the iſland of *Madera* and *Porto Santo*, places never before diſcovered. And becauſe the iſland of *Madera* was biggeſt; they divided it into two parts; the iſland of *Porto Santo*, being the 3d which fell to the lot of the ſaid *Pereſtrello*, *Columbus*'s father-in-law, who had the government of it till he died.

The admiral bring much delighted to hear ſuch voyages and relations, his mother-in-law gave him the journals and ſea charts left her by her huſband, which ſtill more inflam'd the admiral; and he enquired into the other voyages the *Portugueſes* then made to *St. George de la Mira*, and along the coaſt of *Guinea*, being much pleaſed to diſcourſe with thoſe that had ſailed thither. To ſay the truth, I can not certainly tell whether whilſt this wife lived, the admiral went to *Mira* or *Guinea*, as I ſaid above, the reaſon ſeems to require it. However it was, as one thing leads to another, and one conſideration to another, ſo whilſt he was in *Portugal*, he began to reflect, that as the *Portugueſes* travel ſo far ſouthward, it were no leſs proper to ſail away weſtward, and land might in reaſon be found that way. That he might be the more certain and confident in this particular, he began to look over all the coſmographers again, whom he had read before, and to obſerve what aſtrological reaſons would corroborate this project; and therefore he took notice of what any perſons whatſoever ſpoke to that purpoſe, and of ſailors particularly, which might any way be a help to him. Of all which things he made ſuch good uſe, that he concluded for certain, that there were many lands weſt of the *Canary* iſlands, and *Cabo Verde*; and that it was poſſible to ſail to, and diſcover them. But that it may appear from what mean arguments he came to deduce, or make out ſo vaſt an undertaking, and to ſatisfy many who are deſirous to know particularly, what motives induced him to diſcover theſe countries, and expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous an undertaking, I will here ſet down what I have found in his papers relating to this affair.

CHAP. VI.

The principal motives that inclin'd the admiral to believe he might diſcover the Weſt-Indies.

Three reaſons for the diſcovery.

BEING about to deliver the motives that inclin'd the admiral to undertake the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, I ſay they were three, *viz.* natural reaſons, authority of writers, and the teſtimony of ſailers. As to the firſt, which is natural reaſon, I ſay, he concluded that all the ſea and land compos'd a ſphere or globe; which might be gone about from eaſt to weſt, travelling round it, till men came to ſtand feet to feet one againſt another in any oppoſite parts whatſoever. Secondly, he gave it for granted, and was ſatisfied by the authority of approved authors, that a great part of this globe had been already travelled over, and that there then only remained to diſcover the whole, and make it known, that ſpace which lay between the eaſtern bounds of *India*, known to *Ptolemy* and *Marinus*, round about eaſtward, till they came thro' our weſtern parts to the iſlands *Azores*, and of *Cabo Verde* the moſt weſtern parts yet diſcovered. Thirdly, He conſidered, that this ſpace lying between the eaſtern limits known to *Marinus*, and the aforeſaid iſland of *Cabo Verde*, could not be above a third part of the great circumference of the globe, ſince the ſaid *Marinus* was already gone 15 hours, or 24 parts into which the world is divided towards the eaſt; and therefore to return to the ſaid iſles of *Cabo Verde*, there wanted about eight parts; for the ſaid *Marinus* is ſaid to have begun his diſcovery towards the weſt. Fourthly he reckoned, that ſince *Marinus* had in his ſaid coſmography, given an account of 15 hours, or parts of the globe towards the eaſt, and yet was not come to the end of the eaſtern land, it followed of courſe, that the ſaid end muſt be much beyond that; and conſequently, the farther it extended eaſtward, the nearer it came to the iſlands *Cabo Verde*, towards our weſtern parts; and that if ſuch ſpace were ſea, it might eaſily be ſail'd in a few days, and if land, it would be ſooner diſcovered by the weſt, becauſe it would be nearer to the ſaid iſlands. To which reaſon

Arguments from reaſon.

ſon may be added, that given by *Strabo* in the 15th book of his coſmography, that no man with an army ever went ſo far as the eaſtern bounds of *India*, which *Cteſias* writes is as big as all the reſt of *Aſia*; *Oneſicritus* affirms, it is the third part of the globe; and *Nearchus*, that it is four months journey in a ſtrait line; beſides that, *Pliny* in the 17th chapter of his 6th book, ſays, That *India* is the third part of the earth: Whence he argu'd, that being ſo large, it muſt be nearer *Spain* by way of weſt. The 5th argument that induced him to believe, that the diſtance that way was ſmall, he took from the opinion of *Alfragranus* and his followers, who make the circumference of the globe, much leſs than all other writers and coſmographers, allowing but 56 miles and two thirds to a degree. Whence he would infer, that the whole globe being ſmall, that extent of the third part muſt of neceſſity be ſmall, which *Marinus* left as unknown; therefore that part might be ſail'd in leſs time than he aſſign'd; for ſince the eaſtern bounds of *India* were not yet diſcover'd, thoſe bounds muſt lie near to us weſtward, and therefore the lands he ſhould diſcover, might properly be call'd *Indies*. By this it plainly appears, how much one Mr. *Roderick*, arch-deacon of *Seville*, was in the wrong as well as his followers, who blame the admiral; ſaying, He ought not to have call'd thoſe parts *Indies*, becauſe they are not ſo, whereas the admiral did not call them *Indies*, becauſe they had been ſeen or diſcover'd by any other perſon, but as being the eaſtern part of *India* beyond *Ganges*, to which no coſmographer ever aſſign'd bounds, or made it border on any other country eaſtward, but only upon the ocean; and becauſe theſe were the eaſtern unknown lands of *India*, and have no particular name of their own; therefore he gave them the name of the neareſt country, calling them *Weſt-Indies*, and the more becauſe he knew all men were ſenſible of the riches and wealth of *India*; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their catholick majeſties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to diſcover the *Indies* by way of the weſt. And this mov'd him rather to deſire to be employed by the king of *Caſtile*, than by any other prince.

Why call'd Indies.

CHAP. VII.

The ſecond motive inducing the admiral to diſcover the Weſt-Indies.

A ſecond motive from authors.

THE ſecond motive that encouraged the admiral to undertake the aforeſaid enterpriſe, and which might reaſonably give occaſion to call the countries he ſhould ſo diſcover *Indies*, was the great authority of learned men, who ſaid that it was poſſible to ſail from the weſtern coaſt of *Africk* and *Spain*, weſtward to the eaſtern bounds of *India*, and that it was no great ſea that lay between them, as *Ariſtotle* affirms, at the end of his 2d book of heaven and the world; where he ſays, That they may ſail from *India* to *Cadiz* in a few days. Which ſome think *Averroes* proves, writing upon that place. And *Seneca* in his firſt book of nature, looking upon the knowledge of this world, as nothing in reſpect of what is attain'd in the next life; ſays, a ſhip may ſail in a few days with a fair wind from the coaſt of *Spain*, to that of *India*. And if as ſome would have it, this ſame *Seneca* writ the tragedies; we may conclude it was to the ſame purpoſe, that in the chorus of his *Medea*, he ſpeaks thus;

Venient annis
Sæcula ſeris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhyſque novos
Detegat orbes, nec ſit terris
Ultima Thule.

That is, There will come an age in later years, when the ocean will looſe the bonds of things, and a great country be diſcovered, and another like *Typhys* ſhall diſcover a new world, and *Thule* ſhall no longer be the laſt part of the earth. Which now moſt certainly has been fulfill'd in the perſon of the admiral. And *Strabo* in the firſt book of his coſmography, ſays, the ocean encompaſſes all the earth; that in the eaſt, it waſhes the coaſt of *India*, and in the weſt, thoſe of *Mauritania* and *Spain*, and that if the vaſtneſs of the atlantick did not hinder, but they might ſoon ſail from the one to the other upon the ſame parallel. The ſame he repeats in the ſecond book. *Pliny* in the ſecond book of his natural hiſtory, *Chap.* III. adds, That the ocean

ſurrounds

ſurrounds all the earth, and that the extent of it from eaſt to weſt, is from *India* to *Cadiz*. The ſame author, book the 6th. *chap.* 31, and *Solinus*, *chap.* 68, of the remarkable things in the world, ſay, that from the iſlands *Gorgones*, ſuppoſed to be thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, was forty days ſail on the *Atlantick* ocean, to the iſlands *Heſperides*, which the admiral concluded were thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies*. *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, and *John Mandiville* in their travels ſay, they went much farther eaſtward than *Ptolemy* and *Marinus* mention, who perhaps do not ſpeak of the eaſtern ſea; yet by the account they give of the eaſt, it may be argued, that the ſaid *India* is not far diſtant from *Africk* and *Spain*. *Peter Aliacus* in his Treatiſe, *De imagine mundi*, chap. 8. *De quantitate terræ habitabilis*, *& Julius Capitolinus*, *de locis habitabilibus*; and in ſeveral other treatiſes, ſay, that *Spain* and *India* are neighbours weſtward. And in the 19th chapter of his coſmography, he has theſe words; according to the philoſophers and *Pliny*, the ocean that ſtretches between the weſtern borders of *Spain* and *Africk*, and from the beginning of *India* eaſtward, is of no great extent, and there is no doubt but it may be ſail'd over in a few days, with a fair wind, and therefore the beginning of *India* eaſtward, can not be far diſtant from the end of *Africk* weſtward. Theſe and the like authorities of ſuch writers, inclined the admiral to believe that the opinion he had conceived was right, and one Mr. *Paul* phyſician to Mr. *Dominick* of *Florence*, contemporary with the admiral, much encouraged him to undertake the ſaid voyage. For this Mr. *Paul* being a friend to one *Ferdinand Martinez*, a canon of *Lisbon*, and they writing to one another concerning the voyages made in the time of king *Alphonſo* of *Portugal* to *Guinea*, and concerning what might be made weſtward; the admiral who was moſt curious in theſe affairs, got knowledge of it, and ſoon by the means of *Laurence Girardi*, *a Florentine* reſiding at *Lisbon*, writ upon this ſubject to the ſaid Mr. *Paul*, ſending him a ſmall ſphere, and acquainting him with his deſign. Mr. *Paul* ſent his anſwer in *Latin*, which in *Engliſh* is thus.

CHAP. VIII.

A Letter from Paul, *a phyſician of* Florence, *to the admiral, concerning the diſcovery of the* Indies.

To *Chriſtopher Columbus*, *Paul* the phyſician wiſhes health.

I Perceive your noble and earneſt deſire to ſail to thoſe parts where the ſpice is produced; and therefore in anſwer to a letter of yours, I ſend you another letter, which ſome days ſince I writ to a friend of mine, and ſervant to the king of Portugal, *before the wars of* Caſtile, *in anſwer to another he writ to me by his highneſſes order, upon this ſame account, and I ſend you another ſea chart like that I ſent him, which will ſatisfy your demands. The copy of that letter is this.*

To *Ferdinand Martinez* canon of *Lisbon*, *Paul* the phyſician wiſhes health.

A letter concerning the diſcovery weſtward.

I Am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your moſt ſerene and magnificent king, and though I have very often diſcourſed concerning the ſhort way there is from hence to the Indies, *where the ſpice is produced, by ſea, which I look upon to be ſhorter than that you take by the coaſt of* Guinea; *yet you now tell me, that his highneſs would have me make out and demonſtrate it, ſo as it may be underſtood and put in practiſe. Therefore, tho' I could better ſhow it him with a globe in my hand, and make him ſenſible of the figure of the world; yet I have reſolved to render it more eaſy and intelligible, to ſhow this way upon a chart, ſuch as are uſed in navigation; and therefore I ſend one to his majeſty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is ſet down the utmoſt bounds of the weſt from* Ireland, *in the north, to the fartheſt part of* Guinea, *with all the iſlands that lie in the way: oppoſite to which weſtern coaſt is deſcribed the beginning of the* Indies, *with the iſlands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole towards the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may ſail before you come to thoſe places moſt fruitful in all ſorts of ſpice, jewels, and precious ſtones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the ſpice grows weſt, that product being generally aſcrib'd to the eaſt, becauſe thoſe who ſhall ſail weſtward, will always find thoſe places in the weſt; and they that travel by land eaſtward, will ever find thoſe places in the eaſt. The ſtrait lines that lie lengthways in the chart, ſhow the diſtance*

there is from weſt to eaſt, the other croſs them, ſhow the diſtance from north to ſouth. I have alſo mark'd down in the ſaid chart, ſeveral places in India, *where ſhips might put in upon any ſtorm or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeſeen. And moreover, to give you full information of all thoſe places, which you are very deſirous to know; you muſt underſtand, that none but traders live or reſide in all thoſe iſlands, and that there is there as great a number of ſhips and ſeafaring people with merchandize, as in any other part of the world, particularly in a moſt noble part call'd* Zacton, *where there are every year an hundred large ſhips of pepper loaded and unloaded, beſides many other ſhips that take in other ſpice. This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince call'd the* great cham, *which name ſignifies king of kings, who for the moſt part reſides in the province of* cathay. *His predeceſſors were very deſirous to have commerce, and be in amity with chriſtians; and* 200 *years ſince, ſent embaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him to ſend them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reaſon of ſome obſtacles the embaſſadors met with, they returned back without coming to* Rome. *Beſides there came an embaſſador to pope* Eugenius *IV. who told him the great friendſhip there was between thoſe princes, their people and chriſtians. I diſcours'd with him a long while upon the ſeveral matters of the grandeur of their royal ſtructures, and of the greatneſs, length and breadth of their rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers, and that there were* 200 *cities upon one only river, with marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorn'd with abundance of pillars. This country deſerves as well as any other, to be diſcover'd; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but alſo gold, ſilver, all ſorts of precious ſtones, and ſpices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain that many wiſe men, philoſophers, aſtrologers, and other perſons ſkill'd in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies. From* Lisbon *directly weſtward, there are in the chart* 26 *ſpaces, each of which contains* 250 *miles, to the moſt noble and vaſt city of* Quiſay, *which is* 100 *miles in compaſs, that is* 35 *leagues; in it there are* 10 *marble bridges: the name ſignifies a heavenly city, of which wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings and revenues. This ſpace above mentioned, is almoſt the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of* Mango, *bordering on that of* Cathay, *where the king for the moſt part reſides. From the iſland* Antilia, *which you call the ſeven cities, and whereof you have ſome knowledge, to the moſt noble iſland of* Cipango, *are ten ſpaces, which make* 2500 *miles, or* 225 *leagues, which iſland abounds in gold, pearls, and precious ſtones: and you muſt underſtand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all theſe things are hidden and conceal'd, and yet may be gone to with ſafety. Much more might be ſaid, but having told you what is moſt material, and you being wiſe and judicious, I am ſatisfied there is nothing of it, but what you underſtand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may ſerve to ſatisfy your curioſity, it being as much as the ſhortneſs of time and my buſineſs would permit me to ſay. So I remain moſt ready to ſatisfy and ſerve his highneſs to the utmoſt, in all the commands he ſhall lay upon me.*

Florence, June 25.
1474.

After this letter, he again writ to the admiral as follows.

To *Chriſtopher Columbus*, *Paul* the phyſician wiſhes health.

Another letter to the admiral.

I Received your letters with the things you ſent me, which I take as a great favour, and commend your noble and ardent deſire of ſailing from eaſt to weſt, as it is markt out in the chart I ſent you, which would demonſtrate it ſelf better in the form of a globe. I am glad it is well underſtood, and that the voyage laid down is not only poſſible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous, and moſt glorious among all chriſtians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great meaſure, and by the ſolid and true information of worthy and wiſe men, who are come from thoſe parts to this court of Rome, *and from merchants who have traded long in thoſe parts, and are perſons of good reputation. So that when the ſaid voyage is perform'd, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to moſt noble cities and provinces, rich, and abounding in all things we ſtand in need of, particularly in all ſorts of ſpice in great quantities, and ſtore of jewels. This will moreover be grateful to thoſe kings and princes, who are very deſirous to converſe and trade with chriſtians of theſe our countries, whether it be for ſome of them to become chriſtians, or elſe to have communication with the wiſe and ingenious men of theſe parts, as well in point of religion, as*

in all ſciences, becauſe of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of thoſe parts. For which reaſons and many more that might be alledged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portugueſe *nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.*

This letter, as was ſaid before, encouraged the admiral much to go upon his diſcovery, tho' what the doctor there writ was falſe, as believing that the firſt land they ſhould meet with, would be *Cathay*, and the empire of the *Great Cham*, with the reſt he there relates; ſince as experience has made appear, the diſtance from our *Indies* to that, is greater than from hence to our *Indies*.

CHAP. IX.

The third motive and inducement, which in ſome meaſure excited the admiral to diſcover the Weſt-Indies.

A third motive from the hope of finding ſome land, before unheard of.

THE third and laſt motive the admiral had to undertake the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, was the hopes of finding, before he came to *India*, ſome very beneficial iſland or continent, from whence he might the better purſue his main deſign. This his hope was grounded upon the authority of many wiſe men and philoſophers, who look'd upon it as moſt certain, that the greateſt part of this terraqueous globe was land, or that there was more earth than ſea; which if ſo, he argued, that between the coaſt of *Spain* and the bounds of *India* then known, there muſt be many iſlands, and much continent, as experience has ſince demonſtrated, which he the more readily believed, being impoſed upon by many fables and ſtories which he heard told by ſeveral perſons and ſailers, who traded to the iſlands and weſtern ſea, and to *Madera*; which teſtimonies making ſomewhat to his purpoſe, they were ſure to gain a place in his memory. Therefore I will not forbear relating them, to ſatisfy thoſe that take delight in ſuch curioſities. It is therefore requiſite to be underſtood, that a pilot of the king of *Portugal*, whoſe name was *Martin Vicente*, told him, that he being once 450 leagues weſtward of cape *St. Vincent*, found and took up in the ſea, a piece of wood ingeniouſly wrought, but not with iron; by which, and the winds having been weſt for many days, he gueſſed that piece of wood came from ſome iſland that way. Next one *Peter Correa*, who had married the admiral's wife's ſiſter, told him, that in the iſland of *Porto Santo* he had ſeen another piece of wood brought by the ſame winds, well wrought, as that above mentioned; and that there had been canes found ſo thick, that every joint would hold above four quarts of wine; which he ſaid he affirmed to the king of *Portugal* himſelf diſcourſing with him about theſe affairs, and that they were ſhown him; and there being no place in our parts, where ſuch canes grow, he look'd upon it as certain, that the wind had brought them from ſome neighbouring iſlands, or elſe from *India*. For *Ptolemy* in the firſt book of his coſmography, chap. 17, ſays, there are ſuch canes in the eaſtern parts of *India*: And ſome of the iſlanders, particularly the *Azores* told him, that when the weſt wind blew long together, the ſea drove ſome pines upon thoſe iſlands, particularly upon *Gratioſa* and *Fayal*, there being no ſuch in all thoſe parts. And that the ſea caſt upon this iſland of *Flores*, another of the *Azores*, two dead bodies of men, very broad faced, and differing in aſpect from the chriſtians. At cape *Verga* and thereabouts, they ſay, they once ſaw ſome cover'd *Almadies* or boats, which it is believed were drove that way by ſtreſs of weather, as they were going over from one iſland to another. Nor were theſe only the motives he then had, which yet ſeemed reaſonable; but there were thoſe that told him they had ſeen ſome iſlands, among whom was *Anthony Leme*, married in the iſland of *Madera*, who told him, that having made a conſiderable run in a caraval of his own weſtward, he had ſeen three iſlands. Theſe he did not give credit to, becauſe he found by their own words and diſcourſe, that they had not ſailed 100 leagues to the weſtward, and that they had been deceived by ſome rocks, taking them for iſlands; or elſe perhaps they were ſome of thoſe floating iſlands that are carried about by the water, call'd by the ſailers *Aguadas*, whereof *Pliny* makes mention the firſt book, chap. 97, of his natural hiſtory; where he ſays, that in the northern parts the ſea diſcover'd ſome ſpots of land, on which there are trees of deep roots, which parcels of land are carried about

Floating iſlands.

about like floats or iſlands upon the water. *Seneca* undertaking to give a natural reaſon why there are ſuch ſorts of iſlands, ſays in his third book, that it is the nature of certain ſpungy and light rocks, ſo that the iſlands made of them in *India*, ſwim upon the water. So that were it never ſo true, that the ſaid *Anthony Leme* had ſeen ſome iſland, the admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, ſuch as thoſe called *St. Brandam* are ſuppoſed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been ſeen. There is alſo an account of others that lie much northward, and always burn. *Juventius Fortunatus* relates, that there is an account of two iſlands towards the weſt, and more ſouthward than thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, which ſwim along upon the water. Theſe and the like grounds might move ſeveral people of the iſlands of *Ferro* and *la Gomera*, as alſo of the *Azores*, to affirm that they ſaw iſlands towards the weſt every year, which they look'd upon as moſt certain, and many perſons of reputation ſwore it was true. He ſays moreover, that in the year 1484, there came into *Portugal*, one from the iſland of *Madera* to beg a caraval of the king, to go to diſcover a countrey, which he ſwore he ſaw every year, and always after the ſelf-ſame manner, agreeing with others, who ſaid they had ſeen it from the iſlands *Azores*. On which grounds in the charts and maps formerly made, they placed ſome iſlands thereabouts; and particularly becauſe *Ariſtotle* in his book of wonderful natural things, affirms, it was reported that ſome *Carthaginian* merchants had ſail'd through the *Atlantick* ſea, to a moſt fruitful iſland, as we ſhall declare more at large hereafter, which iſland ſome *Portugueſe* inſerted in their maps, calling it *Antilla*; tho' they did not agree in the ſituation with *Ariſtotle*, yet none placed it above 200 leagues due weſt from the *Canaries* and *Azores*, which they conclude to be certainly the iſland of the ſeven cities, peopled by the *Portugueſe* at the time that *Spain* was conquered by the *Moors* in the year 714. At which time they ſay, ſeven biſhops with their people embark'd and ſailed to this iſland, where each of them built a city; and to the end none of their people might think of returning to *Spain*, they burnt the ſhips, tackle and all things neceſſary for ſailing. Some *Portugueſe* diſcourſing about this iſland, there were thoſe that affirmed ſeveral *Portugueſe* had gone to it, who could not find the way to it again. Particularly they ſay, that in the time of *Henry* infant of *Portugal*, a *Portugueſe* ſhip was drove by ſtreſs of weather to this iſland *Antilla*, where the men went aſhore, and were led by the iſlanders to their church, to ſee whether they were chriſtians, and obſerved the *Roman* ceremonies, and perceiving they did, they deſired them not to depart till their lord came, who was then abſent, and would make very much of them, and give them many preſents, and to whom they would preſently ſend advice; but the maſter and ſeamen were afraid of being detained, ſuſpecting thoſe people had not a mind to be diſcovered, and might therefore burn their ſhip, and for that reaſon they ſail'd back to *Portugal*, hoping to be rewarded for what they had done by the *Infante*. He reproved them ſeverely, and bid them return quickly; but the maſter for fear run away from *Portugal* with the ſhip and men; and it is reported, that whilſt the ſeamen were at church in the ſaid iſland, the boys of the ſhip gathered ſand for the cook-room, the third part whereof they found to be pure gold. Among others that ſet out to diſcover this iſland, was one *James de Fiene*, whoſe pilot *Peter Velaſquer*, of the town of *Palos de Moguer*, told the admiral in the monaſtery of *St. Mary de la Rabida*, that they ſet out from *Fayal*, and ſailed above 150 leagues ſouth-weſt, and in their return diſcovered the iſland *Flores*, being led to it by abundance of birds they ſaw fly that way, becauſe thoſe being land and not ſea-fowls, they judged they could not reſt but upon land: After which they ſailed ſo far north-eaſt, till they came to cape *Clare*, in the weſt of *Ireland*, where they met with ſtiff weſterly winds, and yet a ſmooth ſea, which they imagined was cauſed by ſome land that ſhelter'd it towards the weſt. But it being then the month of *Auguſt*, they would not turn towards the iſland for fear of winter. This was above forty years before our *Indies* were diſcovered. This account was confirm'd by the relation a mariner at port *St. Mary* made, telling him that once making a voyage into *Ireland*, he ſaw the ſaid land, which he then thought to be part of *Tartary*, falling off towards the weſt, which it is like was the land we now call *Bacallaos*, and that they could not make up to it by reaſon of the bad weather. This he ſaid agreed with what one *Peter de Valaſco* of *Galicia* affirm'd to him, in the city of *Murcia* in *Spain*, which was, that ſailing for *Ireland*, they went away ſo far to north-weſt, that they diſcovered land weſt of *Ireland*, which land he believes to be the ſame, that one *Femaldolmos* attempted to diſcover after the manner as I ſhall here faithfully ſet down, as I found it in my father's writings; that it may appear how ſome men lay the foundation of great mat-

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ters upon ſlight grounds. *Gonzalo de Oviedo*, in his hiſtory of the *Indies*, writes, That the admiral had a letter, wherein he found the *Indies* deſcrib'd, by one that had before diſcovered them, which was not ſo, but thus: *Vincent Dear, a Portugueſe of Tavira*, returning from *Guinea* to the *Tercera* iſlands, and having paſs'd the iſland of *Madera*, which he left eaſt of him, ſaw, or imagin'd he ſaw, an iſland which he certainly concluded to be land. Being come to the *Tercera* iſland, he told it to one *Luke de Cazzana*, a *Genoeſe* merchant, who was very rich, and his friend, perſuading him to fit out ſome veſſel to conquer that place; which he was very willing to do, and obtain'd licence for it of the king of *Portugal*. He writ therefore to his brother *Francis de Cazzana*, who reſided at *Sevil*, to fit out a ſhip with all ſpeed for the ſaid pilot. But the ſaid *Francis* making a jeſt of ſuch an undertaking, *Luke de Cazzana* ſet out a veſſel in the *Tercera* iſland, and the pilot went out three or four times to ſeek the ſaid iſland, ſailing from 120 to 130 leagues, but all in vain, for he found no land. Yet for all this, neither he nor his partner gave over the enterprize till death, always hoping to find it. And the brother aforeſaid, told me and affirm'd it, that he knew two ſons of the captain that diſcovered the *Tercera* iſland, their names *Michael* and *Jaſper Cotereal*, who went ſeveral times to diſcover that land, and at laſt in the year 1502, periſh'd in the attempt, one after another, without ever being heard of; and that this was well known to many.

CHAP. X.

Proving it to be falſe, that the Spaniards *had formerly the dominion of the* Indies, *as* Gonzalo de Oviedo *endeavours to make out in his hiſtory.*

IF all we have ſaid above, concerning ſo many imaginary iſlands and countries, appears to be a mere fable and folly, how much more reaſon have we to look upon that as a falſhood, which *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* conceits in his natural hiſtory of the *Indies*, looking upon his own imagination as a certain truth, and ſaying he has fully made out, that there was another diſcoverer of this navigation of the ocean, and that the *Spaniards* had the dominion of thoſe lands; alledging to make out his aſſertion, what *Ariſtotle* writes of the iſland *Atlantis*, and *Seboſus* of the *Heſperides*. This he affirms upon the judgment of ſome perſons, whoſe writings we have duly weigh'd and examin'd, and I would have omitted to talk on this ſubject, to avoid condemning ſome, and tiring the reader, had I not conſider'd, that ſome perſons, to leſſen the admiral's honour and reputation, make great account of ſuch notions. Beſides I thought I did not perform my duty fully, by ſetting down with all ſincerity the motives and inducements that inclin'd the admiral to undertake his unparallel'd enterprize, if I ſhould ſuffer ſuch a falſhood, which I know to be ſo, to paſs uncenſur'd. Therefore, the better to diſcover his miſtake, I will in the firſt place, ſet down what *Ariſtotle*, as related by one *F. Theophilus de Ferrariis*, ſays as to this point; which *F. Theophilus* among *Ariſtotle*'s problems collected by him, brings in a book call'd, *De admirandis in natura auditis*, a chapter with theſe following words: Beyond *Hercules*'s pillars, it is reported there was formerly found an iſland in the atlantick ſea, by certain *Carthaginian* merchants, which had never before been inhabited by any but brute beaſts. It was all wooded and covered with trees, had a great many navigable rivers, and abounded in all things nature uſually produces, though removed not many days ſail from the continent. It happened that ſome *Carthaginian* merchants coming to it, and finding it a good country, as well for the richneſs of the ſoil, as temperature of the air, they began to people it. But the ſenate of *Carthage* being offended at it, ſoon made a publick decree, That for the future, no perſon upon pain of death, ſhould go to that iſland, and they that went firſt were put to death; to the end that other nations ſhould not hear of it, and ſome more powerful people take poſſeſſion of it; by which means it might become an enemy to their liberty. Now I have faithfully quoted this authority, I will give the reaſons that induce me to ſay, That *Oviedo* has no juſt cauſe to affirm that this iſland was *Hiſpaniola* or *Cuba*, as he aſſerts. In the firſt place, becauſe *Gonzalo de Oviedo* not underſtanding

A miſtaken account of a Spaniſh *author diſproved.*

underſtanding *Latin*, he of neceſſity took ſuch interpretation of this place, as ſome body made him; who, by what we ſee did not well know how to tranſlate out of one language into another, ſince he alter'd and chang'd the *Latin* text in ſeveral particulars, which perhaps deceiv'd *Oviedo*, and inclin'd him to believe that this quotation ſpoke of ſome iſland in the *Indies*; becauſe we do not read in the *Latin* text, that theſe people went out of the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, as *Oviedo* writes; nor much leſs, that the iſland was large, nor its trees great, but that it was an iſland much wooded. Nor is it found there, that the rivers were wonderful; nor does it ſpeak of its fatneſs, or ſay it was more remote from *Africk* than *Europe*, but in plain terms, ſays, it was remote from the continent: Nor does it ſay any towns were built there, for traders who happened upon it could build but little: Nor is it ſaid to be famous, but that they were afraid its fame would ſpread abroad into other nations. So that the expoſitor who interpreted this place to him, being ſo ignorant, it cauſed *Oviedo* to imagine it to be another thing than really it was: and if he ſhould ſay, that it is otherwiſe in *Ariſtotle*'s text, and that what the friar writes, is as it were a compendium of what *Ariſtotle* writ; I muſt aſk him who gave him authority to beſtow ſo many kingdoms on whom he pleaſes, and to rob one of his honour, who has gain'd it ſo fairly; and tell him he ought not to have been ſatisfied with reading that authority as it lies in the friar's pamphlet, but ſhould have ſeen it in the original, that is, in *Ariſtotle*'s works. Beſides that he was miſinform'd in this caſe, for tho' *Theophilus* in all his other books following *Ariſtotle*, delivered the ſubſtance and ſumm of what he ſays; yet he did not ſo in his book *De admirandis*, he himſelf owning in the beginning, that he does not in that his book abridge *Ariſtotle*, as he has done in the others; but that he there inſerts all the text word for word; and therefore it cannot be ſaid there was either more or leſs in *Ariſtotle*, than what he ſet down. Add to this, That *Anthony Beccaria of Verona*, who tranſlated this book out of *Greek* into *Latin*; of which tranſlation *Theophilus* made uſe, did not render it ſo faithfully, but that he inſerted ſeveral matters differing from the *Greek* original, as will appear to any man that ſhall obſerve it.

Atlantis *neither* Hiſpaniola *nor* Cuba.

In the ſecond place I ſay, that tho' *Ariſtotle* had writ ſo, as *Theophilus* delivers it, yet *Ariſtotle* himſelf quotes no author, but ſpeaking as of a thing, for which there is no good authority, ſays, *Fertur*, which implies that what he delivers concerning this iſland, he writes as doubtful and ill grounded. Beſides, He writes of a thing not then new but which had happened long before; ſaying, It is reported, that formerly an iſland was found, and therefore it may well be ſaid according to the proverb, *That in great travells there are great lyes:* Which proverb is now verify'd; for in that narration there are circumſtances no way agreeable to reaſon, for as much as it ſays, That this iſland abounded in all things, but had never been inhabited, which is not conſonant, nor likely, for as much as fruitfulneſs in land proceeds from its being cultivated by the inhabitants; and where there are no inhabitants, the land is ſo far from producing any thing of it ſelf, that even thoſe things which art produces, grow wild and uſeleſs. Nor is it more likely, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould be diſpleaſed, becauſe their people had found ſuch an iſland, and ſhould put to death the diſcoverers; for if it was ſo remote from *Carthage* as the *Indies* are, it was a folly to fear that thoſe who ſhould come to inhabit there would conquer *Carthage*, unleſs, that as *Oviedo* affirms, the *Spaniards* poſſeſs'd thoſe iſlands before. He would farther aſſert, That the *Carthaginians* were prophets, and that now their jealouſie and propheſie were fulfill'd, the emperor taking *Tunis* or *Carthage*, with the money brought from the *Indies*, which I am ſatiſfied he would have ſaid, to gain more favour by telling ſuch news, than he did, but that his book was publiſh'd before. So that any judicious perſon may conceive it is a folly to ſay, that iſland was never more heard of, becauſe the *Carthaginians* quitted the dominion of it, for fear any other nation ſhould take it from them, and come afterwards to deſtroy their liberty; for they ought to have fear'd this much more from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*, that lay but two days ſail from their city, than from *Hiſpaniola*, between which and them, there lay one third of the world. And if it ſhould be objected that they apprehended the wealth of that country, might impower their enemies to do them harm; I anſwer, they had more cauſe to hope, that being themſelves maſters of thoſe riches, they might oppoſe and ſubdue whom they pleaſed, and that if they left that iſland unpeopled, they left it in the power of another to diſcover it; whence the ſame miſchief might follow, which they feared. And therefore they ought rather to fortify it and ſecure their trade to it, as we know they did another time upon the like occaſion; for having found the iſlands which they then call'd *Caſſiterides*, and now we call the *Azores*, they kept that voyage very private, becauſe of the tin they brought from thence; as *Strabo* tells us at

the latter end of the third book of his *cosmography*. Wherefore, granting it were true, what *Ariſtotle* had writ in this fable, it might be ſaid he meant it of the voyage to the iſlands *Azores*, which either for want of better underſtanding, and the great antiquity of the teſtimony, or through affection, which blinds men, *Oviedo* argues, ſhould be underſtood of the *Indies* we now poſſeſs, and not of the ſaid iſlands *Azores*, or any of them. If it ſhould be replied, that this cannot be, becauſe *Strabo* does not ſay they were the *Carthaginians* who were poſſeſſed of the iſlands *Azores*, but the *Phœnicians*: I anſwer, that the *Carthaginians* being come from *Phœnicia* with their queen *Dido*, therefore ſhe and they were called *Phœnicians* at that time, as the chriſtians born in the iſlands are now called *Spaniards*. And ſhould it be again urged, that the place of *Ariſtotle* which ſpeaks of this iſland, ſays, it had many navigable rivers, which are not to be found in the iſlands *Azores*, but in *Cuba* and *Hiſpaniola*. I anſwer, that if we will take notice of this particular, they add, that there were abundance of beaſts in them, which there are not in *Cuba* or *Hiſpaniola*; and it may well be, that in a thing of ſuch antiquity, there might be ſome miſtake in relating that particular, as often happens in many of theſe uncertain and ſo far diſtant antiquities. Obſerve that neither *Cuba* nor *Hiſpaniola* have any deep navigable rivers, as the place quoted intimates; and that any ſhips may enter the mouths of the biggeſt rivers of thoſe iſlands, but not conveniently ſail up them. Beſides that, as has been ſaid, how great ſoever *Ariſtotle*'s authority may be, the word might poſſibly be corrupted, and it might be writ *navigandum*, inſtead of *potandum*; which better agreed with what he treated of, commending it for plenty of drinking water, as well as fruitfulneſs in producing things to eat. This might well be verify'd of any one of the *Azores*, and with more reaſon, becauſe neither *Cuba* nor *Hiſpaniola* lie ſo, as that the *Carthaginians* could be carried to them either by reaſon of their nearneſs, or by any miſchance; for if thoſe who went purpoſely with the admiral to diſcover, thought the way ſo long, that they would have turned back, how much longer muſt it ſeem to them who deſigned no ſuch tedious voyage, and who, as ſoon as the time would permit, had turned back towards their countrey! Nor does any ſtorm laſt ſo long, as to carry a ſhip from *Cadiz* to *Hiſpaniola*; nor is it likely, that becauſe they were merchants, they ſhould have any mind to run farther from *Spain* or *Carthage*, than the wind obliged them, eſpecially at a time when navigation was not come to that perfection as now it is. For which reaſon very inconſiderable voyages were then look'd upon as great, as appears by what we read of *Jaſon*'s voyage to *Colchos*, and that of *Ulyſſes*, thro' the *Mediterranean*, in which ſo many years were ſpent; and therefore they were ſo famous, that the moſt excellent poets have given an account of them, becauſe of the little knowledge they had then of ſea-affairs, whereas it has been ſo approved of late in our age, that there have been thoſe who had the boldneſs to ſail round the world, which has contradicted the proverb that ſaid, *He that goes to cape* Nam, *will either return or not*; which cape is in *Africk*, not very much diſtant from the *Canaries*. Beſides, it is a notorious miſtake, to think the iſland, whither thoſe merchants were carried, could be either *Cuba* or *Hiſpaniola*; for it is well known, that with all the knowledge we have at this preſent, 'tis almoſt impoſſible to come at them, without meeting with any other iſlands that encompaſs them all round. But if we would ſay that land or iſland was none of the *Azores*, as has been ſaid above, one lye ought to be grafted upon another, by alledging that it was the ſame iſland of which *Seneca* in his fourth book, makes mention, where he tells us, that *Thucydides* ſpeaks of an iſland called *Atlantica*, which in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war was all, or moſtly drowned. Whereof *Plato* alſo makes mention in his *Timæus*. But becauſe we have diſcourſed too long concerning theſe fables, I will proceed to the next point, where it is ſaid, that the *Spaniards* had entirely the dominion of the ſaid iſlands; which opinion is grounded on what *Statius* and *Seboſus* ſay, that certain iſlands called *Heſperides*, lay forty days ſail weſt of the iſlands *Gorgones*. And hence it is argued, that ſince thoſe muſt of neceſſity be *Indies*, and are called *Heſperides*; that name came from *Heſperus*, who was king of *Spain*, who of conſequence, and the *Spaniards* were lords of that countrey. So that rightly conſidering his words, he endeavours from uncertain premiſes to deduce three infallible conſequences, contrary to *Seneca*'s rule, who in his ſixth book of Nature, ſpeaking of of ſuch like things, ſays it is hard to affirm any thing as ſure and certain upon grounds that are no other than conjectures, as here *Oviedo* does; foraſmuch as only *Seboſus* is ſaid to have made mention of thoſe iſlands *Heſperides*, declaring towards what part they lie, but not mentioning that they were the *Indies*, or of whom they took the name, or by whom conquered. And if *Oviedo* out of *Beroſus*, affirms that *Heſperus* was King of *Spain*; I grant it to be true, but not that he gave the name to *Spain*, or *Italy*.

Heſperides *none of the* Indies.

Italy. But he, like a true hiſtorian, owning that *Beroſus* fails him in this particular, took up with *Hyginus*, yet cautiouſly without mentioning in what book or chapter; and thus he conceals his authority; for in ſhort, no place is to be found where *Hyginus* ſpeaks of any ſuch matter; but on the contrary, in one only book of his that is extant, entitul'd, *De poetica aſtronomia*, he has not only no ſuch words; but in three ſeveral places where he ſpeaks of theſe *Heſperides*, he ſays thus; *Hercules* is painted as killing the dragon that guarded the *Heſperides*. And ſomewhat farther he ſays, that *Hercules* being ſent by *Euriſtheus* for the golden apples to the *Heſperides*, and not knowing the way thither, he went to *Prometheus* on mount *Caucaſus*, and entreated him to ſhew him the way, whence follow'd the death of the dragon. Now according to this we ſhall have other *Heſperides* in the eaſt, to whom alſo *Oviedo* may ſay, *Heſperus* king of *Spain* gave his name. *Hyginus* ſays farther, in the chapter of planets, that it appears by ſeveral hiſtories, that the planet *Venus* is called *Heſperus*, becauſe it ſets ſoon after the ſun. From all which we may infer, that if we ought to make uſe of any teſtimonies or quotations from perſons uſed to relate poetical fables, as *Hyginus* does, that very ſame which *Hyginus* ſays, rather makes againſt *Oviedo* than for him; and we may ſuppoſe and affirm, they were called *Heſperides* from a certain ſtar. And as the *Greeks* for the ſame reaſon call'd *Italy* *Heſperia*, as many write; ſo we may ſay, *Seboſus* called theſe iſlands *Heſperides*, and made uſe of the ſame conjectures, and ſome reaſons to ſhew whereabouts they lay, which we ſaid above, moved the admiral to believe for certain, that there were ſuch iſlands weſtward.

Thus we may conclude, that *Oviedo* did not only preſume to counterfeit authorities for what he ſaid, but that either through inadvertency, or to pleaſe him who told him theſe things (for it is certain he did not underſtand them himſelf) he maintain'd two contradictions, the diſagreement between which were ſufficient to diſcover his error. For if the *Carthaginians*, who, as he ſays, arrived at *Cuba* or *Hiſpaniola*, found that countrey inhabited by none but brute beaſts, how could it be true, that the *Spaniards* had been poſſeſſed of it long before, and that their king *Heſperus* gave it his name? Unleſs perhaps he will ſay, that ſome deluge unpeopled it; and that afterwards ſome other *Noah* reſtored it to that condition it was diſcovered in by the admiral. But becauſe I am quite tired with this diſpute, and methinks the reader is cloy'd with it, I will not dilate any more upon this point, but follow on our hiſtory.

CHAP. XI.

How the admiral was diſguſted by the king of Portugal *on account of the diſcovery he propoſed to him.*

Propoſals made to the king of Portugal.

THE admiral now concluding that his opinion was excellently well grounded, he reſolved to put it in practice, and to ſail the weſtern ocean in queſt of thoſe countries. But being ſenſible that ſuch an undertaking was only fit for a prince, who could go through with and maintain it; he reſolved to propoſe it to the king of *Portugal*, becauſe he liv'd under him. And though king *John* then reigning, gave ear to the admiral's propoſals, yet he ſeemed backward in embracing them, becauſe the great trouble and expence he was at upon account of the diſcovery and conqueſt of the weſtern coaſt of *Africk*, call'd *Guinea*, without any conſiderable ſucceſs as yet, or being as yet able to weather the cape of *Good Hope*, which name ſome ſay was given it inſtead of *Ageſingue*, its proper denomination, becauſe that was the fartheſt they hoped to extend their diſcoveries and conqueſts, or as others will have it, becauſe this cape gave them hopes of better countries and navigation. Be it as it will, the aforeſaid king had but little inclination to lay out more money upon diſcoveries; and if he gave any ear to the admiral, it was becauſe of the excellent reaſons he gave to prove his opinion, which ſo far prevailed upon him, that there remained only to grant the admiral thoſe terms he demanded. For the admiral being a man of a noble and generous ſpirit, would capitulate to his great benefit and honour, that he might leave behind him ſuch a reputation, and ſo conſiderable a family, as became his great actions and merits. For this reaſon the king by the advice of one doctor *Calzadilla*, of whom he made great account, reſolved to ſend a caraval privately, to attempt that which the admiral had propoſed to him; becauſe in caſe thoſe countries were ſo diſcovered,

covered, he thought himſelf not oblig'd to beſtow any great reward, which might be demanded on account of the diſcovery. Having thus ſpeedily equipp'd a caraval, and going out, it was to carry ſupplies to the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, he ſent it that way the admiral had propoſed to go. But thoſe he ſent wanted the knowledge, conſtancy, and ſpirit of the admiral. After wandring many days upon the ſea, they turned back to the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, laughing at the undertaking, and ſaying, it was impoſſible there ſhould be any land in thoſe ſeas. This being come to the admiral's ear, and his wife dead, he took ſuch an averſion to that city and nation, that he reſolved to go to *Caſtile*, with a little ſon he had left him by his wife, call'd *D. James Columbus*, who inherited his father's eſtate. But fearing leſt if the king of *Caſtile* ſhould not conſent to his undertaking, he might be forced to propoſe it to ſome other prince, which would take up much time, he ſent a brother he had with him, called *Bartholomew Columbus*, into *England*, who tho' he was no *Latin* ſcholar, was a ſkilful and judicious man in ſea affairs, and could make ſea charts, globes, and other inſtruments fit for that profeſſion, having been taught by the admiral his brother. *Bartholomew Columbus* being on his way for *England*, it was his fortune to fall into the hands of pyrates, who ſtripp'd him and the reſt of his company. For this reaſon, and being ſick and poor in that countrey, it was a long time before he could deliver his meſſage, till having got ſome ſupply by making ſea-charts, he began to make ſome propoſals to King *Henry* the VIIth, then reigning, to whom he preſented a map of the world, on which were theſe verſes, which I found among his papers, and ſhall be here inſerted, rather for their antiquity than elegancy.

King Henry VII. of England.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fæliciter oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens docte pictura docebit,
Quæ Strabo, affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius, atque
Iſidorus; non una tamen ſententia cuique.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper ſulcata carinis
Hiſpanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima multis.

Pro auctore, ſive pictore.

And a little lower.

Genoa cui patria eſt, nomen cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londiniis Ann. Dom. 1480. *atque inſuper anno.*
Octava Decimaque die cum tertia menſis
Febr. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abunde.

The ſenſe of the firſt lines is to this effect. Whoſoever thou art that deſireſt to know the coaſts of countries, muſt be taught by this draught, what *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Iſidorus* aſſert, tho' not agreeing in all points. Here is alſo ſet down, the formerly unknown torrid zone, now known to many. For the author or painter. The ſecond verſes implied, That his name was *Bartholomew Columbus* of the red earth, a *Genoeſe*, publiſhed this work at *London*, *Anno* 1480, the 21ſt of *February*. Praiſe to God.

And becauſe it may be obſerved, that he ſays, *Columbus of the red earth*; I muſt acquaint the reader, that I have ſeen ſome ſubſcriptions of the admiral's, before he had that title, where he writ *Columbus de terra rubra*. But to return to the king of *England*; I ſay, that he having ſeen the map, and what the admiral offer'd him, readily accepted of it, and ordered him to be ſent for. But God having reſerved it for *Caſtile*, the admiral had at that time gone his voyage, and was returned with ſucceſs, as ſhall be ſhewn in its place.

CHAP. XII.

The admiral's departure from Portugal, *and the conferences that he had with their catholick majeſties, king* Ferdinand, *and queen* Iſabel *or* Elizabeth.

The admiral goes into Spain.

I Will now forbear relating how *Bartholomew Columbus* proceeded in *England*, and will return to the admiral, who about the end of the year 1484, ſtole away privately out of *Portugal*, with his ſon *James*, for fear of being ſtopped by the king; for he being ſenſible how faulty they were, whom he had ſent with the caraval, had a mind to reſtore the admiral to his favour, and deſired he ſhould renew the diſcourſe of his enterprize; but not being ſo diligent to put this in execution, as the admiral was in getting away; he loſt that good opportunity, and the admiral got into *Caſtile* to try his fortune, which was there to favour him. Therefore leaving his ſon in a monaſtery at *Palos*,

Palos, called *la Rabida*, he preſently went away to the catholick king's court, which was then at *Cordova*; where being affable, and of pleaſant converſation, he contracted friendſhip with ſuch perſons as he found moſt inclinable to his undertaking, and fitteſt to perſuade the king to embrace it; among whom was *Lewis de Santangel* an *Arragonian* gentleman, clerk of the allowances in the king's houſhold, a man of great prudence and reputation. But becauſe the matter required to be handled with learning, rather than empty words and favour, their highneſſes committed it to the prior of *Prado*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Granada*, ordering him together with ſome coſmographers to take full information in this affair, and report their opinions therein. But there being few coſmographers at that time, thoſe that were called together were not ſo ſkilful as they ought to be; nor would the admiral ſo far explain himſelf as that he might be ſerved as he had been in *Portugal*, and be deprived of his reward. For this reaſon, the anſwer they gave their highneſſes was as various as were their judgments and opinions. For ſome ſaid, that ſince in ſo many thouſand years as had paſs'd ſince the creation, ſo many ſkilful ſailers had got no knowledge of ſuch countries; it was not likely that the admiral ſhould know more than all that were then, or had been before. Others, who inclin'd more to coſmographical reaſon, ſaid the world was ſo prodigious great, that it was incredible three years ſail would bring him to the end of the eaſt, whither he deſign'd his voyage; and to corroborate their opinion, they brought the authority of *Seneca*, who in one of his works, by way of argument, ſaid, that many wiſe men among them diſagreed about this queſtion, whether the ocean were infinite, and doubted whether it could be ſail'd, and tho' it were navigable, whether habitable lands would be found on the other ſide, and whether they could be gone to. They added, that of this lower globe of earth and water, only a ſmall compaſs was inhabited, which had remained in our hemiſphere above water, and that all the reſt was ſea, and not navigable, but only near the coaſts and rivers. And that wiſe men granted it was poſſible to ſail from the coaſt of *Spain* to the fartheſt part of the weſt. Others of them argued almoſt after the ſame manner as the *Portugueſe* had done about ſailing to *Guinea*, ſaying, That if any man ſhould ſail ſtreight away weſtward, as the admiral propoſed, he would not be able to return into *Spain*, becauſe of the roundneſs of the globe, looking upon it as moſt certain, that whoſoever ſhould go out of the hemiſphere known to *Ptolemy*, would go down, and then it would be impoſſible to return, affirming it would be like climbing a hill, which ſhips could not do with the ſtiffeſt gale. Tho' the admiral ſufficiently ſolv'd all theſe objections; yet the more powerful his reaſons were, the leſs they underſtood him thro' their ignorance; for when a man grows old upon ill principles in mathematicks, he cannot conceive the true, becauſe of the falſe notions at firſt imprinted in his mind. In ſhort, all of them holding to the *Spaniſh* Proverb, which, tho' it be contrary to reaſon, commonly ſays, *dubitat Auguſtinus*, St. *Auguſtin* queſtions it, becauſe the ſaid ſaint in his 21ſt book, and 9th chapter *Of the city of God*, denies and looks upon it as impoſſible that there ſhould be *Antipodes*, or any going out of one hemiſphere into the other; and further urging againſt the admiral thoſe fables that are current about the five zones, and other untruths, which they looked upon as moſt certainly true, they reſolved to give judgment againſt the enterprize, as vain and impracticable; and that it became not the ſtate and dignity of ſuch great princes, to be moved upon ſuch weak information. Therefore after much time ſpent upon this ſubject, their highneſſes anſwered the admiral, that they were then taken up with many other wars and conqueſts, and particularly the conqueſt of *Granada*, which they had then in hand, and therefore could not conveniently attend that new undertaking, but that in time there would be more conveniency to examine and execute that which he propoſed. And to conclude, their majeſties would not give ear to the great propoſals the admiral made.

Reaſons againſt his undertaking,

CHAP. XIII.

How the admiral not agreeing with the king of Caſtile, *reſolved to go elſewhere to offer his ſervice.*

The admiral meets with more diſappointments.

WHilſt this was in agitation, their catholick Majeſties had not been always ſettled in one place, becauſe of the war they made in *Granada*, for which reaſon it was a long time before they came to a reſolution and gave their anſwer. The admiral therefore went to *Sevil*, and finding their highneſſes no way reſolved more than at firſt; he concluded to give the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* an account of his project. But after many conferences, ſeeing there was no likelyhood of coming to ſuch concluſion as he wiſh'd for in *Spain*, and that the execution of his deſign was too much delay'd; he reſolved to apply himſelf to the King of *France*, to whom he had already writ concerning this affair, deſigning, if he were not admitted there, to go into *England*, next to ſeek out his brother, of whom he had as yet no manner of news. Being ſo reſolved to ſet out for the Monaſtery of *Rabida*, to ſend his ſon *James*, whom he had left there, to *Cordova*, and then proceed on his journey. But to the end what God had decreed, ſhould not be diſappointed, he put it into the heart of *F. John Perez*, guardian of that houſe, to contract ſuch friendſhip with the admiral, and be ſo taken with his project, that he was concern'd at his reſolution, and for the loſs *Spain* would ſuſtain by his departure. Therefore he intreated him by no means to put his deſign in execution, for that he would go to the queen, of whom he hoped, that he being her father confeſſor, ſhe would give credit to what he ſhould ſay to her. Tho' the admiral was quite out of hopes and diſguſted to ſee ſo little reſolution and judgment in their highneſſes councellors, yet, being on the other ſide very deſirous that *Spain* ſhould reap the benefit of his undertakings, he complied with the father's deſires and requeſt, becauſe he now look'd upon himſelf as a natural born *Spaniard*, becauſe he had ſo long reſided there: whilſt he was following his project, and becauſe he had got children there which was the cauſe he rejected the offers made him by other princes, as he declares in a letter he writ to their highneſſes in theſe words, *that I might ſerve your highneſſes, I have refuſed to take up with* France, England *and* Portugal, *the letters from which princes your highneſſes may ſee in the hands of doctor* Villalan.

CHAP. XIV.

How the admiral returned to the camp before Granada, *and took his leave of their catholick majeſties, having concluded nothing with them.*

The admiral's demands.

THE admiral departing from the monaſtery of *Rabida* near *Palos*, together with *F. John Perez*, to the camp of S. *Faith*, where their catholick majeſties then were to carry on the ſiege of *Granada*; the ſaid father further inform'd the queen, and preſs'd the buſineſs ſo home, that her majeſty was pleaſed the conferences about the diſcovery ſhould be renewed. But the opinions of the prior of *Prado* and others of his followers varying, and on the other ſide, *Columbus* demanding to be made admiral and vice-roy, beſides other matters of great conſequence; it was thought too much to grant him, becauſe if what he propos'd ſucceeded, they judg'd his demand too conſiderable, and in caſe it did not, they thought it a folly to give ſuch titles, which made the buſineſs come to nothing. I cannot forbear declaring that I make great account of the admiral's wiſdom, reſolution and foreſight, for he being ſo unfortunate in this affair, having ſo earneſt a deſire, as I have ſaid before, to remain in this kingdom, and being reduced to ſuch a condition, that he ought to take up with any thing; it was a greatneſs of ſpirit in him not to accept of any but great titles and honours, demanding ſuch things as if he had foreſeen and been moſt certainly aſſured of the ſucceſs of his project, he could not have articled better, or more honourably than he did, ſo that at laſt they were forced to grant, that he ſhould be admiral on the ocean, and enjoy all the allowances, privileges and prerogatives, that the admirals of *Caſtile* and *Leon* had in their ſeveral ſeas, and that all civil employ-

ments, as well of government as adminiſtration of juſtice, in all the iſlands and continent ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal, and that all government ſhould be given to one or three perſons he ſhould name; and that he ſhould appoint judges in all parts of *Spain* trading to the *Indies*, who ſhould decide all matters relating to thoſe parts. As for profit and revenue, he demanded, over and above the ſalary and perquiſites of the aforeſaid employments of admiral, vice-roy and governour, the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or got within the bounds of his admiralſhip, abating only the charge of the conqueſt; ſo that had there been 1000 ducats in an iſland, one hundred were to be his. And becauſe his adverſaries ſaid he ventured nothing in that undertaking, but had the command of a fleet as long as it laſted, he demanded the eight part of what he ſhould bring home in his fleet, and he would be at the eighth part of the expence. Theſe being matters of ſuch great conſequence and their highneſſes refuſing to grant them; the admiral took leave of his friends and went away towards *Cordova*, to take order for his journey into *France*, for he was reſolved not to return to *Portugal*, tho' the king had writ to him, as ſhall be ſaid.

CHAP. XV.

How their catholick majeſties ſent after the admiral, and granted him all he demanded.

Reaſons that prevail'd with the queen.

IT was now the month of *January*, in the year 1492, when the admiral departed from the camp of St. *Faith*, and that ſame day *Lewis de Santangel* before mentioned, who did not approve of his going away, but was very deſirous to prevent it; went to the queen, and uſing ſuch words as his inclination ſuggeſted to perſuade and reprove her at once, ſaid, he wondered to ſee that her highneſs, who had always a great ſoul for all matters of moment and conſequence, ſhould now want the heart to venture upon an undertaking, where ſo little was ventured, and which might redound ſo much to the glory of god and propagation of the faith, not without great benefit and honour to her kingdoms and dominions; and ſuch in ſhort, that if any other prince ſhould undertake it, as the admiral offered, the damage that would accrew to her crown was very viſible, and that then ſhe would with juſt cauſe be much blam'd by her friends and ſervants, and reproached by her enemies, and all people would ſay, ſhe had well deſerv'd that misfortune; and tho' ſhe herſelf ſhould never have cauſe to repent it, yet her ſucceſſors would certainly feel the ſmart of it. Therefore, ſince the matter ſeemed to be grounded upon reaſon, and the admiral who propoſed it was a man of ſenſe and wiſdom, and demanded no other reward but what he ſhou'd find, being willing to bear part of the charge, beſides venturing his own perſon; her highneſs ought not to look upon it as ſuch an impoſſibility as thoſe ſcholars made it, and that what they ſaid that it would be a reflexion on her if the enterpriſe did not ſucceed, as the admiral propoſed, was a folly, and he was of a quite contrary opinion, rather believing they would be look'd upon as generous and magnanimous princes, for attempting to diſcover the ſecrets and wonders of the world, as other monarchs had done, and it had redounded to their honour. But tho' the event were never ſo uncertain, yet a conſiderable ſum of money would be well employ'd in clearing ſuch a doubt. Beſides that, the admiral only demanded 2500 crowns to fit the fleet, and therefore ſhe ought not to deſpiſe that undertaking, that it might not be ſaid it was the fear of ſpending ſo ſmall a ſum that kept her back. The queen knowing the ſincerity of *Santangel*'s words, anſwered, thanking him for his good advice, and ſaying, ſhe was willing to admit of the propoſals, upon condition the execution were reſpited, till ſhe had a little breathing after the war. And yet if he were of another opinion, ſhe was content that as much money as was requiſite for fitting out the fleet ſhould be borrowed upon her jewels. But *Santangel* ſeeing the queen had upon his advice condeſcended to what ſhe had refuſed to all other perſons, replyed, there was no need of pawning her jewels, for he would do her highneſs that ſmall ſervice as to lend his money. Upon this reſolution the queen immediately ſent an officer poſt, to bring the admiral back, who found him upon the bridge of *Pinos*, two leagues from *Granada*; and tho' the admiral was much concerned at the difficulties and delays he had met with in his enterpriſe, yet underſtanding the queen's will and reſolution, he returned to the camp of St. *Faith*, where he was well entertained by their catholick

The admiral's demands granted.

lick majeſties, and his diſpatch and articles committed to the ſecretary *John Coloma*, who by their highneſſes command and under their hand and ſeal, granted him all the articles and clauſes we ſaid above, he had demanded, without altering or diminiſhing any thing in them.

CHAP. XVI.

How the admiral fitted out three caravals to go upon his diſcovery.

The admiral jets out.

THE aforeſaid articles being granted by their catholick majeſties, he ſet out from *Granada* on the 12th of *May*, this year 1492, for *Palos*, the port where he was to fit out his ſhips, that town being oblig'd to ſerve their highneſſes three months with two caravals, which they ordered ſhould be given to the admiral. Theſe and another ſhip be fitted out with all care and diligence. The ſhip he went in was call'd the *St. Mary*, another was *La Pinta*, whereof *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* was captain, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, brother to *Alonzo*, both of the town of *Palos*, of the 3d which was call'd *La Nina*, and had ſquare ſails. They being furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and 90 men, ſet ſail directly towards the *Canaries* on the 3d of *Auguſt*, and from that time forwards, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact journal of all that happened to him during the voyage, ſpecifying what wind blew, how far he ſail'd with every wind; what currents he found, and what he ſaw by the way, whether birds, or fiſhes, or other things; which he always did in four voyages he made from *Spain* to the *Indies*. I will not write all thoſe particulars; for tho' to give an account of his voyage, and to ſhew what impreſſions and effects anſwered the courſe and aſpects of the ſtars, and to relate what difference there is between that and our ſea and our countries, would be now very beneficial; yet I do not think all thoſe particulars would now be pleaſing to the reader, whom ſuch long and ſuperfluous relations muſt tire. Therefore I ſhall only diſcourſe of thoſe things I ſhall think neceſſary and convenient.

CHAP. XVII.

The admiral arriv'd at the Canary iſlands, *and there furniſh'd himſelf compleatly with all he wanted.*

The rudder of a caraval gives way.

THE next day after the admiral's departure for the *Canary* iſlands, being *Saturday* the 4th of *Auguſt*, the rudder of one of the caravals, call'd *La Pinta*, broke looſe, and being therefore forced to lie by, the admiral ſoon came by her ſide, but the weather blowing hard, could give no aſſiſtance; yet commanders at ſea are oblig'd ſo to do, to encourage thoſe that are in diſtreſs. This he did the more readily, as miſdoubting this had happened by the contrivance of the maſter, to avoid going the voyage, as he attempted to do before they ſet out. *Pinzon* the captain being an able ſeaman, ſoon repaired that fault with the help of ſome ropes, ſo that they were able to continue their voyage, till on *Tueſday* following, the weather being rough, the ropes broke, and they were forced again to lie by to mend what had given way. From which misfortune of breaking of the rudder twice, any body that had been ſuperſtitious, might have foreboded its future diſobedience to the admiral, when thro' the malice of *Pinzon*, it twice got away from him, as ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

To return to what we have in hand, they apply the beſt remedy they could for the preſent, that they might at leaſt reach the *Canary* iſlands, which all three ſhips diſcovered on *Thurſday* the 9th of *Auguſt* about break of day, but the wind being contrary, they could not come to an anchor at *Gran Canaria*, tho' very near it, that day nor the two following. Here the admiral left *Pinzon*, that going aſhore he might endeavour to get another ſhip; and he to the ſame purpoſe went away to the iſland *Gomera*, with the caraval call'd *La Mina*, that if they fail'd of a veſſel in one iſland, they might find it in the other. Thus he came to *Gomera* on the *Sunday* following, being the 12th of *Auguſt*, and ſent his boat aſhore, which return'd in the morning, with the news that there was never a veſſel in the iſland at that time, but that they hourly expected the lady *Beatrix de Bobadilla*, proprietreſs of that ſame iſland, who was then at *Gran Canaria*, an

The admiral at Gomera.

and had hired a veſſel of 40 tun, belonging to one *Gradenna* of *Sevile*, which being fit for the voyage he deſign'd, he might have taken. Therefore the admiral reſolved to expect him in that port, believing that if *Pinzon* had not been able to repair his own veſſel, he might himſelf have got another at *Gomera*. Having ſtay'd there the two following days, and the veſſel above mentioned not appearing, he ſent a man aboard a bark that was bound from *Gomera* to *Gran Canaria*, to acquaint *Pinzon* where he lay, and aſſiſt him in fixing his rudder, writing to him that he did not go himſelf to aſſiſt him, becauſe that veſſel could not ſail. But it being long after the departure of that bark, before the admiral received any anſwer; he reſolved on the 23d of *Auguſt* to return with his two veſſels to *Gran Canaria*, and ſailing the next day, met in the way the aforementioned bark, which was not yet arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, by reaſon of the contrary winds. Having taken out the man he had ſent aboard the bark, that night he ſail'd cloſe by *Tenerife*, where they ſaw flames guſh out of the high rock commonly call'd the *Peake*, or rather *El Pico*, which his men admiring at, he told them the occaſion of that fire, proving what he ſaid by the example of mount *Etna* in *Sicily*, and of many others like it. Leaving that iſland they arrived at *Gran Canaria* upon *Saturday* the 25th, whither *Pinzon* with much difficulty was got in but the day before. By him he was inform'd that the lady *Beatrix* was ſail'd the *Monday* before, with that veſſel he took ſuch pains to get, and the others being much troubled at it, he made the beſt of whatever happen'd; affirming, that ſince it did not pleaſe God he ſhould meet with that veſſel, it was perhaps becauſe in finding it, he would at the ſame time have met with ſome obſtacle or oppoſition in preſſing of it, and have loſt time in ſhipping and unſhipping the goods, which would be a hindrance to his voyage: for this reaſon, fearing if he returned to ſeek it at *Gomera*, he might miſs of it by the way; he reſolved to repair his caraval the beſt he could at *Gran Canaria*, making a new rudder, ſhe having loſt hers, and to change the ſails of the other caraval call'd *La Nina*, which were ſquare, to round, that ſhe might follow the other ſhips with leſs danger and agitation.

At Gran Canaria.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the admiral ſet ſail from the iſland of Grand Canaria *upon his diſcovery and what happened to him on the ocean.*

WHEN the ſhips were refitted and in order to ſail on *Friday*, (this by what follows ought to be *Saturday*) the firſt of *September*; in the afternoon the admiral weighed anchor, and departed from *Gran Canaria*, arriving the next day at *Gormra*, where four days more were ſpent in laying in proviſions, wood and water; ſo that next *Thurſday* in the morning which was on the 6th of *September* 1482, which may be accounted the firſt ſetting out upon the voyage on the ocean, the admiral departed from *Gomera*, and ſtood away to the weſtward, but made but little way by reaſon of the calm. On *Sunday* about day, he found himſelf nine leagues weſt of the iſland *Ferro*, where they loſt ſight of land, and many fearing it would be long before they ſhould ſee it again, ſigh'd and wept, but the admiral after comforting them all with great promiſes of lands, and wealth to raiſe their hopes, and leſſen the fear they had conceived of the length of the way, tho' they ſail'd 18 leagues that day, he pretended by his computation it was but 15, reſolving all the voyage to keep ſhort in his reckoning, that his men might not think themſelves ſo far from *Spain* as they were, if he ſhould truly ſet down the way he made, which yet he privately mark'd down. Continuing thus his voyage, on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *September*, about ſun-ſetting, being about 150 leagues weſt of the iſland *Ferro*, he diſcovered a large body of the maſt of a tree of 120 tun, which ſeem'd to have been a long time upon the water. There and ſomewhat further the current ſet ſtrong towards the north eaſt, but when he had run 50 leagues farther weſtward, on the 13th of *September*, he found that at night fall, the needle vary'd half a point towards the north-eaſt, and at break of day, half a point more, by which he underſtood that the needle did not point at the north ſtar, but at ſome other fix'd and viſible point. This variation no man had obſerv'd before, and therefore he had occaſion to be ſurpriz'd at it, but he was more amaz'd the 3d day after, when he was almoſt 100 leagues further; for at night the needles vary'd about a point to the north eaſt, and in the morning they pointed upon the ſtar. On *Saturday*

The admiral ſails weſtward.

day the 15th of *September*, being almoſt 300 leagues weſt of *Ferro*; at night they ſaw a wonderful flaſh of light fall from the ſky, into the ſea, about four or five leagues diſtance from the ſhips towards the ſouth-weſt, tho' the weather was then fair, like *April*, the wind favourable at north eaſt, the ſea ſtill, and the current ſetting north-eaſt. The men aboard the caraval call'd *la Ninna*, told the admiral, they had the *Friday* before ſeen a heron and another ſort of bird, which the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, which they were amaz'd at, thoſe being the firſt birds they had ſeen: but they were more ſurpriſed the next day, which was *Sunday*, at the great abundance of weeds between green and yellow, that appeared upon the water, which ſeem'd to be newly waſh'd away from ſome iſland or rock. They ſaw enough of theſe weeds the next day, which made many affirm they were already near land, eſpecially becauſe they ſaw a ſmall lobſter alive among thoſe weeds, which they ſaid ſomewhat reſembled the herb *Star-wort*, but that the ſtalk and branches were long, and it was all full of ſmall ſeeds. Afterwards they obſerved that the ſea-water was but half as ſalt as before: beſides, that night abundance of *Tunny* fiſhes follow'd them, running along, and ſticking ſo cloſe to them, that thoſe aboard the caraval *Ninna*, kill'd one with a bearded iron. Being now 360 leagues weſt of *Ferro*, they ſaw another of thoſe birds the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, becauſe of a long feather their tail conſiſts of, and in *Spaniſh*, *Rabo* ſignifies a tail, as *Junco* is a ruſh, ſo that *Rabo de Junco* imports ruſh tail. On *Tueſday* following, being the 18th of *September*, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who was gone a-head with the caraval call'd *Pinta*, which was an excellent ſailor, lay by for the admiral,, and told him he had ſeen a great number of birds fly away weſtward, for which reaſon he hop'd to find land that night, and he thought he ſaw the land to the northward, 15 leagues diſtant; that day about ſun-ſetting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the admiral knowing for certain it was no land, he would not loſe time to diſcover it, as all his men would have had him; for-aſmuch as he was not yet come to the place where he expected by his computation to find land, therefore they took in their top-ſails at night, becauſe the wind freſhned, having for eleven days never abated one handful of ſail, going ſtill before the wind weſtward.

He ſees birds and ſea-weeds.

CHAP. XIX.

How all the men carefully obſerved what ſigns they diſcovered, being eager to diſcover land.

ALL the men aboard the ſhips being unacquainted with that voyage, and fearfull of the danger, becauſe far from any relief, there were ſome that began to mutter, and ſeeing nothing but ſky and water, carefully obſerved every thing that appear'd, at greater diſtance from land, than any had been before. For which reaſon I will relate all they made any account of, and this only in the firſt voyage; for I ſhall not mention leſſer tokens generally ſeen upon ſuch occaſions. On the 19th of *September*, in the morning, a fowl call'd *Alcatraz*, which is a ſort of ſea gull, flew over the admiral's ſhip, and others in the afternoon, which made him conceive hope of land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon theſe hopes, as ſoon as the wind abated, they ſounded with 200 fathom of line; and tho' they found no bottom, they perceived the current now ſet ſouth-weſt. On *Thurſday* the 22d, two hours before noon, two *Alcatrazes* came to the ſhip, and another ſome time after; beſides, they took a bird like a heron, but that it was black, and had a white tuft on the head, the feet like a duck, as commonly water-fowls have; they alſo caught a little fiſh, and ſaw abundance of weeds; and about evening there came aboard three land-fowls ſinging, but at break of day they flew away, which was ſome comfort to them, conſidering that the other fowls being large, and uſed to the water, might better go far from land, but that theſe little ones could not come from any far diſtant countrey. Three hours after they ſaw another *Alcatraz*, that came from the W. N. W. and the next day after noon, they ſaw another *Rabo de Junco* and an *Alcatraz*, and there appear'd more weeds than before, towards the north, as far as they could ſee; which things ſometimes were a comfort to them, believing they might come from ſome near land, and ſometimes they cauſed dread, becauſe they were ſo thick, that in ſome meaſure they ſtaid the ſhips, and fear making things worſe than they are, they apprehended that might befal them, which is fabulouſly reported of St. *Amaro* in the frozen ſea, who is ſaid not to ſuffer ſhips to ſtir backwards or forwards, and therefore they ſteer-

More birds and other tokens.

ed away from thoſe ſhoals of weeds, as much as they could. But to return to the tokens. The next day they ſaw a whale, and on *Saturday* following, being the 22d of *September*, ſome ſmall birds; and the wind thoſe days blew at ſouth-weſt, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs weſt, which tho' contrary to their voyage, the admiral ſaid he look'd upon as very good, and a help to them, becauſe the men continually muttering, among other things that increaſed their fear, ſaid this was one, That ſince the wind was always right a ſtern, they ſhould never in thoſe ſeas have a gale to carry them back; and tho' ſometimes they found the contrary, they alledg'd that it was no ſettled wind, and that not being ſtrong enough to ſwell the ſea, it would never carry them back ſo far as they had to ſail. Whatſoever the admiral could ſay, telling them that the reaſon was, the lands being now near, which did not ſuffer the waves to riſe, and uſing the beſt argument he could, yet he affirms he ſtood in need of God's particular aſſiſtance, as *Moſes* did when he led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, who forbore laying violent hands upon him, becauſe of the prodigies God wrought by his means. So ſaid the admiral, it happened to him in that voyage; for upon *Sunday* following, the wind ſtarted up at W. N. W. with a rowling ſea, as the men wiſh'd, and three hours before noon, they ſaw a turtle fly over the ſhip, and about evening an *Alcatraz*, a river fowl, and other white birds, and ſome crabs among the weeds; and the next day they ſpy'd another *Alcatraz*, and ſeveral ſmall birds that came from the weſt, and ſmall fiſhes, whereof the men of the other veſſels ſtuck ſome with harping irons, becauſe they would not bite at the hook.

Muttering among the ſeamen.

CHAP. XX.

How the men mutiny'd to turn back, and ſeeing other ſigns and tokens of land, went on well enough ſatisfied.

The men mutiny.

THE more the aforeſaid tokens were found vain, the more they took occaſion to apprehend and mutter; caballing together, and ſaying, the admiral out of a fooliſh fancy of his own, had deſigned to make himſelf a great lord at the expence of their lives and danger; and ſince they had done their duty in trying their fortune, and had gone farther from land and any ſuccour than any others had done, they ought not to deſtroy themſelves, nor proceed in that voyage, ſince if they did, they ſhould have cauſe to repent; for proviſions would fall ſhort, and the ſhips fail, which they knew were already ſo faulty, that it would be hard to get back ſo far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for ſo doing, but they would rather be look'd upon as very brave men, for going upon ſuch a deſign, and venturing ſo far; and that the admiral being a foreigner, and having no favour at court, and ſo many wiſe and learned men having condemn'd his opinion, there would be no body now to favour and defend him, and they ſhould ſooner find credit if they accuſed him of ignorance and miſmanagement, than he whatſoever he could ſay for himſelf. Nor did there want ſome who ſaid, that to end all diſpute, in caſe he would not acquieſce to them, they might make ſhort, and throw him overboard, and give out, that as he was making his obſervations he dropped into the ſea, and no man would go about to enquire into the truth of it, which was the readieſt way for them to return home and ſecure themſelves. Thus they went on from day to day, muttering, complaining and conſulting together: nor was the admiral without apprehenſions of their inconſtancy, and ill intentions towards him. Therefore ſometimes with good words, and ſometimes with a full reſolution to expoſe his life; putting them in mind of the puniſhment due to them if they obſtructed the voyage, he in ſome meaſure quell'd their apprehenſions, and ſuppreſs'd their ill deſigns. To confirm the hope he gave them, he put them in mind of the aforeſaid ſigns and tokens, aſſuring them they would ſoon find land; which ſigns they were ſo attentive to, that they thought every hour a year till they ſaw land. On *Tueſday* the 25th of *September*, about ſun-ſetting, as the admiral was diſcourſing with *Pinzon*, whoſe ſhip was very near, the ſaid *Pinzon* on a ſudden cry'd out, land, land, ſir! Let not my good news miſcarry: And ſhew'd him towards the ſouth-weſt, a bulk which look'd very like an iſland, about 25 leagues from the ſhips. This was ſo pleaſing to the men, that they returned thanks to God; and the admiral who had given no credit to theſe words, to pleaſe the men and that they ſhould not obſtruct his voyage, ſtood that way a great part of the night. Next morning they perceived that what they had ſeen were only clouds, which often look like land, for which reaſon, to the great diſſatisfaction of moſt of the ſailers, they turn'd the ſterns of their ſhips weſtward, as they had always done, except when the wind hindred. Continuing

ſtill attentive to the ſigns; they ſaw an *Alcatraz*, a *Rabo de Junco*, and other birds like thoſe above mentioned. On *Thurſday* the 27th of *September* in the morning, they ſaw another *Alcatraz* coming from the weſt, and ſailing eaſtward, and abundance of fiſhes with gilt backs appeared, whereof they ſtruck one with a harping-iron. A *Rabo de Junco* flew by them, and they founds that the currents, for thoſe laſt days, were not ſo regularly fixt, as they uſed to be before, but turned with the tide, and there were not ſo many weeds as before. On *Friday* following, all the ſhips took ſome fiſhes with gilt backs, and on *Saturday* they ſaw a *Rabo de Junco*, which tho' it be a ſea-fowl does not reſt on it, but flies always in the air, purſuing the *Alcatrazes*, till it makes them drop their excrement for fear, which it catches in the air for its nouriſhment, and thus it maintains its ſelf on the ſea, and it is reported there are many of them about the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after they ſaw two other *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of flying fiſhes, which are about a ſpan long, and have two little wings like a bat; they fly about a pike high from the water, and a muſket-ſhot in length, more or leſs, and ſometimes they drop upon the ſhips. Afternoon they ſaw abundance of weeds lying in length north and ſouth, as they had done before, beſides three *Alcatrazes* and a *Rabo de Junco* that purſued them.

On *Sunday* morning four *Rabo de Juncoes* came to the ſhip, by reaſon of whoſe coming ſo together, it was thought the land was nearer, eſpecially becauſe ſoon after there flew by four *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of weeds were ſeen in a line lying W. N. W. and E. S. E. and alſo a great number of thoſe fiſhes they call *Emperadores*, which have a very hard ſkin, and are not fit to eat. How much ſoever the admiral regarded theſe tokens, yet he never forgot thoſe in the heaven, and the courſe of the ſtars. He therefore obſerved in this place, to his great admiration, that the *Charles Wain* at night appeared in the weſt point, and in the morning they were directly N. E. by which he gathered, that their whole nights courſe was but three lines or nine hours, that is, ſo many parts of twenty four, and this he made out every night. He alſo perceived, that at night fall the compaſs varied a whole point to the north-weſt, and at break of day it came right with the ſtar. Theſe things confounded the pilots, till he told them the cauſe of it was the compaſs the ſtar took about the pole, which was ſome ſatisfaction to them; for this variation made them apprehend ſome danger in ſuch an unknown diſtance from home, and ſuch ſtrange regions.

CHAP. XXI.

How they ſaw not only the aforementioned ſigns and tokens, but others better than they, which were ſome comfort to the men.

They diſagree in their computations.

ON *Monday* the 1ſt of *October*, after ſun-riſing, an *Alcatraz*, came to the ſhip, and two more about ten in the morning, and long ſtreams of weeds lay from eaſt to weſt. That day in the morning the pilot of the admiral's ſhip ſaid, they were 578 leagues weſt of the iſland *Ferro*, the admiral ſaid by his account, they were 584 leagues, but in private he concluded it was 707, which is 129 leagues more than the pilot reckon'd. The other two ſhips differed very much in their computation, for the pilot of the caraval *Ninna* on *Wedneſday* following afternoon ſaid, they had ſail'd 540 leagues, and the other of the caraval *Pinta* ſaid 634. Adding all they had ſail'd during thoſe three days, they were ſtill much ſhort of truth, for they went always before the wind, and had run much more. But the admiral, as has been ſaid, wink'd at this groſs miſtake, that the men might not be quite dejected, being ſo far from home. The next day, being the 2d of *October*, they ſaw abundance of fiſh, catch'd a ſmall tunny, and ſaw a white bird, and many other ſmall ones, and the weeds they ſaw were withered and almoſt fallen to powder. The next day after, ſeeing no birds, but ſome fiſh, they miſtruſted they had left ſome iſlands on both hands, and were ſlip'd between without diſcovering them; gueſſing that thoſe many birds they had ſeen were paſſing from one iſland to another. They were very earneſt to ſteer either one way or the other, to ſeek out thoſe lands they imagined; but the admiral would not conſent, being unwilling to loſe the fair wind that carry'd him away to weſtward, which he accounted his ſureſt courſe; and beſides, becauſe he thought it was a leſſening the reputation of his undertaking, to run from one place to another, ſeeking that which he always affirmed he well knew where to find. For this reaſon the men were ready to mutiny, continuing to mutter and conſpire againſt him; but it pleaſed God, as

was

was ſaid above, to aſſiſt him by the means of freſh tokens; for on *Thurſday* the 4th of *October*, afternoon, above forty ſparrows together and two *Alcatrazes* flew ſo near the ſhips, that a ſeaman killed one of them with a ſtone; and before this they had ſeen another bird like a *Rabo de Junco*, and another like a ſwallow, and a great many flying fiſhes fell into the ſhips. Next day there came a *Rabo de Junco*, and an *Alcatraz*, from the weſtward, and abundance of ſparrows were ſeen. On *Sunday* the 7th of *October*, about ſun-riſing, ſome ſigns of land appeared weſtward, but being imperfect, no man would ſpeak of it, not ſo much for the ſhame that would follow of aſſerting what was not, as for fear of loſing 30 crowns a year, their catholick majeſties had promiſed for life, to him that ſhould firſt diſcover land; and to prevent their crying land, land at every turn, as they might do without cauſe at every turn, out of covetouſneſs of that allowance, it was ordered, that whoſoever ſaid he ſaw land, if it were not made out in three days after, ſhould loſe the reward, though afterwards he ſhould prove the firſt diſcoverer. All aboard the admiral being thus forewarned, none of them durſt cry out land; but thoſe in the caraval *Ninna*, which was a better ſailer, and kept a head, believing it to be certainly land, fired a gun, and put out their colours in token of land. But the farther they ſailed, the more their joys vaniſhed, till that appearance quite vaniſhed, tho' it pleaſed God ſoon after to give them ſome manner of comfort, for they ſaw great flights of great fowl, and others of ſmall land birds, flying from the weſt towards the ſouth-weſt. Therefore the admiral being now ſo far from *Spain*, and ſure that ſuch ſmall birds would not go far from land; he alter'd his courſe, which till then was weſt, and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, ſaying, that if he changed his road, it was, becauſe he deviated but little from his firſt deſign, and becauſe he would follow the example of the *Portugueſe*, who had diſcovered moſt of their iſlands by means of ſuch birds, and the more becauſe thoſe they ſaw followed almoſt the ſame way; he had always propoſed to himſelf to find land, according to the place they were then in; ſince as they well knew he had often told them, he never expected to find land till he was 750 leagues to the weſtward of the *Canaries*; within which diſtance he had farther ſaid, he ſhould diſcover *Hiſpaniola*, which he then call'd *Cipango*, and there is no doubt but he had found it, had not he known it was reported to lie in length from north to ſouth: For which reaſon he had not inclined more to the ſouth to run upon it, and therefore that and others of the *Caribbea* iſlands lay now on his larboard-ſide, ſouth of him, whither thoſe birds were directing their courſe. Being ſo near to land was the reaſon they continually ſaw ſuch abundance of birds; and on *Monday* the 8th of *October*, there came to the ſhip twelve ſinging-birds of ſeveral colours, and after flying a turn about the ſhip, they held on their way. They alſo ſaw from the ſhips, many other birds flying towards the ſouth-weſt; and that ſame night abundance of large fowls were ſeen, and flights of ſmall birds coming from the northward, and flying after the reſt. Beſides, they ſaw a good number of tunny fiſh. In the morning they ſpy'd a jay, an *Alcatraz*, ducks and ſmall birds, flying the ſame way the others had done; and they perceived the air to be freſh and odoriferous, as it is at *Sevil* in *April*. But they were now ſo eager to ſee land, that they had faith in no ſigns whatſoever; ſo that tho' on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *October*, they ſaw abundance of birds paſs by both day and night, yet the men did not ceaſe to complain, nor the admiral to blame their want of courage; declaring to them, that right or wrong they muſt go on in diſcovering the *Indies*, their catholick majeſties had ſent them to.

The admiral alters his courſe.

CHAP. XXII.

How the admiral diſcovered the firſt land, which was an iſland called De Los Lucayos.

THE admiral being no longer able to withſtand ſo many as oppoſed him, it pleaſed God that on *Thurſday* the 11th of *October*, afternoon, the men took heart and rejoyced, having manifeſt tokens that they were near land, which were that thoſe aboard the admiral, ſaw a greeen ruſh ſwim by the ſhip, and then a great green fiſh of that ſort, that goes not far from the rocks. Thoſe aboard the caraval *Pinta* ſaw a cane and a ſtaff, and took up another ſtaff curiouſly wrought, and a ſmall board, and abundance of weeds freſh waſh'd away from the banks. Thoſe in the caraval *Ninna* ſaw other ſuch like tokens, and a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which ſeem'd to be newly broke off. By theſe tokens, and reaſon it ſelf, the admiral being aſ-

Other Tokens.

ſured he was near land; at night, after prayers, he made a ſpeech to all the men in general, putting them in mind how great a mercy it was that God had brought them ſo long a voyage, with ſuch fair weather, and comforting them with tokens, which every day were plainer and plainer; therefore he pray'd them to be very watchful that night, ſince they well knew that in the firſt article of the inſtructions he gave each ſhip at the *Canary* iſlands, he ordain'd that when they had ſail'd 700 leagues to the weſtward, without diſcovering land, they ſhould lie by from midnight till day. Therefore, ſince they had not yet obtained their deſires in diſcovering land, they ſhould at leaſt expreſs their zeal in being watchful. And foraſmuch, as he had moſt aſſured hopes of finding land that night, every one ſhould watch in his place; for beſides the gratuity their highneſſes had promiſed of 30 crowns a year for life, to him that firſt ſaw land, he would give him a velvet doublet. After this, about ten at night, as the admiral was in the great cabin, he ſaw a light aſhore, but ſaid it was ſo blind, he could not affirm it to be land; tho' he called one *Peter Gutierres*, and bid him obſerve whether he ſaw the ſaid light, who ſaid he did; but preſently they called one *Roderick Sanchez* of *Segovia*, to look that way, but he could not ſee it, becauſe he came not up time enough where it might be ſeen; nor did they ſee it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a candle or torch belonging to ſome fiſherman or traveller, who lifted it up, and let it fall down; or perhaps that they were people going from one houſe to another, becauſe it vaniſh'd and ſuddenly appeared again, ſo that few would gueſs but that they were near land. Being now very much upon their guard, they ſtill held on their courſe, till about two in the morning the caraval *Pinta*, which being an excellent ſailer, was far a-head, gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailer, whoſe name was *Roderick de Triana*, being two leagues from ſhore. But the thirty crowns a year was not granted by their catholick majeſties to him, but to the admiral, who had ſeen the light in the midſt of darkneſs, ſignifying the ſpiritual light he was then ſpreading in thoſe dark regions. Being now near land, all the ſhips lay by, thinking it a long time till morning, that they might ſee what they had ſo long deſired.

Land diſcover'd.

CHAP. XXIII.

How the admiral went aſhore, and took poſſeſſion for their catholick Majeſties.

St. Salvador *the firſt iſland diſcovered.*

DAY appearing, they perceived it was an iſland fifteen leagues in length, plain, without hills and full of green trees, and delicious waters, with a great lake in the middle, inhabited by abundance of people, who ran down to the ſhore, aſtoniſhed and admiring at the ſight of the ſhips, believing them to be ſome living creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the chriſtians leſs haſty to know them, whoſe curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied, for they ſoon came to an anchor; the admiral went aſhore with his boat well armed, and the royal ſtandard diſplay'd, as did the captains of the other two ſhips in their boats, with their particular colours of this enterprize, which were a green croſs with an F on the one ſide, and on the other the names of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* crown'd. Having given thanks to God, kneeling on the ſhore, and kiſs'd the ground with tears of joy, for the great mercy received, the admiral ſtood up, and called that iſland *St. Salvador*. After that he took poſſeſſion for their catholick majeſties, in the uſual words, and with the ſolemnity proper in thoſe caſes; abundance of the natives that were come out, being preſent, and conſequently the chriſtians admitted him as admiral and viceroy, and ſwore to obey him as repreſenting their highneſſes perſons, and with ſuch expreſſions of joy, as became their mighty ſucceſs, all of them begging his pardon for all the affronts they had done him thro' their fear and irreſolution. Abundance of the *Indians* being come down to this rejoycing, and the admiral perceiving they were peaceable, quiet and very ſimple people, he gave them ſome red caps, and ſtrings of glaſs beads, which they hung about their necks, and other things of ſmall value, which they valued as if they had been ſtone of high price.

CHAP. XXIV.

The manners and cuſtoms of thoſe people, and what the admiral ſaw in that iſland.

Deſcription of the Iſlanders.

THE admiral being gone off to his boats, the *Indians* follow'd him to them and to the ſhips ſwimming, and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, bottoms of ſpun cotton, javelins, and other ſuch trifles to barter for glaſs-beads, bells, and other things of ſmall value. Like people in their original ſimplicity, they went naked as they were born, and a woman that was among them had no other cloathing. Moſt of them were young, not above thirty years of age; of a good ſtature, their hair lank, thick, very black and ſhort, being cut above their ears, except ſome few who had let it grow down to their ſhoulders, and had ty'd it with a ſtrong thread about their head like womens treſſes. Their countenances were pleaſant, and their features good, but their too high foreheads made them look ſomewhat wild. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, plump, but of an olive colour, like the people of the *Canaries* or peaſants that are ſun-burn'd. Some were painted with black, ſome with white and others with red; ſome only the faces, others the whole body, and others nothing but the eyes and noſe. They had no weapons like our men, nor knowledge of them; for when the chriſtians ſhew'd them a naked ſword, they took it ſimply by the edge. Nor had they any knowledge of iron, and therefore they made their javelins we mentioned, of wands, with the points hardened at the fire, arming them with a fiſh bone inſtead of iron. Some of them having ſcars of wounds about them, and being aſk'd by ſigns how they came by them, they anſwered by ſigns, that people came from other iſlands to take them away, and they received thoſe wounds in their own defence. They ſeem'd ingenious and of a voluble tongue, for they eaſily repeated the words they once heard. There were no ſort of creatures there but parrots, which they carried to barter among the other things we have ſpoke of, and in this trade they continued till night. Next day being the 13th of *October* in the morning, many of them came down to the ſhore, and went aboard in their

Canoes.

boats called canoes, which were made of one piece, being the body of a tree hollow'd like a tray. The biggeſt of them were ſo large, they contained 40 or 45 men, and ſo leſs and leſs, till ſome would hold but one. They row'd with a paddle like a baker's peal, or thoſe they uſe in dreſſing hemp; true it is, that the oars are not fixed on the ſide with pins to turn as ours are, but they dip them in the water, and pull back as if they were digging. Theſe canoes are ſo light and ſo artificially built, that if they overſet they ſoon turn them right again ſwimming, and empty the water by throwing the veſſel from ſide to ſide like a weaver's ſhuttle; and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dry'd calabaſhes cut in two, which they carry for that purpoſe. That day they brought ſuch things to barter for as they had the day before, giving all they had for any ſmall things they could get. Jewels or any ſort of metal were not ſeen among them, except ſome ſmall plates of gold which hung at their noſtrils, and being aſked whence they had that gold, they anſwered by ſigns, towards the ſouth, where there was a king who had abundance of pieces and veſſels of gold, expreſſing that towards the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, there were many other iſlands and large countries. Being very covetous of any thing of ours, and being themſelves but poor, and having nothing to give in exchange, as ſoon as they came aboard, if they could lay their hands on any thing, tho' it were but a piece of a broken earthen glazed diſh or porringer, they leaped into the ſea, and ſwam aſhore; and if they brought any thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling thing of ours, or bit of broken glaſs, ſo that ſome of them gave 16 bottoms of cotton for three ſmall pieces of *Portugueſe* braſs coin not worth a farthing; theſe bottoms weighed 25 pounds, and the cotton was very well ſpun. Thus they ſpent the day, and at night they all went aſhore. It is to be obſerved, that their liberality in dealing did not proceed from the great value they put upon thoſe things themſelves, which they had of our men, but becauſe they valued them as being ours, looking upon it as moſt certain that our men were come down from heaven, and therefore they earneſtly deſired to have ſomething left them as a memorial.

CHAP. XXV.

How the admiral departed from that iſland, and went to diſcover others.

NEXT *Sunday*, being the 15th of *October*, the admiral run along the coaſt of the iſland, towards the north-weſt, in his boats, to diſcover ſomething about it; and that way he went, he found a large bay or harbour, capable of containing all the ſhips in chriſtendom. The people ſeeing him ſcour along, ran after, along the ſhoar, crying out, and promiſing to give him proviſions, calling others to come to ſee the people drop'd from heaven upon earth, and lifted up their hands to heaven, as it were giving thanks for their coming. Many of them ſwimming, or in their canoes, as beſt they could, came to the boats, aſking by ſigns, whether they were come down from heaven, and praying them to land and reſt themſelves. The admiral gave them all glaſs beads, pins, and other trifles, rejoycing at their great ſimplicity, till he came to a *Peninſula*, which made a good port, and where a good fort might be made. There he ſaw ſix houſes of the *Indians* with gardens about them, as pleaſant as they are in *Caſtile* in *May*. But his men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the land he looked for, nor ſo beneficial, as that he ſhould make any longer ſtay there, he took ſeven of thoſe *Indians* to ſerve him as interpreters; and returning to his ſhips, ſailed for other iſlands that could be diſcovered from the *Peninſula*, and appeared to be plain, green and very populous, as the *Indians* themſelves affirm'd. The next day being *Monday*, the 16th of *October*, he came to one that was ſeven leagues from the other, and called it St. *Mary of the Conception*. That ſide of this iſland next St. *Salvador* extended north-weſt five leagues in length, but the admiral went to that ſide which lies eaſt and weſt, and is above 10 leagues in length; and being come to an anchor towards the weſt, landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the people of the iſland ran together to ſee the chriſtians, admiring as the others had done. The admiral perceiving this was the ſame thing as the laſt: The next day being *Tueſday*, ſail'd weſtward to another iſland conſiderably bigger, and anchored upon the coaſt of it, which runs north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, above 28 leagues. This was like the others, plain, had a fine ſtrand, and was called *Fernandina*. Before they came to this iſland, and that of the *Conception*, they found a man in a ſmall canoe, who had a piece of their bread, and a calabaſh of water, and a little earth like vermillion, wherewith thoſe people paint their bodies, as was ſaid above; and ſome dry leaves which they value, as being of a ſweet ſcent and wholeſome; and in a little baſket he had a ſtring of beads of green glaſs, and two ſmall pieces of *Portugueſe* money, by which it was gueſſed that he was coming from St. *Salvador*, that he had paſſed by the *Conception*, and was going to *Fernandina* to carry news of the chriſtians: But becauſe the way was far, and he weary, he came to the ſhips, was taken up with his canoe, and courteouſly treated by the admiral, deſigning as ſoon as he came to land to ſend him aſhore, which he did, that he might ſpread the news. The good account he gave, cauſed the people of *Fernandina* to come aboard in their canoes, to exchange the ſame ſort of things the others had done before, for theſe people were like the reſt; and when the boat went aſhore for water, the *Indians* very readily ſhow'd where it was, and carry'd a ſmall caſk full on their ſhoulders to fill the hogſheads in the boat. They ſeemed to be a wiſer and diſcreeter people than the firſt, and as ſuch bargain'd harder for what they exchanged, had cotton cloath in their houſes, and bed-cloaths; and the women covered their privities with ſhort hanging cotton-cloaths, and others with a ſort of ſwathe. Among other notable things they ſaw in that iſland, were ſome trees which ſeemed to be grafted, becauſe they had leaves and branches of four or five ſeveral ſorts, and yet were natural. They alſo ſaw fiſhes of ſeveral ſhapes and fine colours, but no ſort of land creatures but lizards and ſnakes. The better to diſcover the iſland, they ſailed away north-weſt, and came to an anchor at the mouth of a beautiful harbour; at the entrance whereof was a ſmall iſland, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little water; nor did they much care, becauſe they would not be far from a town that appeared at a diſtance: For in the biggeſt iſland they had yet ſeen they had not found above 12 or 15 houſes together, built like tents, in which they ſaw no other ornaments or moveables, but what they carry'd to the ſhips to exchange. Their beds were like a net, drawn together in the nature of a fling tied to two poſts in their houſes, in which they lie. Here they ſaw ſome dogs like maſtiffs, and others like beagles, but none of them bark'd.

Conception *Iſland.*

Iſland Fernandina.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the admiral ſailed by other iſlands that were in ſight where he was.

Iſland Iſabella.

FInding nothing of value in this iſland, *Fernandina*, on *Friday* the 19th of *October*, they ſailed away to another, called *Saomotto*, to which he gave the name of *Iſabella*, to proceed regularly in his names; for the firſt which the *Indians* call'd *Guanahani*, he call'd St. *Salvador*, or St. *Saviour* in honour of god, who had ſhow'd it and delivered him from many dangers. The ſecond for his particular devotion, to the conception of the virgin *Mary*; and becauſe ſhe is the great patroneſs of chriſtians, he called St. *Mary of the Conception*; the third he called *Fernandina*, in honour of the catholick king, and the fourth *Iſabella*, in memory of the catholick queen; and the next after it which was *Cuba*, he ſtiled *Joanna*, in reſpect to prince *John*, heir of *Caſtile*, having in theſe names regard both to ſpirituals and temporals. True it is, that as to goodneſs, extent, and beauty, he ſaid this *Fernandina* far exceeded the others; for beſides that it abounded in delicious waters, pleaſant meadows and trees, among which were many of *Aloes*; there were in it ſome hills, which the others wanted, being very plain. The admiral enamoured with its beauty, and to perform the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion, landed upon ſome meadows as pleaſant and delightful as they are in *Spain* in *April*; and there was heard the ſinging of nightingales and other birds, ſo ſweet, that he could ſcarce depart. Nor were they only about the trees, but flew thro' the air in ſuch ſwarms, that they darkened the ſun, and moſt of them differed much from our birds. There being abundance of waters and lakes; near to one of them they ſaw a ſort of alligator ſeven foot long, and above a foot wide in the belly, which being diſturbed by our men, threw its ſelf into the lake. But it not being deep, they killed it with their ſpears, not without dread and admiration, becauſe of its fierce and frightful look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a dainty, it being the beſt food the *Indians* had; foraſmuch as when that horrid ſkin, and the ſcales that cover it are taken of, the fleſh is very white and very delicious, the *Indians* call them *Yvanas*. Being very deſirous to know more of that countrey, and it being then late, they left that creature for the next day, when they killed another, as they had done the firſt; and travelling up the land found a town, the people whereof fled, carrying away as much of their goods as they could. The admiral would not ſuffer any thing of what they had left to be taken away, leſt they ſhould look upon the chriſtians as thieves. Therefore their fear being ſoon over, they came of their own accord to the ſhips to barter, as the others had done. Yvanas.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the admiral diſcovered the iſland of Cuba *and what he found there.*

Iſland of Cuba,

THE admiral having learned the ſecrets of the iſland *Iſabella*, its product, and the manners of the people, would loſe no more time among thoſe iſlands, becauſe they were many and like one another, as the *Indians* ſaid. He therefore ſet ſail with a fair wind for a very large countrey, much applauded by them all, called *Cuba*, which lay towards the ſouth, and on *Sunday* the 28th of *October*, he came up with the coaſt of it, on the north ſide. This iſland at firſt ſight appeared to be better and richer than thoſe before named, as well by reaſon of the beauty of its hills and mountains, as for the variety of trees, the large plains, and the greatneſs and extent of its coaſts and rivers. Therefore to get ſome knowledge of its people, he came to an anchor in a large river, where the trees were very thick and tall, adorned with fruit and bloſſoms, differing from ours, and where there were abundance of birds, the place moſt delicious, for the graſs was high, and nothing like ours; and tho' there were ſeveral ſorts of herbs known to us, yet the great variety made our men not know them. Going to two houſes that were not far off, they found the people were fled for fear, and had left their nets, and all other fiſhing tackle, and a dog that did not bark. As the admiral had ordered, nothing was touched, for it was enough for him at preſent to ſee what their food and neceſſaries were. Returning to their ſhips they held on their courſe weſtward, and came to another river, which the admiral called *de Mares*, or of ſeas. This much exceeded the other, becauſe a ſhip could turn

it up, and the banks were much inhabited; but the people ſeeing the ſhips, fled towards the mountains, which appear'd, and were high, round, and covered with trees and pleaſant plants, whither the *Indians* convey'd all they could carry away. The admiral being diſappointed, by the peoples fear, of learning any thing of the nature of the iſland, and conſidering if he landed with many men, it would increaſe their terrour, he reſolved to ſend two chriſtians, with one of the *Indians* he brought from *St. Salvador*, and with one of that country, who ventured to come aboard in his canoo. Theſe he ordered to travel up into the country, making much of the natives they met by the way, and that no time might be loſt, whilſt they were going, he order'd the ſhip to be lay'd aſhore to careen her, where they obſerved that all the fire they made was maſtick, whereof there was plenty all the country over. This tree is in all reſpects like our maſtick tree, but much bigger.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How the two chriſtians return'd, and the report they made of what they had ſeen.

A town in Cuba.

THE ſhip being repaired and ready to ſail, the chriſtians returned with two *Indians* on the 5th of *November*, ſaying, they had travell'd twelve leagues up the land, and came to a town of 50 pretty large houſes, all of timber covered with ſtraw, and made after the manner of pavillions, like the others; that they contain'd about 1000 people, becauſe all that were of one family liv'd in a houſe, that the principal men of the place came out to meet them, and led them by the arms to their town, giving them one of thoſe great houſes to lodge in, where they made them ſit down upon ſeats made of one piece, in ſtrange ſhapes, and almoſt like ſome creature that had ſhort legs, and the tail lifted up to lean againſt, which is as broad as the ſeat for the conveniency of leaning, with a head before, and the eyes and ears of gold. Theſe ſeats they call *Duchi*, where the chriſtians being ſeated, all the *Indians* ſate about them on the ground, and then came one by one to kiſs their hands and feet, believing they came from heaven; and they gave them ſome boil'd roots to eat, not unlike cheſnuts in taſte; earneſtly entreating them to ſtay there among them, or at leaſt to reſt themſelves 5 or 6 days, becauſe the two *Indians* they took with them, gave thoſe people an excellent character of the chriſtians. Soon after, many women coming in to ſee them; the men went out, and theſe with no leſs reſpect, kiſs'd their feet and hands, offering them what they brought. When their time came to return to the ſhips, many *Indians* would go along with them, but they would admit only of the king, his ſon and one ſervant, whom the admiral did much honour to; and theſe chriſtians told him, that in their way out, and return, they had found ſeveral towns, where they were entertain'd with the ſame courteſy, but that there were not in them above five houſes together: Beſides, that by the way they met many people, who always carried a lighted firebrand, to light fire and perfume themſelves with certain herbs they carried along with them, and to roaſt ſome of thoſe roots they gave them; foraſmuch as that was their principal food. They alſo ſaw very many ſorts of trees and plants, which were not to be ſeen about the ſea-coaſt; and great variety of birds, far differing from ours, but that among them that were partridges and nightingals. As for four-footed creatures, they had ſeen none but dumb dogs. That there was a great deal of till'd land, ſome ſow'd with thoſe roots, a ſort of beans, and a ſort of grain they call *Maiz*, which was well taſted, bak'd, or dry'd and made into flour. They ſaw vaſt quantities of cotton well ſpun, in bottoms, inſomuch that in one houſe only, they ſaw above 12500 pounds of it. The plants it comes from are not ſet, but grow naturally about the fields, like roſes, and open of themſelves, when they are ripe, but not all at the ſame time; for upon one and the ſame plant, they had ſeen a little young bud, another open, and a third coming ripe. Of theſe plants the *Indians* afterwards carried great quantities aboard the ſhips, and gave a basket full for a thong of leather; yet none of them make uſe of it to cloath themſelves, but only to make nets for their beds, which they call *Hamacas*, and in weaving aprons for women to cover their nakedneſs. Being ask'd whether they had gold or pearls, or ſpice, they made ſigns that there was great plenty towards the eaſt, in a country they call'd *Bohio*, which is the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, but it is not yet certainly known what place they meant.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the admiral deſiſted from following the weſtern coaſt of Cuba, *and turn'd eaſtward towards* Hiſpaniola.

THE admiral having this account, and reſolving to ſtay no longer in that river, order'd ſome natives of that iſland to be taked, deſigning to carry ſome from all parts into *Spain*, to give an account of his country; and accordingly 12 were ſeiz'd, men, women, and children, and this ſo peaceably and without any diſturbance, that when they were ready to ſail with them, the husband of one of the women, and father of two children that had been carry'd aboard, came to the ſhips in a canoo deſiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his wife and children, which extreamly pleas'd the admiral, who order'd he ſhould be receiv'd, and they all well us'd and made much of. That ſame day, being the 13th of *November*, he came about to the eaſtward, deſigning for the iſland they call'd *Bohio*. The wind blowing hard at north, he was forced to come to an anchor again in the ſame iſland of *Cuba*, among ſome high iſlands, lying near a large port, which he call'd *del Principe*, or the princes port, and the ſea, *Our Lady's*. Theſe iſlands lay ſo thick and cloſe, there was not above a quarter of a league diſtance between them at furtheſt, and but a muſquet ſhot for the moſt part. The chanels were ſo deep, and ſo well adorn'd with trees and greens, that it was very delightful going among them; and among the multitude of other trees, there were abundance of maſtick, aloes and palm, the trunk green and ſmooth, and other plants of ſundry ſorts. And tho' theſe iſlands were not inhabited, yet there appeared the tokens of many fires made by fiſhermen; for as it afterwards appear'd, the people of *Cuba* went together in great number, in their canoos over to theſe iſlands, and abundance more that lie hereabouts uninhabited, and live upon the fiſh they catch, upon birds, crabs, and other things they find on the earth; foraſmuch as generally the *Indians* eat abundance of filthy things, ſuch as great ſpiders, worms that breed in rotten wood and other corrupt places, and abundance of fiſh almoſt raw; for as ſoon as taken, before they roaſt it, they digg out the eyes to eat, and many other ſuch things they feed on, which, beſides that they are nauſeous, would kill any of us, ſhould we eat them. They follow this fiſhing and birding according to the ſeaſon, ſometimes in one iſland, ſometimes in another, as one that changes his diet, being weary of the laſt. But to return to the iſlands of *Our Lady's Sea*, in one of them the chriſtians with their ſwords, kill'd a beaſt like a badger, and in the ſea found much mother of pearl; and caſting their nets, among many other ſorts of fiſh they caught, one was like a ſwine, all cover'd with a very hard ſkin, no part whereof was ſoft but the tail. They alſo obſerv'd that in this ſea, and the iſlands, the tide ſwell'd and fell much lower than in other places, where they had been till then, and their tides were quite contrary to ours; for it was low water when the moon was S. W. and by S.

Conjugal affection in an Indian.

Food of the Indians.

CHAP. XXX.

How the admiral ſet ſail again eaſtward for Hiſpaniola, *and one of the ſhips forſook him.*

ON *Monday* the 19th of *November*, the admiral departed from the princes port in *Cuba*, and the ſea of *Our Lady*, ſteering eaſtward for the iſland of *Bohio* and *Hiſpaniola*, but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the iſland *Iſabella*, which the *Indians* call *Somoto*, and the ſaid princes port, which lie almoſt north and ſouth, about 25 leagues diſtant, in which ſea he ſtill found long traces of theſe weeds he had ſeen in the ocean, and he perceived they ſwam along the current, and never lay athwart it. During this time *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* being inform'd by certain *Indians* he had conceal'd aboard his caraval, that in the iſland *Bohio*, which we ſaid was *Hiſpaniola*, there was great plenty of gold; covetouſly blinding him, on *wedneſday* the 21ſt of *November*, he went away from the admiral without any ſtreſs of weather, or any other occaſion, for he could have come up to him before the wind, but would not, and ſo making as much way as poſſibly he could, his veſſel being an excellent ſailer, he made forwards all *Thurſay*, whereas they had ſail'd in ſight of one another all the day before, and night coming on, he quite vaniſh'd. Thus the admiral was left only with two ſhips, and the weather not being fit

Martin Alonzo *leaves the admiral.*

fit for his veſſels to ſail over towards *Hiſpaniola*, he was forced to return to *Cuba*, to another port not far from the princes, which he call'd *St. Catharine's*, there to take in wood and water. In this port he accidentally ſaw ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river where they were watering, and up the country there were mountains full of ſuch tall pine trees, as would make maſts for the biggeſt ſhips. Nor was there any want of wood for planks, to build as many ſhips as they would, and among them oaks, and others like thoſe in *Caſtile*. But perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hiſpaniola*, he run along the coaſt 10 or 12 leagues farther towards the ſouth-eaſt, meeting all the way excellent harbours, and many large rivers. The admiral ſays ſo much of the delightfulneſs and beauty of that country, that I have thought fit here to ſet down his own words, ſpeaking of the mouth of the river, which makes a harbour by him called *Puerto Santo*, or holy harbour. Thus he ſays, when I went with the boats before me to the mouth of the harbour towards the ſouth, I found a river, up whoſe mouth a gally could eaſily row, and the way up it was ſuch, that it was not to be diſcover'd but cloſe by: the beauty of it invited me to go up a boats length, where I found from 5 to 8 fathom water; and proceeding, I went a conſiderable way up the river in the boats; becauſe, as well the beauty and delightfulneſs of the river, and the clearneſs of the water, thro' which I could ſee the ſand at the bottom; as the abundance of palm trees of ſeveral ſorts, the fineſt and higheſt I had yet met with; the other, infinite number of large green trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This country, moſt ſerene princes, is ſo wonderfully fine, as far exceeds all other beauty and delightfulneſs, as the day in brightneſs exceeds the night. Therefore I often told my companions, that tho' I ſhould never ſo much endeavour to give your highneſſes a perfect account of it, my tongue and pen would always fall ſhort of the truth. And to ſay the truth, I was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo much beauty, and know not how to expreſs it; for I have writ of the other countries, of their trees and fruits, of the plants and ports, and of all that belong'd to them, as largely as I was able, yet not as I ought, ſince all men affirm'd it was impoſſible any other country could be more delicious. Now I am ſilent, wiſhing this may be ſeen by others, who will write of it, that they may prove how little credit is to be got more than I have done in writing or ſpeaking of that place conſidering what it deſerves. The admiral going on with his boats, ſaw a canoo among the trees in the port, drawn upon land under a bower, which canoo was made of the body of one tree, and as big as a twelve oar barge, and in ſome houſes hard by, they found a ball of wax, and a man's ſkull in two baskets hanging at a poſt. The ſame they afterwards found in another houſe, which made our men judge, they were the ſculls of the founders of thoſe houſes. No people appeared to receive any information of, for as ſoon as ever they ſaw the chriſtians, they fled from their houſes to other parts. Afterwards they found another canoo about 70 foot long, that would carry 50 perſons, made like the other we ſpoke of before.

A delicious country.

Two vaſt canoos.

CHAP. XXXI.

How the admiral ſail'd over to Hiſpaniola, *and what he ſaw there.*

Hiſpaniola.

THE admiral having ſail'd 106 leagues eaſtward along the coaſt of *Cuba*, came to the eaſt point of it, which he call'd *Alpha*, and on *Wedneſday* the 5th of *December*, ſtruck off to ſail over to *Hiſpaniola*, diſtant 16 leagues from *Cuba* eaſtward, and by reaſon of ſome currents, could not reach it till the next day, when he put into port *St. Nicholas*, ſo call'd by him in memory of that ſaint, whoſe feſtival was that day. The port is large, deep, ſafe, and encompaſs'd with many tall trees, but the country is more rocky, and the trees are leſs, that is, like thoſe of *Caſtile*, among which there were ſmall oaks, myrtle and other ſhrubs, and a pleaſant river ran along a plain towards the port, all about which, there were large canoos like 15 oar barges. The admiral not being able to meet with any of thoſe people, ran along the coaſt northward, till he came to a port he call'd the *Conception*, which lies almoſt due ſouth of a ſmall iſland about the bigneſs of *Gran Canaria*, which was afterwards call'd *Tortuga*. Perceiving that this iſland *Bohio* was very large, and that the land and trees were like thoſe of *Spain*; and that at one draught of a net they had taken ſeveral fiſhes, like thoſe of *Spain*, as ſoles, ſalmon, pilchards, crabs, and ſome others, therefore on *Sunday* the 9th of *December*, they gave it the name of *Eſpannola*, as call'd

Tortuga.

in

in *Engliſh*, *Hiſpaniola*. All of them being very deſirous to enquire into the nature of this iſland; whilſt the men were fiſhing on the ſhoar, three chriſtians travelled along the mountain, and lighted on a company of *Indians*, as naked as thoſe they had ſeen before, who ſeeing the chriſtians draw near them, in a great fright, ran into the thickeſt of the wood, as having no cloaths to hinder them. The chriſtians to get ſome information, ran after them, but could only overtake a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her noſe. She was carried to the ſhips, where the admiral gave her ſeveral baubles, as bells and glaſs, and then ſent her aſhore without the leaſt diſguſt offer'd her, ordering three *Indians* of thoſe he brought from the other iſlands to go with her, and three chriſtians, to the town where ſhe dwelt. The next day he ſent 11 men aſhoar well arm'd, who having travelled four leagues, found a ſort of town or village of above 1000 houſes, ſcattered about a valley, the inhabitants whereof ſeeing the chriſtians, all fled to the woods. But the *Indian* guide, whom our men brought from *St. Salvador*, went after them, and ſaid ſuch things to them of the chriſtians, affirming they were people come from heaven, that he perſuaded them to turn back quietly and without any fear. Afterwards full of aſtoniſhment, they would lay their hands on our mens heads by way of honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they deſired, without aſking any return, praying them to ſtay that night in their village. The chriſtians would not accept of the invitation, but return'd to their ſhips carrying the news that the country was very pleaſant, abounding in their proviſions: that the people were whiter and handſomer, than any they had yet ſeen in other iſlands, and that they were tractable and courteous, and told them the country where the gold was found, lay farther eaſtward. The admiral hearing this account, ſet ſail immediately, tho' the wind was contrary, and on *Sunday* following, being the 15th of *December*, as he was plying between *Hiſpaniola* and *Tortuga*, he found one *Indian* alone in a little canoo, which they all wonder'd was not ſwallowed by the ſea, the wind and the waves were ſo high. He took him into the ſhip, carried him to *Hiſpaniola*, and ſet him aſhoar with ſeveral gifts. He told the *Indians* how kindly he had been uſed, and ſpoke ſo well of the chriſtians, that abundance of them came preſently aboard, but they brought nothing of value, except ſome ſmall grains of gold hanging at their ears and noſtrils, and being ask'd whence they had that gold, they made ſigns there was a great deal higher up. The next day there came a great canoo from the iſland *Tortuga*, which was near the place where the admiral lay at anchor, with 40 men in it, at ſuch time as the *Cacique* or lord of that port of *Hiſpaniola* was upon the ſhoar, bartering a plate of gold he had brought. When he and his ſaw the canoo, they all ſate themſelves down upon the ground, as a ſign they would not fight. Immediately almoſt all thoſe in the canoo landed, again whom the *Cacique* of *Hiſpaniola* got up alone, and with threatning words made them return to their canoo. Then he threw water after them, and taking up ſtones off the ſtrand, caſt them into the ſea towards the canoo. But when they were all in ſubmiſſive manner return'd to their canoo, he took up a ſtone and delivered it to one of the admiral's officers, to throw at thoſe in the canoo, to expreſs that he took the admiral's part againſt the *Indians*, but the officer did not throw, ſeeing they preſently went off in their canoo. After this, diſcourſing about the affairs of that iſland, which the admiral had call'd *Tortuga*, he affirm'd there was more gold in it than in *Hiſpaniola*, and that in *Bohio* there was more than in any other, which was about 15 days journey from the place where they were.

CHAP. XXXII.

How the principal king of the iſland came aboard, and of the ſtate he came in.

ON *Tueſday* the 18th of *December*, the king that came the day before, where the canoo of *Tortuga* was, and who lived 5 leagues from the place where the ſhips lay, came in the morning to the town near the ſea, ſome of the *Spaniards* at the ſame time being there by the admiral's order to ſee whether they brought any more gold. Theſe ſeeing the king come, went to acquaint the admiral, ſaying he brought above 200 men along with him, and that he came not a foot but was carry'd on a ſort of palanquine by four men with great reſpect, tho' he was very young. This king being at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhips having reſted a little, drew near with all his men, concerning which, the admiral himſelf writes thus: There is no doubt but your highneſſes had been very much pleas'd to have ſeen his gravity, and the reſpect his people pay'd him

Account of the Cacique or Indian king.

him, tho' all naked. When he came aboard, and underſtood I was under deck, being then at dinner, he ſurpris'd me, ſitting down by me, without giving me time to go out to receive him, or riſe from table. When he came down he made ſigns to all his followers to ſtay above, which they did with great reſpect, ſitting down upon the deck, except two ancient men that ſeemed to be his counſellors, that ſat down at his feet. They ſaid this man was a *Cacique*. I order'd ſuch meat as I was eating, to be brought him; they juſt taſted of every thing, and ſent the reſt to their men, who all eat of it. The ſame they did as to drinking, for they only kiſs'd the cup and gave it about. They were all wonderful grave, and ſpoke but few words, and thoſe they utter'd, by what I could gather, were very deliberate and ſtaid. The two old men obſerv'd the king's mouth, and ſpoke for and to him. After eating, one of his gentlemen with great reſpect brought him a girdle, not unlike thoſe uſed in *Caſtile*, tho' differently wrought, which he took in his hand, and gave me with two pieces of wrought gold very thin. Of which gold I believe there is little here, and I gueſs'd that place was near to where they took it, which produced very much. I believing he would like a carpet or counterpan that lay on my bed, gave it him, together with ſome fine amber beads I had about my neck, with a pair of red ſhoes and a bottle of orange-flower water, with which he was wonderfully pleas'd, and both he and his counſellors expreſs'd much concern becauſe they did not underſtand me, nor I them, tho' I made out, that if I wanted any thing, all the iſland was at my command. I preſently brought out a letter-caſe, in which I carry'd a gold medal weighing 4 ducats, on which your highneſſes effigies are cut, and ſhowed it him, ſaying over again, that your highneſſes were mighty princes, and poſſeſt the beſt part of the world, and ſhewed him the royal ſtandard, and the other of the croſs, which he made great account of. Therefore turning to his counſellors, he ſaid, your highneſſes were certainly mighty princes, ſince you had ſent me ſo far as from heaven thither, without any fear. Much more paſs'd between us, which I did not underſtand, but perceiv'd they admired at every thing they ſaw; but it being then late, and he deſiring to be gone, I ſent him aſhore very honourably in my boat, and cauſed ſeveral guns to be fired, and he being aſhore got into his palanquine, attended by above 200 men, and a ſon of his was carried on a man of note's ſhoulders. He ordered all the *Spaniards* that were aſhore, to have meat given them, and to be very courteouſly uſed. Afterwards a ſailer that met him on the way, told me, that every one of the things I had given him, were carry'd before him by a man of great worth, and that his ſon went not along with him on the road, but at ſome diſtance behind him with as many more attendance as he had, and a brother of his on foot, with near as many more, two great men leading him under the arms, to whom I had given ſome ſmall matters when he came aboard after his brother.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the admiral loſt his ſhip upon the flats thro' the careleſſneſs of the ſailers, and the aſſiſtance he receiv'd from the king of that iſland.

THE admiral continuing the relation as above, ſays, That on *Monday* the 24th of *December*, the weather was very calm, without any wind hardly, but ſo much as carried him from St. *Thomas*'s ſea, to *Punta Santa*, or the holy cape, off which he lay by about a league, and about 11 of the clock at night he went to take his reſt, for he had not ſlept in two days and a night; and the weather being calm, the ſeaman that was at the helm, left it to a grummet, which (ſays the admiral) I had forbid during the whole voyage, bidding them, whether the wind blew or not, never to leave the helm to a grummet. And to ſay the truth, I thought my ſelf ſafe from flats and rocks; for that *Sunday* I ſent my boats to the king, they went at leaſt three leagues and a half beyond the ſaid *Punta Santa*; and the ſeamen had view'd all the coaſt, and the ſhoals that lie three leagues E. S. E. of that cape, and obſerv'd which way to ſail, which I had not done during the voyage; and it pleaſed our lord, that at midnight, ſeeing me gone to bed, and we being in a dead calm and the ſea as ſtill as the water in a diſh, all the men went to reſt, leaving the helm to a grummet. Thus it came to paſs, that the current eaſily carried away the ſhip upon one of thoſe ſhoals, which tho' it was night, made ſuch a roaring noiſe, that they might be heard and diſcover'd a league off. Then the fellow who felt the rudder ſtrike and heard the noiſe, began to cry out, and I hearing it, got up immediately; for none

The admiral's ſhip loſt.

had yet perceived that we were a ground. Preſently the maſter, whoſe watch it was, came out, and I order'd him and other failers to take the boat, and carry out an anchor a ſtern; whereupon he and others leap'd into the boat, and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they row'd away, flying with the boat to the other caraval, which was half a league off. I then perceiving they ran away with the boat, that the water ebb'd, and the ſhip was in danger, cauſed the maſts to be cut down, and lightned her as much as I could to ſee to get her off; but the water ſtill ebbing, the caraval could not budge, but turning athwart the ſtreams, the ſeams open'd, and all below deck was full of water. Mean while the boat returned from the caraval to relieve me; for the men aboard perceiving the boat fled, would not receive it, which oblig'd it to return to the ſhip. No hopes of ſaving the ſhip appearing, I went away to the caraval to ſave the men, and becauſe the wind blew from the land, and great part of the night was ſpent, and yet we knew not which way to get from among thoſe flats; I lay by with the caraval till day appeared, and then I drew towards land within the ſhoals, having firſt ſent *James de Arana* the provoſt, and *Peter Gutierres* your highneſſes ſecretary, to acquaint the king with what had happened, telling him, That as I was going to viſit him in his own port, as he had deſired the laſt *Saturday*, I had loſt my ſhip oppoſite to his town, and a league and a half from it upon a flat. The king underſtanding it, with tears in his eyes, expreſſed much grief for our loſs, and immediately ſent aboard all the people in the place, with many large canoes. So they and we began to unload, and in a ſhort time carried off all that was upon deck. The aſſiſtance this king gave was great; and afterwards he himſelf, with his brothers and kindred, took all poſſible care both aboard and aſhore, that all things might be done orderly; and from time to time he ſent ſome of his kindred weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I do aſſure your highneſſes, better order could not have been taken in any part of *Caſtile*, to ſecure our things; for we loſt not the value of a pin, for he cauſed all our cloaths to be laid together near his palace, where he kept them till the houſes were voided, which he had appointed for us. He placed armed men to keep them, who ſtood there all day and all night, and all the people lamented, as if our loſs had concern'd them much; ſo loving, tractable and free from covetouſneſs they are, that I ſwear to your highneſſes, there are no better people, nor a better countrey in the world. They love their neighbour as themſelves, and their converſation is the ſweeteſt in the univerſe, being pleaſant and always ſmiling. True it is, both men and women go as naked as they were born; yet, your highneſſes may believe me, they have very commendable cuſtoms, and the king is ſerv'd with great ſtate; and he is ſo ſtaid, that it is a great ſatisfaction to ſee him, as it is to think what good memories theſe people have, and how deſirous they are to know every thing, which moves 'em to aſk many queſtions, and to enquire into the cauſe and effects of every thing.

Great kindneſs of the Indians *to the* Spaniards.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the admiral reſolved to plant a colony where the king reſided, and call'd it the nativity.

ON *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*, the chief king of that countrey came aboard the admiral's caraval, and expreſſing much grief and ſorrow, comforted him, offered all he would have, and ſaying he had already given the chriſtians three houſes to lay up all they got out of the ſhip, and that he had given them many more, had they ſtood in need of them. In the mean while a canoe came with ſome *Indians* from another iſland, bringing ſome plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above any thing. Beſides the ſeamen came from ſhore, ſaying abundance of *Indians* reſorted from other places to the town, who brought ſeveral things in gold and gave them for points, and other things of ſmall value, offering to bring much more if the chriſtians would. Which the great *Cacique* perceiving was pleaſing to the admiral; he told him he would cauſe a great quantity to be brought from *Cibao*, a place that yielded much gold. Being aſhore, he invited the admiral to eat *Axis* and *Cazabi*, which is their principal diet, and gave him ſome vizor maſks, with the eyes, noſe and ears of gold, and other pretty things which they hung about their necks. Then complaining of the *Caribbes*, who carried away his men to make ſlaves and eat them, he was much comforted, when the admiral comforting him, ſhow'd him our weapons, ſaying, he would defend him with them. He was much aſtoniſh'd

The admiral builds a fort and leaves men in the iſland.

ſtoniſh'd at our canon, which ſo terrified them, that they fell down as if they were dead, when they heard the report. The admiral therefore finding ſo much kindneſs among thoſe people, and ſuch ſigns of gold, almoſt forgot the grief conceiv'd for the loſs of his ſhip; thinking God had permitted it that he might fix a colony there, and leave chriſtians to trade, and get farther knowledge of the people and countrey, learning the language, and converſing with the natives, that when he returned from *Spain* with ſuccours, he might have ſome body to direct him in his affairs, for peopling and ſubduing that countrey. To this he was the more inclined, becauſe many voluntarily offered themſelves to ſtay and inhabit there. For this reaſon he reſolved to build a tower with the timber of the ſhip that was wrecked, whereof he loſt no part, but made uſe of it all. To forward his deſign, the next day being *Thurſday*, the 27th of *December*, news was brought, that the caraval *Pinta*, was in a river towards the eaſt point of the iſland. To be aſſured of it, the *Cacique*, whoſe name was *Guacanagari*, ſent a canoe with ſome *Indians*, who carried a chriſtian thither: he having gone 20 leagues along the coaſt, returned without any news of it, which was the reaſon that no credit was given to another *Indian*, who ſaid he had ſeen her ſome days before. Nevertheleſs the admiral did not alter his reſolution of leaving ſome chriſtians in that place, who were all ſtill more ſenſible of the goodneſs and wealth of the countrey, the *Indians* bringing maſks and other things of gold to give them, and telling them of ſeveral provinces in the iſland where it was found. The admiral now being ready to depart, and diſcourſing with the king concerning the *Caribbes*, or *Canibals*, of whom they complained and were in great dread, therefore to pleaſe him with leaving ſome chriſtians there, and at the ſame time make him afraid of our arms, he cauſed a gun to be fired againſt the ſide of the ſhip, which ſhot quite thro' it, and the bullet fell into the water, which not a little terrified the *Cacique*. Beſides, he ſhowed him all our other weapons, and how they offended with them, and defended themſelves, telling him, that ſince ſuch weapons were left to defend him, he needed not to fear the *Caribbes*, for the chriſtians would deſtroy them all, and he would leave them for his guard, and return himſelf to *Caſtile* for jewels and other things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him *James de Arana*, ſon to *Roderick de Arana* of *Cordova*, of whom mention has been made above. To him, and *Peter Gutierres* and *Roderick de Eſkovedo*, he left the government of the fort, and command of 36 men, with abundance of commodities, proviſion, arms and cannon, and the boat that belonged to the ſhip, with carpenters, caulkers, and all other neceſſaries for ſettling there, alſo a ſurgeon, gunner, and ſuch like perſons. This done he prepared with all poſſible ſpeed to return directly to *Caſtile*, without making any more diſcoveries, fearing, ſince he had but one ſhip left, leſt ſome other misfortune might befal him, which might hinder their catholick majeſties from coming to the knowledge of thoſe kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

CHAP. XXXV.

How the admiral ſet out to return to Spain, *and found the other caraval commanded by* Pinzon.

ON *Friday* the 4th of *January*, at ſunriſing, the admiral ſet ſail, with the boats a-head, ſtanding north-weſt, to get out of ſhoal water, that was about the port where he left the chriſtians, by him called the port of the *Nativity*. becauſe on *Chriſtmas* day he had landed, eſcaping the danger of the ſea, and begun to build that colony. Thoſe flats reach from cape *Santo* to cape *Serpe*, which is ſix leagues, and run out above three leagues to ſea, and all the coaſt north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt is an open ſtrand, and plain for four leagues up the countrey, where there are then high mountains, and abundance of large villages, in compariſon of what is in the other iſlands. Then he ſailed towards a high mountain, which he called *Monte Chriſto*, and lies 18 leagues E. of cape *Santo*. So that whoſoever would come to the city of the *Nativity*, when he diſcovers *Monte Chriſto*, which is round like a pavillion, and looks almoſt like a rock, muſt keep out at ſea two leagues from it, and ſail weſt till he comes to cape *Santo*, when the city of the *Nativity* will be five leagues from him; and he muſt paſs thro' certain channels among the flats, which lie before it. The admiral thought fit to mention theſe marks, that it might be known where the firſt habitation of chriſtians was in thoſe weſtern parts. Having ſailed eaſt of *Monte Chriſto* with contrary winds, on *Sunday* the 6th of *January*, in the morning, a ſailer from the round

Where the firſt chriſtian colony was.

round top diſcovered the caraval *Pinta* that was ſailing weſtward, right before the wind. As ſoon as it came up with the admiral, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, the captain, coming aboard the admiral's caraval, began to ſhow ſome reaſons, and give excuſes for his leaving of him, ſaying it had happened againſt his will. The admiral, tho' he very well knew the contrary, and was ſatisfied of the man's evil inclination, remembring his bold manner of proceeding before in the voyage, yet connived at him, and bore with all, for fear of ruining his undertaking, which might eaſily have been done, becauſe moſt of his crew were *Martin Alonzo*'s countreymen, and ſeveral of them his relations. And the truth is, that when he forſook the admiral, which was at *Cuba*, he went away with a deſign to ſail to the iſland *Bohio*, becauſe the *Indians* aboard his caraval hold him, there was abundance of gold there. When he was there and found nothing of what had been told him, he

The other caraval found.

was returning towards *Hiſpaniola*, where other *Indians* had told him there was much gold, and thus he had ſpent 20 days in ſailing not above 15 leagues eaſt of the *Nativity*, to a river which the admiral called of *Grace*, and there *Martin Alonzo* had lain 16 days, and had got gold enough, as the admiral had done at the *Nativity*, giving things of ſmall value for it. Of this gold he diſtributed one half among his crew, to gain and pleaſe them, that he as captain might keep the reſt, and afterwards he would perſuade the admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his way to come to an anchor at *Monte Chriſto*; the weather not permitting him to proceed farther, he went in his boat up a river, ſouthweſt of the mount, where in the ſand he diſcovered ſigns of gold duſt, and therefore called it the *River of Gold*. This river lies 17 leagues eaſt of the *Nativity*,, and is not much leſs than the river *Guadalquivar* that runs by *Cordova*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the firſt ſkirmiſh between the Chriſtians *and* Indians, *which happened about the gulf of* Samana *in* Hiſpaniola.

Fierce Indians.

ON *Sunday* the 13th of *January*, being near the cape called *Enamorado*, or the *lovers Cape*, the admiral ſent the boat aſhoar, where our men found ſome *Indians* with fierce countenances on the ſhoar, with bows and arrows, who ſeemed to be ready to engage, but at the ſame time were in a conſternation. However, having ſome conference with them, they bought two of their bows and ſome arrows, and with much difficulty prevailed to have one of them go aboard the admiral. Their ſpeech was ſuitable to their fierceneſs, which appeared greater than any people they had yet met with had ſhown; for their faces were all daubed over with charcoal, it being the cuſtom of all thoſe people to paint themſelves, ſome black, ſome red and ſome white, ſome one way, and ſome another; their hair was very long, and hung in a bagg made of parrots feathers. One of them ſtanding before the admiral, as naked as he was born, as all the others there till then diſcovered were, he ſaid in a lofty tone, they all went ſo in thoſe parts. The admiral thinking this was one of the *Caribbes*, and that the bay parted them from *Hiſpaniola*, be aſk'd of him where the *Caribbes* dwelt who pointed with his finger, in another iſland eaſtward, and that there were pieces of *Guanin*, as big as half the ſtern of the caraval; and that the iſland *Matinino* was all inhabited by women, with whom the *Caribbes* went and lay at a certain time of the year; and if afterwards they brought forth ſons, they gave them to the fathers to carry away. Having anſwered to all the queſtions put to them, partly by ſigns, and partly by that little the *Indians* of St. *Salvador* could underſtand of their language, the admiral gave them to eat, and ſome baubles, as glaſs beads, and green and red cloath, which done, he ſent them aſhore, that they ſhould cauſe gold to be brought if the others had any. The boat being aſhore, they found on the ſhore among the trees 55 of them, all naked, with long hair, as the women in *Spain* wear it, and behind on the crown of the head, they had plumes of parrots or other birds feathers, and all of them armed with bows and arrows. When our men landed, the *Indian* that had been aboard made the others lay down their bows and arrows, and a great cudgel they carry inſtead of a ſword, for, as has been ſaid, they have no iron at all: when they came to the boat, the chriſtians ſtept aſhore, and having begun to trade for bows and arrows by order of the admiral, the *Indians* who had already ſold two, not only refuſed to ſell any more, but with ſcorn, made as if they would ſeize the chriſtians, and run to their bows and arrows where they had left them, taking up with them ropes to bind our men; they being upon their guard ſeeing them

A fray with the Indians.

them come in that fury, tho' they were but ſeven, fell couragiouſly upon them, and cut one with a ſword on the buttock, and ſhot another with an arrow in the breaſt. The *Indians* aſtoniſhed at the reſolution of our men, and the wounds our weapons made, fled moſt of them leaving their bows and arrows; and many of them had been killed, had not the pilot of the caraval, who commanded the boat, protected them. The admiral was not at all diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, imagining theſe were the *Caribbes* all the other *Indians* ſo much dreaded, or that at leaſt they bordered on them, they being a bold and reſolute people, as appeared by their aſpect, arms and actions, and he hoped that the iſlanders hearing how ſeven chriſtians had behaved themſelves againſt 55 fierce *Indians* of that country, they would the more reſpect and honour our men that were left behind at the *Nativity*, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about evening, they made a ſmoak at land to ſhow their courage; wherefore the boat went again to ſee what they would have, but they could never be brought to venture themſelves, and ſo the boat returned. The bows were of yew, almoſt as big as thoſe in *France* and *England*, the arrows of ſmall twigs growing out of the ends of the canes, which are maſſive and very ſtrait, about the length of a man's arm and a half; the head is made of a ſmall ſtick hardened at the fire, about a quarter of a yard and half long, at the end whereof they fix a fiſh's tooth, or bone, and poiſon it. For this reaſon the admiral gave that gulph the name of *Gulpho de Flechas*, that is, *Gulph of arrows*, whereas the *Indians* called it *Samana*. There appeared a great deal of fine cotton and *Axi*, which is the pepper they uſe, and is very hot, ſome of it long and ſome round. Near land, where there was little water, grew abundance of thoſe weeds our men ſaw in long ſtrings upon the ocean, whence they concluded it all grew near land, and when ripe, broke looſe, and was carried out to ſea by the current.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How the admiral ſet out for Spain, *and the caraval* Pinta *was parted from him in a great ſtorm.*

Diſcoverers return towards Spain.

ON *Wedneſday*, the 16th of *January*, 1493. the admiral ſet forward with a fair wind from the aforeſaid *Gulf of arrows*, now called *Samana*, towards *Spain*, becauſe now both the caravals were very leaky, and they took much pains to keep them up: Cape *Santelmo* being the laſt land they ſaw; 20 leagues north-eaſt of it, there appeared abundance of weeds, and 20 leagues ſtill farther, they found all the ſea covered with ſmall tunny-fiſhes, whereof they ſaw great numbers the two following days, which were the 19th and the 20 of *January*, and after them abundance of ſea-fowls, and all the way the weeds ran with the current in long ropes, lying eaſt and weſt; for they had really found, that the current takes theſe weeds a great way off, and that they keep not on long in the ſame way; for ſometimes they go one way, and ſometimes another; and this they ſaw almoſt every day, till they were almoſt half ſeas over. Holding on their courſe with a fair wind, they made ſo much way, that in the opinion of the pilots, on the 9th of *February*, they were ſouth of the iſlands *Azores*; but the admiral ſaid they were 150 leagues ſhort, and this was the truth, for they ſtill found abundance of weeds, which as they went towards the *Indies*, they did not ſee till they were 263 leagues weſt of the iſland of *Ferro*. As they ſailed on thus with fair weather, the wind began to riſe more and more every day, and the ſea to run ſo high, that they could ſcarce live upon it. For which reaſon, on *Thurſday* the 14th of *February*, they drove which way ſoever the wind would carry them; and the caraval *Pinta*, commanded by *Pinzon*, not being able to lie athwart the ſea, run away due north, before the ſouth wind, the admiral ſteering north-eaſt to draw nearer to *Spain*, which the caraval *Pinta*, could not do, by reaſon of the darkneſs, tho' the admiral had always his light out. Thus when day appeared, they had quite loſt ſight of one another, each looking upon it as moſt certain, that the other was loſt; therefore betaking themſelves to prayers and religious acts; thoſe aboard the admiral caſt lots, which of them ſhould go in pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of *Guadalupe*, which fell to the admiral. Afterwards they drew for another to go to *Loretto*, and the lot fell upon one *Peter de Villa*, a ſeaman of *Port St. Mary*. Then they caſt lots for a third, who was to watch a night at St. *Oleve* of *Moguer*, and the ſtorm ſtill increaſing, they all made a vow to go barefoot and in their ſhirts at the firſt land they came to, to ſome church of our lady. Beſides theſe general vows, ſeveral

A terrible ſtorm.

ſeveral others were made by private men, becauſe the tempeſt was now vehement, and the admiral's veſſel could ſcarce withſtand it for want of ballaſt, which was fallen ſhort, the proviſions being ſpent. To ſupply which want, they thought convenient to fill all the veſſels in the ſhip with ſea-water, which was ſome help, and made the ſhip bear more upright, and be in leſs danger of overſetting. Of this violent ſtorm, the admiral has theſe words. I had been leſs concerned for the tempeſt, had I alone been in danger; for I know I owe my life to the ſupreme creator, and becauſe I have been other times ſo near death, that only the leaſt part was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved and troubled me was the conſideration, that as it had pleaſed our lord to give me faith and aſſurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been ſucceſsful; ſo now that thoſe who oppoſed it were to be convinced, and your highneſſes ſerved by me with honour and increaſe of your mighty ſtate, his divine majeſty ſhould pleaſe to obſtruct all this by my death, which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loſs of all thoſe men I had carried with me, upon promiſe of happy ſucceſs. They ſeeing themſelves in that affliction did not only curſe their ſetting out, but the fear and awe my perſuaſions infuſed into them, to diſſuade their return when outward bound, as they had ſeveral times reſolved to do. But above all my ſorrow was double, when I remembered two ſons I had left at ſchool at *Cordova*, deſtitute of friends, in a ſtrange country, before I had done, or at leaſt could be known to have done any ſervice, which might be believed to incline your highneſſes to remember them. And tho' on the one ſide I comforted my ſelf with the faith, that our lord would not permit a thing which was ſo much for the exaltation of his church, to be left imperfect, when I had with ſo much oppoſition and trouble, almoſt brought it to perfection: yet on the other ſide I conſidered, It was his will, that becauſe of my demerits he would not permit me to obtain ſuch honour in this world, but ſnatched it from me. Being in this inward confuſion, I remembered your highneſſes good fortune, which tho' I were dead, and the ſhip loſt, might find ſome means that a conqueſt ſo near atchieved ſhould not be loſt, and that it was poſſible the ſucceſs of my voyage ſhould by ſome means or other, come to your knowledge. For this reaſon as briefly as the time would permit, I writ upon parchment, that I had diſcovered thoſe lands, I had promiſed, as alſo in how many days, and what way I had done it, the goodneſs of thoſe lands, the nature of the inhabitants, and how your highneſſes ſubjects were left in poſſeſſion of all I had diſcovered; which writing folded and ſealed, I ſuperſcribed to your highnſſes, promiſing in writing upon it a 1000 ducats to him, that ſhould deliver it ſealed to you; to the end, that if any foreigners found it, the promiſed reward might prevail with them, not to give that intelligence to another. Then I cauſed a great caſk to be brought to me, and having wrapped the writing in an oyled cloath and then put it into the cake of wax, I droped it into the caſk, and having ſtopped the bung cloſe, caſt it into the ſea, all the men fancying it was ſome act of devotion. And apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the ſhip ſtill ſailed nearer to *Spain*, I made another pacquet like the firſt, and placed it at the top of the poop, to the end that when the ſhip ſunk, the caſk might take its chance, remaining ſtill above water.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How the admiral arrived at the iſlands Azores *and the people of the iſland of St.* Mary *took away his boat and the men in it.*

They ſpy land.

SAiling on in ſuch mighty danger, and ſo great a ſtorm, on *Friday* the 15 of *February*, at break of day, one *Ruy Garcia*, from the round top, ſaw land bear E. N. E. from them. The pilot and ſeamen judged it was the rock of *Liſbon*, but the admiral concluded it was one of the iſlands *Azores*, and tho' they were at no great diſtance from it, yet they could not come to an anchor that day becauſe of the weather. Thus plying about becauſe the wind was eaſt, they loſt ſight of the iſland and diſcovered another, about which they ran ſtruggling againſt wind and weather, with continual labour and no reſpite, not being able to get to land. Wherefore the admiral in his journal ſays, on *Saturday* the 16th of *February*, I arrived at one of thoſe iſlands at night, and by reaſon of the bad weather, could not tell which of them it was. That night I took a little reſt, becauſe from *Wedneſday* till then, I had never ſlept, and was lame of both my legs, having been continually in the open air and wet, nor was it little that I ſuffered by proviſions. Upon *Monday* morning, being at an anchor, I underſtood from ſome of the inhabitants, that it was the iſland of St. *Mary*,

one

one of the *Azores*, and all of them admired I had eſcap'd, conſidering the terrible ſtorm, which had held for 15 days without intermiſſion in thoſe parts. Theſe people underſtanding what the admiral had diſcovered, ſeem'd to rejoyce, giving praiſe to God, and three of them came aboard with ſome freſh proviſions and many complements from the commander of the iſland, who was far from thence at the town; for about this place, there was nothing to be ſeen but a hermitage, which as they ſaid, was dedicated to the bleſſed virgin. Thereupon the admiral and all his crew remembring they had made a vow the *Thurſday* before, to go barefoot and in their ſhirts, the firſt land they came at, to ſome church of our lady; they were all of opinion they ought here to perform it, eſpecially it being a place where the people and governour expreſs'd ſo much affection and tenderneſs for our men, and belonging to a king, who was ſo great a friend to him of *Caſtile*. Therefore the admiral deſired thoſe three men to repair to the town, and cauſe the chaplain to come that had the keys of that hermitage, that he might ſay maſs there. Theſe men conſenting, they went into the caraval's boat, with half the ſhip's crew, that they might begin to perform their vow, and being come back, the reſt might go to do their part. Being landed barefooted and in their ſhirts, as they had vow'd to do, the governour, with abundance of people from the town, who lay in ambuſh, on a ſudden ruſh'd out upon them and made them priſoners, taking their boat, without which he thought the admiral could never get away from him.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How the admiral weathered another ſtorm, and at laſt recovered his boat and men.

THE admiral thinking they ſtay'd too long, who were gone aſhoar in the boat; it being then noon, whereas they went off by break of day, he ſuſpected ſome misfortune had befallen them, either at land or at ſea. Therefore not being able from the place where he lay, to diſcover the hermitage they were gone to, he reſolved with his ſhip to ſail about a point, whence the church could be ſeen. Being come near, he ſaw abundance of people a horſeback, who diſmounting, went into the boat to attack the caraval. The admiral therefore miſtruſting what might happen, ordered his men to be in a readineſs and arm'd, but make no ſhew of reſiſtance, that the *Portugueſe* might come the nearer. When they were near the admiral, the captain of them ſtood up, demanding to parley, which the admiral granted, thinking he would come aboard, and might be ſecur'd without breach of faith, ſince he had ſeiz'd his men without provocation. But the *Portugueſe* durſt not come nearer than to be heard, when the admiral told him, he admired at his irregular manner of proceeding, and that none of his men came in the boat ſince they were gone aſhoar upon a ſafe conduct, and offers of relief, eſpecially ſince the governour himſelf had ſent to welcome him. He therefore deſired him to conſider, that beſides his doing an action which enemies would not be guilty of, and againſt the laws of honour, the king of *Portugal* would be highly offended at it, whoſe ſubjects were, when they landed, in the dominions of their catholic majeſties, or reſided there, made much of, and treated with all manner of civility, and were ſafe without any ſafe conduct, as if they were in *Lisbon*; beſides that their highneſſes had given him letters of recommendations to all princes, potentates, and other perſons in the world, which he would ſhew him if he drew near. Therefore ſince ſuch letters were received with reſpect in all parts, and he and the king's ſubjects well treated on their account, much more they ought to be ſo in *Portugal*, their princes being ſo near neighbours and allies; eſpecially he being their great admiral of the ocean and vice roy of the *Indies* he had diſcovered, all which he was ready to ſhow him under their highneſſes hands and ſeals. Accordingly at that diſtance he ſhow'd his commiſſions, and told him he might draw near without any apprehenſion, for as much as in regard to the peace and amity betwixt their catholick majeſties and the king of *Portugal*, they had commanded him to pay the utmoſt civility to ſuch *Portugueſe* ſhips as he met; adding, that though he ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in keeping his men, yet that would not prevent his returning to *Spain*, he having ſtill men enough to ſail to *Sevil*, and to do him harm, if need were, whereof he himſelf would be the occaſion, and ſuch puniſhment would be adjudged well deſerved of him, beſides that his king would puniſh him, as giving cauſe for a war between him and their catholick majeſties. The captain and his men anſwered, that they neither knew their catholic majeſties, nor their letters, nor did they fear them, and would make him know what

what *Portugal* was. By this answer the admiral suspected, there had some breach happened between the two crowns since his departure and therefore gave him such an answer as his folly deserv'd. At last when they were parting, the captain stood up, and at a great distance said, he might go to the harbour with his caraval, for that all he did was by order of the king his master. The admiral hearing it, call'd all that were aboard to bear witness, and calling to the captain and *Portuguese*, swore he would never go off the caraval, till he had taken an 100 *Portuguese* to carry them into *Castile*, and to destroy all that island. This said, he again came to an anchor in the port, where he was at first, the weather obliging him to it. But the next day the wind still increasing, and the place where he lay being unsafe, he lost his anchors, and was forced to stand out to sea, towards the island of *St. Michael*, where in case he could not come to an anchor, he had resolved to run it out at sea, not without much danger, as well because the sea ran high, as by reason he had but three able seamen left, and some grummets, all the rest being land men, and *Indians* who understood nothing of sea affairs. But supplying the want of the absent in his own person, he passed that night with much labour and danger, till day appearing, perceiving he had lost sight of the island of *St. Michael*, and that the weather was calmer, he resolved to return to the island of *St. Mary*, to endeavour to recover his men, anchors, and boat. He came up with it on *Thursday* the 21st of *January*, after noon, and soon after the boat came off with five men and a notary, who all upon security given them, went aboard and lay there that night, it being late. The next day they said they came from the captain to know for certain whence the ship came, and whether it had the king of *Spain*'s commission, which being made out, they were ready to show them all manner of friendship, which they did because they could not seize the ship nor the admiral, and that they might suffer for what they had done. The admiral suppressing his resentment, said, he thank'd them for their civil offers, and since they proceeded according to the maritime laws and customs, he was ready to satisfy them; and accordingly show'd them the king of *Spain*'s general letter of recommendation, directed to all his subjects and those of other princes, as also his commission for that voyage; which the *Portuguese* having seen, they went ashore satisfied, and soon dismissed the seamen, with their boat, of whom they understood it was reported in the island, that the king had sent orders to all his subjects to secure the person of the admiral by any means whatsoever.

They restore his men.

CHAP. XL.

How the admiral sail'd from the islands of Azores, *and was forced into* Lisbon *by a storm.*

Another terrible storm.

ON *Sunday* the 24th of *February*, the admiral sail'd from the island of *St. Mary* for *Spain*, being in great want of wood and ballast, which he could not take in, because of the bad weather, tho' the wind was fair for his voyage. Being an 100 leagues from the nearest land, a swallow came into the ship, which, as was believ'd, the storm had drove out to sea, which appeared more plainly, because the next day being the 28th of *February*, a great many more swallows and land fowl came aboard, and they saw a whale. On the 3d of *March* the tempest was so great, that after midnight it split their sails; wherefore being in great danger of their lives, they made a vow to send one in pilgrimage to our lady *de Cinta* at *Guelva*, whither he was to go barefoot, and in his shirt. The lot fell again upon the admiral, God showing thereby, that his offerings were more acceptable than those of others; besides which, other private vows were made. Thus running on without a rag of cloath, but bare masts, a mighty sea, high winds and frightful thunder, each of which seem'd enough to destroy the caraval, it pleased God to give them sight of land, about midnight, which offered no less danger than the rest; for to avoid being beaten to pieces, and running into some place where they knew not how to get off, they were forced to make some sail, to bear up against the storm till day, which appearing, they found they were upon the rock of *Lisbon*. The admiral was forced to put in there, to the great astonishment of the people of that country, and their seamen, who ran from all parts to behold, as it were some wonder, a ship that had escap'd so terrible a storm; having receiv'd news of many ships that had perish'd about *Flanders*, and in other countries of late days. He came to an anchor in the river of *Lisbon* upon *Monday* the 4th of *March*, and presently sent away an express to their catholick majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of *Portugal*, asking leave to go up to anchor before the city, the

The admiral at Lisbon.

place

place where he was, not being ſafe, againſt any that ſhould deſign to do him harm, upon pretence, it was done by the king's order, as believing by his ruin, they might obſtruct the king of *Spain*'s ſucceſs.

CHAP. XLI.

How the people of Liſbon *came to ſee the admiral, as a prodigy; and he went to viſit the king of* Portugal.

The admiral refuſes to quit his veſſel.

ON *Tueſday* the 5th of *March*, the maſter of a great guard ſhip that lay in the harbour, came with his boat full of arm'd men to the admiral's caraval, requiring him to come along to give an account of himſelf to the king's officers, as was practiſed by all ſhips that came into the harbour. He anſwered, That the king of *Spain*'s admirals, as he was, were not obliged to obey any ſuch ſummons, nor to quit their ſhips, to give any account of themſelves, and he was reſolved to do his duty. The maſter bid him at leaſt to ſend his boatſwain. The admiral reply'd, It was ſtill the ſame thing, whether he ſent a grummet, or went himſelf, and therefore it was in vain to deſire him to ſend any body. The maſter being ſenſible he was in the right, deſired him at leaſt to ſhow him the king of *Spain*'s letter, that he might ſatisfy his captain: This being but reaſonable, the admiral ſhow'd him their catholick majeſties letter, with which he was ſatisfied, and went back to his ſhip to give an account of what had happened, to *Alvaro de Acunna* his captain, who came immediately with trumpets, fifes, drums, and great ſtate, aboard the admiral, expreſſing much kindneſs, and offering his ſervice. The next day it being known at *Liſbon*, that the ſhip came from the *Indies*, ſuch throngs of people went aboard to ſee the *Indians*, and hear news, that the caraval could not contain them, and the water was covered with boats, ſome of them praiſing God for ſo great a happineſs, and others ſtorming that they had loſt that diſcovery, thro' their king's incredulity; ſo that day was ſpent with great concourſe of people. The next day, the king ordered his officers to preſent the admiral with all ſorts of refreſhment, and all things he ſtood in need of either for himſelf, or his men, without aſking any pay. At the ſame time he writ to the admiral, congratulating his happy arrival, and deſiring, ſince he was in his dominions, he would come to ſee him. The admiral was doubtful what to do in this caſe, but he conſidered the king was in amity with their catholick majeſties, and had treated him courteouſly; and beſides, to take off all ſuſpicion that he came from his conqueſts, he conſented to go to *Valparaiſo*, nine leagues from *Liſbon*, where the king was, whither he came on *Saturday* night, being the 9th of *March*. The king ordered all the nobility of his court to go out to meet him, and being come into his preſence, did him great honour, commanding him to put on his cap, and ſit down, and having with a chearful countenance heard the particulars of his proſperous voyage, offered him all he ſtood in need of, for the ſervice of their catholick majeſties, though he thought, that foraſmuch as he had been a captain in *Portugal*, that conqueſt belong'd to him. To which the admiral anſwered, That he knew of no ſuch agreement, and that he had ſtrictly obſerv'd his orders, which were not to go to the mines of *Portugal*, nor to *Guinea*. The king ſaid, all was well, and he doubted not but juſtice would be done. Having ſpent a long time in this ſort of diſcourſe, the king commanded the prior of *Crato*, the greateſt man then about him, to entertain the admiral, and ſhew him all civility and reſpect, which was done accordingly. Having ſtay'd there all *Sunday* and all *Monday*, till after maſs, the admiral took leave of the king, who expreſs'd great kindneſs, and made him great proffers, ordering *D. Martin de Noronha* to go along with him, and many other gentlemen went for company to honour him, and hear an account of his voyage. As he was thus on his way to *Liſbon*, he paſs'd by a monaſtery, where the queen then was, who ſent earneſtly to intreat him he would not paſs by without ſeeing her. She was much pleaſed to ſee him, and did him all the favour and honour that was due to the greateſt lord. That night a gentleman came from the king, to the admiral, to let him know, that if he pleaſed to go by land into *Spain*, he would attend him, provide lodgings all the way, and furniſh him all neceſſaries, as far as the borders of *Portugal*.

Nobly receiv'd by the king.

CHAP. XLII.

How the admiral left Liſbon *to return to* Caſtile *by ſea.*

The admiral returns to Palos.

ON *Wedneſday* the 13th of *March*, two hours after day, the admiral ſet ſail for *Sevil*, and on *Friday* following at noon, arrived at *Saltes*, and came to an anchor in the port of *Palos*, whence he had ſet out on the 3d of *Auguſt* the foregoing year 1492, 7 months and 11 days before his return. He was there received by all the people in proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his proſperous ſucceſs, which, it was hop'd, would redound ſo much to the propagation of chriſtianity, and increaſe of their catholick majeſties dominions; all the inhabitants of that place looking upon it as a great matter that the admiral ſet out from thence, and that moſt of the men he had with him, belong'd to it, tho' many of them, thro' *Pinzon*'s fault, had been mutinous and diſobedient. It happened that when the admiral came to *Palos*, *Pinzon* was arriv'd in *Galicia*, and deſign'd to go by himſelf to *Barcelona* to carry the news to their catholick majeſties, who ſent him orders not to go thither without the admiral, with whom he had been ſent to diſcover, at which he was ſo concern'd and offended, that he return'd indiſpos'd, to his native country, where within a few days he died for grief: But before he got to *Palos*, the admiral ſet out for *Sevil*, deſigning thence for *Barcelona*, where their catholick majeſties were; and he was forced to ſtay a little by the way, tho' but never ſo little, to the ſo great admiration of the people whereſoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring towns, down to the roads to ſee him, the *Indians*, and other things he brought. Thus holding on his way he got to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, having before ſent their highneſſes an account of the happy ſucceſs of his voyage, which was extraordinary pleaſing to them, and they ordered him a moſt ſolemn reception, as to a man that had done them ſuch ſingular ſervice. All the court and city went out to meet him; and their catholick majeſties ſate in publick with great ſtate, on rich chairs under a canopy of cloth of gold; and when he went to kiſs their hands, they ſtood up to him as to a great lord, made a difficulty to give him their hands, and cauſed him to ſit down. Having given a brief account of his voyage, they gave him leave to retire to his appartment, whither he was attended by all the court; and he was ſo highly honoured and favoured by their highneſſes, that when the king rode about *Barcelona*, the admiral was on one ſide of him, and the *Infante Fortuna* on the other; whereas before, none went by his majeſty but the ſaid *Infante*, who was his near kinſman.

His reception at Barcelona.

CHAP. XLII.

How it was reſolved that the admiral ſhould return with a powerful fleet to people the iſland Hiſpaniola, *and his holineſſes approbation of the conqueſt was obtain'd.*

The pope's grant.

ORders were given at *Barcelona*, with great care and expedition for the admiral's return to *Hiſpaniola*, as well to relieve thoſe that were left there, as to enlarge the colony and ſubdue the iſland, with the reſt that were and ſhould be diſcovered. To make their title to them the ſtronger, their catholick majeſties, by the advice of the admiral, procured the pope's approbation and conſent for the conqueſt of the ſaid *Indies*, which pope *Alexander* the 6th, who then governed the church, readily granted; not only for what was already, but for all that ſhould be diſcovered weſtward, till it ſhould come to the eaſt, where any chriſtian prince was then actually in poſſeſſion, forbidding all perſons in general, to intrude within thoſe bounds. The ſame his holineſs confirm'd the next year, in very ſignificant terms. And their catholick majeſties being ſenſible that the admiral had been the cauſe of all this favour granted by the pope, and that his diſcovery had entitled them to the poſſeſſion of all thoſe parts, they were pleaſed he ſhould be immediately gratify'd at *Barcelona*, on the 28th of *May*, and therefore granted him a new privilege, or rather an expoſition, and explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had granted before, and in plain terms declared how far the bounds of his admiralſhip, and vice-royſhip extended, being over all that which his holineſs had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before, which privileges and prerogatives are as follows.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

Privileges and prerogatives granted by their catholick majeſties to the admiral.

The admiral's letters patent.

FErdinand *and* Elizabeth, *by the grace of God king and queen of* Caſtile, *of* Leon, *of* Aragon, *of* Sicily, *of* Granada, *of* Toledo, *of* Valencia, *of* Galicia, *of* Majorca, *of* Minorca, *of* Sevil, *of* Sardinia, *of* Jaen, *of* Algarve, *of* Algezira, *of* Gibraltar, *of the* Canary Iſlands, *count and counteſs of* Barcelona, *lord and lady of* Biſcay *and* Molina, *duke and ducheſs of* Athens *and* Neopatria, *count and counteſs of* Rouſſillion *and* Cerdaigne, *marqueſs and marchioneſs of* Oriſtan, *and* Gociano, &c. *Foraſmuch as you* Chriſtopher Columbus, *are going by our command with ſome of our veſſels and men to diſcover and ſubdue ſome iſlands and continent in the ocean, and it is hoped that by God's aſſiſtance, ſome of the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ocean will be diſcovered and conquer'd by your means and conduct, therefore it is but juſt and reaſonable, that ſince you expoſe your ſelf to ſuch danger to ſerve us, you ſhould be rewarded for it. And we being willing to honour and favour you for the reaſons aforeſaid: Our will is, That you,* Chriſtopher Columbus, *after diſcovering and conquering the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ſaid ocean, or any of them, ſhall be our admiral of the ſaid iſlands and continent you ſhall ſo diſcover and conquer; and that you be our admiral, vice-roy and governor in them, and that for the future you may call and ſtyle your ſelf,* D. Chriſtopher Columbus, *and that your ſons and ſucceſſors in the ſaid employment may call themſelves dons, admirals, vice-roys and governors of them; and that you may exerciſe the office of admiral, with the charge of vice-roy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent, which you and your lieutenants ſhall conquer, and freely decide all cauſes civil and criminal, appertaining to the ſaid employment of admiral, vice-roy and governor, as you ſhall think fit in juſtice, and as the admirals of our kingdoms uſe to do; and that you have power to puniſh offenders; and you and your lieutenants exerciſe the employments of admiral, vice-roy and governor in all things belonging to the ſaid offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquiſites and ſallaries belonging to the ſaid employments, and to each of them, in the ſame manner as the high-admiral of our kingdoms does. And by this our letter, or a copy of it ſign'd by a publick notary: We command prince* John, *our moſt dearly beloved ſon, infantes, dukes, prelates, marqueſſes, great maſters and military orders, priors, commendaries, our counſellors, judges, and other officers of juſtice whatſoever, belonging to our houſhold, courts and chancery, and conſtables of caſtles, ſtrong-houſes and others; and all corporations, bailiffs, governors, judges, commanders, ſea-officers; and the aldermen, common-council, officers and good people of all cities, lands and places in our kingdoms and dominions, and in thoſe you ſhall conquer and ſubdue, and the captains, maſters, mates and other officers and ſailers, our natural ſubjects now being, or that ſhall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you ſhall have diſcovered the ſaid iſlands and continent in the ocean; and you, or any that ſhall have your commiſſion, ſhall have taken the uſual oath in ſuch caſes, that they, for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your ſon and heir, and ſo from one heir to another for ever, as our admiral on our ſaid ocean, and as vice-roy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent, by you* Chriſtopher Columbus *diſcovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the employments of admiral, vice-roy and governor, as ſuch in all reſpects, and give you all the perquiſites and other things belonging and appertaining to the ſaid offices; and allow, and cauſe to be allow'd you, all the honours, graces, conceſſions, preheminences, prerogatives, immunities and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by vertue of your commands, of admiral, vice-roy and governor, and to be obſerved compleatly, ſo that nothing be diminiſhed, and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor ſuffer it to be made; foraſmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, beſtow on you the employments of admiral, vice-roy and perpetual governor for ever; and we put you into poſſeſſion of the ſaid offices, and of every of them, and full power to uſe and exerciſe them, and to receive the perquiſites and ſallaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was ſaid above. Concerning all which things, if it be requiſite, and you ſhall deſire it, we command our chancellor, notaries and other officers to paſs, ſeal and deliver to you our letter of privilege, in ſuch firm and legal manner, as you ſhall require or ſtand in need of. And that none of them preſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our diſpleaſure, and forfeiture of thirty ducats for each offence. And we command him, who ſhall ſhow them this our letter, that he ſummon them to appear before us at our court, where we ſhall then be, within* 15 *days after ſuch ſummons, under the ſaid penalty. Under which ſame we alſo command any publick notary whatſoever, that he give to him that ſhows it him,*

him, a certificate under his ſeal, that we may know how our command is obey'd.

Given at *Granada*, on the 30th of *April*, in the year of our *Lord* 1492. I the king, I the queen.

By their majeſties command, *John Coloma* ſecretary to the king and queen.

Entered according to order, *Roderick Doctor.*

Regiſtred, *Sebaſtian Dolana*, *Francis de Madrid*, chancellors.

The confirmation.

AND now foraſmuch as it has pleaſed our lord, that you have diſcovered ſeveral of the ſaid iſlands, as we ſtill hope you will by his grace diſcover and find others and the continent in the ſaid ocean, and thoſe parts of the Indies, *and have deſired and requeſted of us, that we would confirm to you our ſaid grant here ſet down, and all the contents of it, to the end that you and your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, and after your days, may have and enjoy the ſaid employments of admiral, vice-roy and governor of the ſaid ocean, iſlands and continent, as well of thoſe you have already found and diſcover'd, as of thoſe you ſhall for the future find and diſcover, with all the power, preheminence and prerogative, as the admirals, vice-roys and governors in our kingdoms of* Caſtile *and* Leon *do enjoy; and that all the perquiſites and ſallaries appertaining and belonging to the ſaid offices, and granted and allowed to our admirals, vice-roys and governors may be made good to you; or that we make ſuch proviſion in this caſe, as in our goodneſs we ſhall think fit. And we having regard to the hazard and danger you have expoſed your ſelf to in our ſervice, in going to diſcover and find out the ſaid iſlands, and that which you now run in attempting to find out the other iſlands and continent, wherein we have been, and hope to be by you well ſerved: To requite and reward you do by theſe preſents, confirm to you and your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, now and for ever the ſaid employments of admiral of the ſaid ocean, and vice-roy and governor of the ſaid iſlands and continent by you diſcovered and found out; and of the other iſlands and continent, that ſhall be by you or your induſtry found or diſcovered for the future in thoſe parts of the* Indies. *And it is our will, that you, and after you your children, heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, enjoy the ſaid employment of our admiral of the ſaid ocean, which is ours, and commences at a line, we have cauſed to be drawn from the iſlands* Azores, *to thoſe of* Cabo Verde, *and ſo from pole to pole north and ſouth; ſo that all beyond the ſaid line weſtward is ours, and belongs to us. And accordingly we conſtitute you admiral, and your ſons and ſucceſſors, one after another, of all that part for ever. And we alſo appoint you our vice-roy and governor, and after you, your ſons heirs and ſucceſſors, one after another, of the ſaid iſlands and continent diſcovered, and to be diſcovered in the ſaid ocean in thoſe parts of the* Indies, *as has been ſaid; and we grant you the poſſeſſion of all the ſaid employments of admiral, vice-roy and governor for ever, with full commiſſion and authority to uſe and exerciſe in the ſaid ſea, the office of admiral in all thoſe things, and in the ſame manner and form, and with the rights and privileges, perquiſites and ſallaries, as our admirals of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *have and do uſe, have enjoy'd or enjoy, as well in the ſaid iſlands and continent already diſcover'd, as in thoſe that ſhall hereafter be diſcovered in the ſaid ocean and ſaid parts of the* Indies, *that the planters of them all may be the better governed. And we grant you ſuch power and authority, that you may, as our vice-roy and governor, and your lieutenants, judges, commanders and officers by you created, exerciſe the civil and criminal juriſdiction, the ſupreme and mean authority, and the abſolute and mixt command. And in thoſe places you may remove, turn out, and put in others in their places, as often as you pleaſe, and ſhall think convenient for our ſervice. And that they have power to hear, judge and determine all ſuits or cauſes civil or criminal, that ſhall occur or ariſe in the ſaid iſlands or continent; and that they have and receive the fees and ſalaries uſually annex'd, and appertaining to thoſe employments in our kingdoms of* Caſtile *and* Leon. *And you our ſaid vice-roy and governor may hear and determine all the ſaid cauſes and any of them, whenſoever you ſhall pleaſe, upon the firſt motion by way of appeal or complaint, and examine, determine and decide them, as our vice-roy and governor; and you and your children may do all that is reaſonable in ſuch caſes, and all other things appertaining to the office of vice-roy and governor, and that you and your lieutenants and officers appointed to this purpoſe, may take ſuch cognizance, and uſe ſuch methods as you ſhall think proper for our ſervice, and the execution of our juſtice. All which you and they may do and perform lawfully and effectually, as they might and ought to do, had the ſaid officers been appointed by us. But our will and pleaſure is, that ſuch letters patents as you ſhall grant, be drawn and granted in our name, with theſe words, Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* by the grace of God king and queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon, &c. and be ſealed with our ſeal, which we will cauſe to be given you for the ſaid iſlands and continent. And we command all the people, inhabitants and other perſons in the ſaid iſland and continent, to obey you, as our vice-roy and governor of the ſame; and thoſe that ſail on the ſaid ſeas to obey you as our admiral of the ſaid ocean; and that all of them execute your letters and orders, and take part with you*

you and your officers, for the execution of our juſtice; and give, and cauſe to be given you, all the aid and aſſiſtance you ſhall require and ſtand in need of, upon ſuch penalties as you ſhall impoſe on them, which we by theſe preſents do impoſe on them, and do look upon them as impos'd; and do grant you authority to execute them on their perſons and goods. And it is alſo our will, that if you ſhall find it for our ſervice, and the execution of juſtice, That any perſons who ſhall be in the ſaid iſlands or continent, depart from them, and do not return nor ſtay in them, and that they come and appear before us, you may in our name command, and make them depart the ſaid iſlands. All whom by theſe preſents we command, that they preſently perform, execute and put in practice all that has been ſaid, without looking farther, or asking advice upon it, nor expecting any other letter or command from us, notwithſtanding any appeal or petition they ſhall make or preſent againſt your ſaid order. For all which things, and any other due or belonging to the ſaid offices of our admiral, viceroy, and governour, we give you ſufficient authority, with all incidents, dependencies, and emergencies to them annexed or inherent. Concerning all which things, if it ſhall be your will, we do command our chancellor, notaries, and other officers belonging to our ſeals, that they give, paſs, diſpatch, and ſeal you our letter of privilege, made as effective, firm and ſtrong, as you ſhall require of them and ſtand in need of; and that none of them preſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our diſpleaſure, and of thirty ducats to be paid to our treaſury by every one that ſhall be guilty of the contrary. And beſides, we command him that ſhall ſhew them this our letter to ſummon them to appear before us at our court, whereſoever we are, within fifteen days upon the ſaid penalty. Under which we command any publick notary, *that ſhall be called for ſuch purpoſe, that he give to him that ſhall ſhew it him, a certificate ſign'd under his hand, that we may know how our commands are obey'd.*

Given in the city of *Barcelona* the 28th of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1493.

I the King, I the Queen.

By their majeſties order, *Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo*, ſecretary to the king and queen, our lord and lady.

Peter Gutierres, chancellor, without fees for ſeal or entry.

Deliver'd, *Roderick Doctor.*

Enter'd, *Alonzo Perez.*

CHAP. XLV.

How the admiral went from Barcelona *to* Seville, *and ſet out thence for* Hiſpaniola.

The admiral's ſecond voyage.

ALL things neceſſary for the peopling of thoſe countries being provided, the admiral departed from *Barcelona* for *Seville* in *June*, and being come thither, ſo diligently ſollicited the fitting out of the fleet their catholick majeſties had ordered him to provide, that in a ſhort time ſeventeen ſhips, between great and ſmall, were made ready, well ſtored with proviſions, and with all things thought neceſſary for peopling of thoſe countries; as handicrafts of all ſorts, labourers, countrymen to till the land; beſides, the fame of gold and other rarities in thoſe countries, had drawn together ſo many gentlemen, and other perſons of worth; that it was neceſſary to leſſen the number, and not to allow ſo many to go aboard, at leaſt till it appeared in ſome meaſure how things would ſucceed in thoſe parts, and till things were a little ſettled. Yet was it impoſſible ſo much to confine the number of people that went aboard, but that it amounted to 1500 of all ſorts; among whom ſome carried horſes, aſſes, and other beaſts, which were afterwards of great uſe and advantage to the planters in thoſe countries. Being thus furniſhed, the admiral weighed anchor in the road of *Cadiz*, where the fleet had been fitted, upon *Wedneſday* the 25th of *September* 1493, an hour before ſun-riſing, my brother and I being there, and ſtood ſouth-weſt for the *Canary* iſlands, deſigning there to take in ſome neceſſary refreſhment. On the 28th of *September*, being 100 leagues from *Spain*, there came aboard the admiral's ſhip, abundance of land-fowl, turtle-doves, and other ſorts of ſmall birds, which ſeem'd to be paſſing over to winter in *Africk*, and to come from the iſlands *Azores*. He holding on his courſe, on *Wedneſday* the 2d of *October* arrived at *Gran Canaria*, and came to an anchor; at midnight ſail'd again for *Gomera*, where he arrived on the fifth of *October*, and orders were given for taking up with all ſpeed whatſoever the fleet ſtood in need of.

He arrives at the Canaries.

CHAP. XLVI.

How the admiral departing from Gomera, *croſſed the ocean and diſcovered the* Caribbee *iſlands.*

ON *Monday* the 7th of *October* the admiral continued his voyage towards the *Indies*, having firſt deliver'd a commiſſion ſhut up and ſeal'd, to every ſhip, commanding them not to open it, unleſs they were ſeparated from him by ſtreſs of weather; for he in thoſe letters giving an account of the courſe they were to ſteer, to come to the town of the *Nativity* in *Hiſpaniola*, would not have that courſe known to any without great need. Thus ſailing with a fair gale till *Thurſday* the 24th of *October*, when being 400 leagues weſt of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the weeds he had ſeen the firſt voyage, when he was out but 250 leagues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them all. That day and the next a ſwallow flew about the fleet. On *Saturday* at night the body of St. *Elmo* was ſeen, with ſeven lighted candles on the round-top, and there follow'd mighty rains, and frightful thunder. I mean, the lights were ſeen, which the ſeamen affirm to be the body of St. *Elmo*, and they ſing litanies and prayers to him; looking upon it as moſt certain, that in thoſe ſtorms where he appears, there can be no danger. Whatſoever this is, I leave to them; for if we will believe *Pliny*, when ſuch lights appeared in thoſe times to the *Roman* ſailers in a ſtorm, they ſaid they were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, whereof *Seneca* makes mention alſo, at the beginning of his firſt book of nature. But to return to our hiſtory; on *Saturday* the ſecond of *November*, at night, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the ſky and winds, and taking notice of the mighty rains, he concluded for certain that he was near ſome land, and for this reaſon cauſed moſt of the ſails to be furl'd, and ordered all to be upon the watch; nor without cauſe; for that ſame night, as day began to break, they ſpy'd land ſeven leagues to the weſtward, which was a high mountainous iſland; and he called it *Dominica*, becauſe diſcovered upon *Sunday* morning. A while after he ſaw another iſland north-eaſt of *Dominica*, and then another, and another after that, more northward. For which mercy God had been pleaſed to beſtow on them, all the men aſſembling in the poop, ſung the *Salve regina*, and other prayers and hymns very devoutly, giving thanks to God, for that in twenty days after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that land, judging the diſtance between them to be between 750 and 800 leagues. And finding no convenient place to come to an anchor on the eaſt ſide of the iſland *Dominica*, they ſtood over to another iſland which the admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his ſhip's name. Here landing, he with all neceſſary ſolemnity again confirmed the poſſeſſion he had in his firſt voyage taken of all the iſlands and continent of the *Weſt Indies* for their catholick majeſties.

Iſland Dominica *diſcovered.*

Iſland Marigalante.

CHAP. XLVII.

How the admiral diſcovered the iſland of Guadalupe, *and what he ſaw there.*

Guadalupe *iſlands.*

ON *Monday* the fourth of *November*, the admiral ſailed from the iſland *Marigalante* northwards, by another great iſland, which he called *St. Mary of Guadalupe*, for his own devotion, and at the requeſt of the friars of the houſe of that name, to whom he had made a promiſe to call ſome iſland by the name of their monaſtery. Before he came to it, at two leagues diſtance, they diſcovered a very high rock, ending in a point, whence guſh'd out a ſtream of water, as thick as a large barrel, which falling made ſuch a noiſe, that it was heard aboard the ſhips, tho' many affirmed it was only a white vein in the rock, the water was ſo white and frothy by reaſon of its ſteep fall. Going aſhore in the boat to view a ſort of town they ſaw from the ſhore, they found no body there, the people being fled to the woods, except ſome children, to whoſe arms they ty'd ſome baubles to allure their fathers when they returned. In the houſes they found geeſe like ours, and abundance of parrots with red, green, blue, and white feathers, as big as common cocks. They alſo found pompions, and a ſort of fruit, which look'd like our green pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of a ſolid meat, like a melon, and much ſweeter both in taſte and ſmell, which grow on long ſtalks like lillies or aloes, wild about the fields, and are better than thoſe that are brought up by art, as afterwards appeared. They alſo ſaw other ſorts of fruits and herbs differing from ours. Beds of cotton nets, that is, hammacks, bows, and arrows, and o-

ther ſuch things, of which our men took none, that the *Indians* might be the leſs afraid of the chriſtians. But what they moſt admired was, that they found an iron-pan, tho' I believe that the rocks and fire-ſtones in that country being of the colour of bright iron, a perſon of but indifferent judgment that found it, without looking farther, took it for iron, tho' in truth it was not ſo; foraſmuch as from that day to this, there was never any thing of iron found among thoſe people, nor did I hear the admiral ſpeak of this. And therefore I am opinion, that he uſing daily to write down whatſoever happened, and was told him, that he might among other things ſet down what was told him concerning this particular, by thoſe that were aſhore. And tho' it were of iron, it was not to be admired, becauſe the *Indians* of the iſland of *Guadalupe*, being *Caribbees*, and making their excurſions to rob as far as *Hiſpaniola*, perhaps they had that pan of the chriſtians, or of the other *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola*; and it is poſſible they might carry the body of the ſhip the admiral loſt, to make uſe of the iron; and tho' it were not the hulk of that ſhip, it muſt be the remainder of ſome other wreck, carried thither by the wind and current from our parts. But be it what it will, they that day took neither the pan nor any thing elſe, but returned to their ſhips. The next day, which was *Tueſday* the fifth of *November*, the admiral again ſent two boats aſhore, to endeavour to take ſome body that might give him an account of the country, and inform him how far off, and which way *Hiſpaniola* lay. Each of the boats brought back a youth, who agreed in ſaying they were not of that iſland, but of another call'd *Borriquen* (now *St. John*) and that the inhabitants of that iſland of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees* or *Canibals*, and had taken them priſoners from their own iſland. Soon after the boats returning to ſhore, to take up ſome chriſtians they had left there, found ſix women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribbees*, and came of their own accord aboard the ſhips. The admiral to allure the iſlanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them ſome glaſs beads and bells, and made them be ſet aſhore againſt their wills. This was not done unadviſedly, for as ſoon as they landed, the *Caribbees* in the ſight of the chriſtians, took away all the admiral had given them. Therefore either thro' the hatred they bore the *Caribbees*, or for the fear they had conceived of thoſe people; awhile after, when the boats returned for wood and water, the ſaid women got into them, begging of the ſeamen to carry them aboard the ſhips, and giving them to underſtand by ſigns, that thoſe people did eat men, and make ſlaves of them, and therefore they would not ſtay with them. So that the men yielding to their intreaties, carried them back to the ſhips, with two children and a young man that had made his eſcape from the *Caribbees*, thinking it ſafer to put themſelves into the hands of people they never ſaw, and ſuch ſtrangers to their nation, than to remain among thoſe they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their huſbands and children, and they ſay they do not kill and eat the women, but keep them as ſlaves. One of the women told them, that towards the ſouth there were many iſlands, ſome inhabited, others not, which both ſhe and the other women, ſeverally call'd *Giamachi*, *Cairvaco*, *Huino*, *Buriari*, *Arubeira*, *Sixibei*. But the continent, which they ſaid was very great, both they and the people of *Hiſpaniola*, called *Zuanta*, becauſe in former times canoes had come from that land to barter with abundance of lads, of whom they ſaid there were two thirds in an iſland not far diſtant; and they alſo ſaid, that a king of that country whither they fled, was gone with ten great canoes, and 300 men, to make incurſions into the neighbouring iſlands, and take people to eat. The ſame women gave information where the iſland *Hiſpaniola* lay; for tho' the admiral had inſerted it in his ſea-chart; yet for his farther information, he would hear what the people of that country ſaid of it. He would immediately have ſailed that way, had he not been told, that one captain *Mark* was gone aſhore with eight men, without his leave, before day, and was not yet returned. He was therefore forced to ſend out to look for him, tho' in vain; for by reaſon of the great thickneſs of the trees, there could be no diſcovering of them. Therefore the admiral, that they might not be loſt, or be obliged to leave a ſhip behind to take them in, which might afterwards miſs her way to *Hiſpaniola*, reſolved to ſtay there till the next day; and becauſe the country, as has been ſaid, was full of great woods, he ordered them to be ſought after again, and that they ſhould carry trumpets and muſkets to bring them to the noiſe. Theſe people having ſtrayed all that day, returned to their ſhips without finding or hearing any news of them. The admiral therefore ſeeing it was now *Thurſday* morning, and no news had been heard of them ſince *Tueſday*, and that they went without leave, reſolved to continue his voyage, or at leaſt make ſhew of ſo doing, that it might be a puniſhment to others, but at the intreaty of ſome of their kindred and friends, he ſtay'd, and ordered the ſhips ſhould in the mean while take in wood and water, and the men

Product of the iſland Guadalupe.

waſh

waſh their linen; and ſent captain *Hojeda*, with forty men, to look for thoſe that were ſtray'd, and pry into the nature of the country, where he found maſtick, aloes, ſandal, ginger, frankincenſe, and ſome trees in taſte and ſmell like cinamon, abundance of cotton, and many falcons, and ſaw two of them purſuing the other birds; they alſo ſaw kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geeſe, and nightingals, and affirm'd that in travelling ſix leagues, they croſs'd 26 rivers, ſeveral whereof were vaſt deep, which makes me believe, that the country being uncouth, they often croſs'd the ſame river. Whilſt theſe were admiring at what they ſaw, and other companies went about the iſland, ſeeking the ſtragglers, they returned to the ſhips without being met by any that look'd for them, on *Friday* the 8th of *November*, ſaying the thickneſs of the woods was the cauſe they had loſt themſelves. The admiral to puniſh their preſumption, commanded the captain to be caſt into irons, and the reſt to ſuffer by retrenching their allowance of proviſions. Then he landed, and went to ſome houſes, where he ſaw all the things above-mentioned, eſpecially a great deal of cotton ſpun and unſpun, looms to weave, abundance of mens ſkulls hung up, and baſkets full of mens bones. Theſe houſes they ſaw were the beſt, and more plentifully ſtored with proviſions, and other things neceſſary for the uſe of the *Indians*, than any others the admiral ſaw in the iſlands at his firſt voyage.

CHAP. XLVIII.

How the admiral departed from the iſland Guadalupe, *and of ſome iſlands he found in his way.*

Monſeratte *iſland.* ON *Sunday* the tenth of *November* the admiral weighed anchor, and ſailed with the whole fleet along the coaſt of the iſland *Guadalupe*, towards the north-weſt for *Hiſpaniola*, and came to the iſland *Monſeratte*, calling it by that name, becauſe of its heighth, and underſtood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribbees* had unpeopled it, devouring the inhabitants.

Redonda. Thence he proceeded to *St. Mary Redonda*, ſo called, becauſe it is ſo round and upright, that there ſeems to be no getting into it without ladders, which the *Indians* call'd *Ocamaniro*. Next he came to *St. Maria la*

St. Maria Antigua. *Antigua*, which is above 28 leagues in extent. Still holding on his courſe north-weſt, there appeared ſeveral other iſlands towards the north, and lying north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, all very high and full of woods, in one of which they caſt anchor, and call'd it *St.*

St. Martin. *Martin*, where they took up pieces of coral, ſticking to the anchor flooks, which made them hope they ſhould find other uſeful things in thoſe countries. Tho' the admiral was very deſirous to know every thing, yet he reſolved to hold on his courſe towards *Hiſpaniola*, to relieve thoſe he had left there, but the weather being bad, he came to an anchor on *Thurſday* the thirteenth of *November*, in an iſland, where he ordered ſome *Indians* to be taken, to know whereabouts he was. As the boat was returning to the fleet with four women, and three children the men had taken, it met a canoe, in which there were four men and one woman, who perceiving they could not make their eſcape, ſtood upon their guard, and hit two of the chriſtians with their arrows, which they let fly with ſuch force and dexterity, that the woman ſhot a target quite thro'; but the boat furiouſly boarding, the canoe overſet, ſo that they took them all ſwimming in the water, and one of them ſwimming ſhot ſeveral arrows, as if he had been upon dry land. Theſe had their members cut off, for they are taken by the *Caribbees* in other iſlands, and gelt, as we do to fat capons, that they may be more pleaſing to the taſte. The admiral departing hence, continued his voyage W. N. W. where he found above fifty iſlands, which he left to the northward; the biggeſt of them he called *St. Urſula*, and the others the *Eleven thouſand virgins*. St. Urſula. Next he came to the iſland which he call'd St. *John Baptiſt*, but the *Indians Borriquen*, and the fleet anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of it, where they took ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, as ſkate, olaves, pilchards, and ſhads, and ſaw falcons, and buſhes like wild vines. More to the eaſtward, ſome chriſtians went to certain houſes well built after their faſhion, with a ſquare before them, and a broad road down to the ſea, with towers made of cane on both ſides, and the top of them curiouſly interwoven with greens, as is ſeen in the gardens of *Valencia*. At the end of it next the ſea, was a rais'd gallery or balcony that could hold ten or twelve people, lofty and well built.

St. John, *or* Borriquen.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

How the admiral arrived at Hiſpaniola, *where he underſtood the* Spaniards *were dead.*

An Indian *ſent aſhoar.*

ON *Friday* the twelfth of *November*, the admiral came up with the north ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, and preſently ſent aſhore at *Samana*, one of the *Indians* born in that part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then converted to our holy faith, who offer'd to reduce all the *Indians* to ſubmit to the chriſtians. The admiral continuing his voyage towards the town of *Natal*, or the *Nativity*, when he came to cape *Angel*, ſome *Indians* went aboard, to barter their commodities with the chriſtians. Coming to an anchor in the port of *Monte Chriſto*, a boat that went aſhore, found near a river two dead men, one of them ſeemed to be young, the other old, who had a rope made of a certain ſort of broom, or ſuch like furze that grows in *Spain*, called *Eſparto*, about his neck, his arms extended, and his hands tied to a piece of wood, in the form of a croſs; but they could not diſcern whether they were chriſtians or *Indians*, but look upon it as an ill omen. The next day being the 26th of *November*, the admiral ſent aſhoar in ſeveral places; the *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the chriſtians, and touching our men's ſhirts and doublets, ſaid ſhirt, doublet in *Spaniſh*, to ſhew they knew how thoſe things were called, which delivered the admiral from the jealouſy he had conceived, on account of the dead men, judging that if thoſe people had wronged the chriſtians left there, they had not come ſo boldly aboard the ſhips. But the next day, when he came to an anchor near the town of *Navidad*, or the nativity, after midnight, a canoe came to the fleet, and aſked for the admiral, and being bid to come aboard, for he was there, they would not do it, ſaying, they were reſolved not to go aboard till they ſaw and knew him. The admiral therefore was forced to come to the ſhip's ſide to hear them, and then preſently two went up with two maſks, which they gave to the admiral, from the *Cacique Guacanagari*, ſaying, he ſent many commendations. They being aſked by the admiral concerning the chriſtians left there, anſwered, that ſome of them died of diſtempers, ſome parted from their company, and ſome were gone into other countries; but that all of them had four or five wives, tho' it appeared by their way of ſpeaking, that all or moſt of them were dead; yet the admiral not thinking fit to take any notice at that time, ſent back the *Indians*, with a preſent of ſome things made of latten, and other baubles, for *Guacanagari*, and themſelves, and ſo they went away that ſame night, with the gifts for the *Cacique*.

Indians came boldly aboard.

CHAP. L.

How the admiral went to the town of Navidad, *or the* Nativity, *found it forſaken and burnt, and had an interview with King* Guacanagari.

ON *Thurſday* the 28th of *November*, about evening, the admiral with all his fleet came into the port, before the town of *Navidad* or the *Nativity*, found it all burnt, and that day no body was ſeen all about there: Next day in the morning, the admiral landed very much concern'd to ſee the houſes and fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the chriſtians, but only ragged cloaths and ſuch like things, as is uſual in a place plunder'd and deſtroy'd; and ſeeing no body to enquire of, the admiral went with ſome boats up a river that was hard by. Whilſt he was going up it, he ordered the well he had made in the fort, to be cleanſed, thinking to find gold in it; becauſe at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded thoſe he left behind, to throw all the gold they could get into that well, but nothing was found in it; and the admiral that way he went up with his boats, could lay hold of no *Indian*, becauſe they all fled from their houſes, to the woods. Having therefore found nothing but ſome of the chriſtians cloaths, he returned to *Navidad*, where he ſaw eight of the chriſtians, and three others, in the fields near the town, whom they knew to be chriſtians by their cloaths, and they ſeem'd to have been dead about a month. The chriſtians going about to ſeek ſome other tokens, or writings of the dead, a brother of the *Cocique Guacanagari*, came with ſome *Indians* to talk with the admiral. Theſe could ſpeak ſome words of *Spaniſh*, and knew the names all of the chriſtians, that had been left there, and ſaid that thoſe *Spaniards* ſoon began to fall at variance among themſelves, and to take every one

what gold and as many women as they could; whereupon *Peter Gutierres* and *Escovedo* kill'd one *James*, and then they and nine others went away with their women to a *Cacique*, whose name was *Caunabo*, who was lord of the mines, and kill'd them all; then many days after came with a great many men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with ten men, who had remained with him to guard the fort, all the rest being dispersed about the island. The *Cacique Caunabo* coming up by night, fired the houses where the christians liv'd with their women, for fear whereof they fled to the sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died ashoar, whom they show'd. That *Guacanagari* himself, fighting with *Caunabo* in defence of the christians, was wounded and fled. This account agreed with that given by other christians, sent by the admiral to learn more of the country, who went to a town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a wound, which he said had hindred him from waiting on the admiral, and giving him an account of what was become of the christians; among whom he said, soon after the admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be dissension, and every one would barter gold for himself, and take what woman he thought fit; and not satisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave and allowed to be given them, they divided into several parcels, and dispersed some one way and some another, and that some *Biscainers* joyning together, went where they were all kill'd; and this was the truth of what had happened, which they might tell the admiral, desiring him by those same christians, that he would go see him, because he was in such a condition that he could not leave his house. The admiral did so, going the next day to visit him, and he with great signs of sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his men had been all wounded in defence of the christians, as appeared by their wounds, which were not given by christian arms, but with *Aragayas*, or wooden swords, and arrows pointed with fish bones. This discourse being over, he presented the admiral with 8 strings of small beads, made of white, green, and red stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of gold, and three little calabashes full of gold sand, all which might be about 4 mark weight in gold, each mark being half a pound. The admiral in return, gave him abundance of our baubles, which might be worth three royals, (or eighteen pence) and were valued by him above a thousand. Tho' he was very ill, he would needs go with the admiral to see the fleet, where he was courteously entertain'd and much pleased to see the horses, of which the christians had before given him an account. And because some of those that were dead, had misinform'd him concerning our holy faith, the admiral was forced to instruct him in it, and afterwards would have him wear an image of the virgin *Mary* about his neck, which at first he had refused to receive.

How the Spaniards *left in* Hispaniola *were destroyed.*

CHAP. LI.

How the admiral left the colony of Navidad, *and went to found the city which he call'd* Isabella.

THE admiral reflecting on the disaster of those christians, and his own misfortune at sea, having lost the men and fort ashoar, and his ship upon the water, and that not far off there were better and more commodious places to plant a colony; on *Saturday* the 7th of *December*, he sail'd with the whole fleet eastward, and about evening cast anchor not far from the islands of *Monte Christo*, and the next day at *Monte Christo*, among those seven low little islands, whereof mention has been made already, which, tho' they are without trees, are nevertheless pleasant; for in that winter season, they there found flowers, and nests with eggs, others with young birds, and all other things that are seen in summer. Thence he went to anchor before a town of *Indians*, where resolved to plant a colony, he landed with all the men, provisions and utensils he brought aboard the fleet, in a plain near a rock, on which a fort might conveniently be built, where he built a town and call'd it *Isabella*, in honour of queen *Isabel* or *Elizabeth*. This place was judged very convenient, forasmuch as the port was very large, tho' expos'd to the north-west, and had a most delicate river a bow shot from it, from which canals of water might be drawn to run thro' the middle of the town, and beyond was a mighty open plain, from which the *Indians* said the mines of *Cibao* were not very remote. For these reasons the admiral was so eager upon settling the said colony, that what with the fatigue endured at sea, and what he here went thro', he not only wanted time to write day by day what happened, according to his custom, but it happen'd he fell sick, which interrupted his writing from the

Isabella *the first colony in the* West Indies.

the 11th of *December*, till the 12th of *March*, in the year 1494. During which time, having ordered the affairs of the town the beſt he could, for affairs abroad, he ſent one *Alonzo de Hojeda*, with 15 men to ſeek out the mines of *Cibao*. Afterwards on the 2d of *February*, 12 ſhips of the fleet returned to *Caſtile*, under the command of one captain *Anthony de Torres*, brother to prince *John*'s nurſe, a man of great judgment and honour, and in whom their catholick majeſties and the admiral much confided. He had all in writing at large that had happened, as alſo the nature of the country, and what it required. Not long after *Hojeda* returned, and giving an account of his journey, ſaid, That the 2d day, after he ſet out for *Iſabella*, he lay at the paſs of a mountain, which was very difficult of acceſs, that afterwards, at every league's diſtance he found *Caciques*, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his journey the 6th day after he ſet out, he came to the mines of *Cibao*, where the *Indians* immediately before him, took up gold in a ſmall river, as they had done in many others of the ſame province, were he affirm'd there was great plenty of gold. This news much rejoiced the admiral, who was then recovered of his ſickneſs, and he reſolved to go aſhoar, to obſerve the diſpoſition of the country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *March*, 1494, he ſet out from *Iſabella* from *Cibao*, to ſee the mines, with all the people that were in health, both a foot and a horſeback, leaving a good guard in the two ſhips and three caravals that remained of the fleet, and cauſing all the ammunition and tackle belonging to the other ſhips, to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel with them as they had attempted to do whilſt he was ſick. Becauſe many having gone that voyage, upon the belief, that as ſoon as they landed they might load themſelves with gold, and ſo return rich home, (which gold, whereſoever it is found, requires time, trouble, and labour to gather it) the thing not falling out as they expected; being therefore diſſatisfied and offended, as alſo becauſe of the building of the new town, and weary of the diſeaſes, the climate and change of diet cauſed among them, they had privately conſpired to revolt from the admiral, and taking the ſhips that remain'd, by force to return in them to *Spain*. One *Bernard de Piſa*, who had been an officer of juſtice at court, and went that voyage in the quality of their catholick majeſties controller, was the ring-leader and head of theſe mutineers; therefore the admiral, when informed of it, would not puniſh him any otherwiſe, than by ſecuring him aboard a ſhip, with a deſign to ſend him afterwards into *Spain*, with his proceſs drawn up, as well for mutinying, as for having writ a falſe information againſt the admiral, which he had hid in the ſhip. Having therefore ordered all theſe affairs, and having left ſome perſons both at ſea and aſhoar, together with his Brother *D. James Columbus* to look to, and ſecure the fleet, he ſet forwards towards *Cibao*, carrying along with him all the tools and neceſſaries to build a fort, to keep that province under, and ſecure the chriſtians left there to gather gold, againſt any attempts or deſigns of the *Indians*. And the more to terrify them, and take away all hopes that they might do in the admiral's preſence, as they had done in his abſence with *Arana*, and the 38 chriſtians left among them; he then carried along with him all the men he could, that they might in their own towns ſee and be ſenſible of the power of the chriſtians, and be ſenſible that whenſoever any wrong was done to one ſingle man of ours travelling through the country, there was a force of men to chaſtize it. And to appear the more formidable, when he ſet out for *Iſabella* and other towns, he made his men march with their arms in rank and file, as is uſual in time of war, and with trumpets ſounding, and colours flying. In his way he march'd along that river, which lay about a muſquet ſhot from *Iſabella*; and a league beyond, he croſs'd another leſs river, and went to lie that night three leagues off in a plain, divided into pleaſant fields, reaching to the foot of a craggy hill, and about two bow ſhots high. This he call'd *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the gentleman's port, (the *Spaniards* call paſſes on mountains, dry ports) becauſe ſome gentlemen went before to order the road to be made, and this was the firſt road made in the *Indies*; for the *Indians* make their ways broad enough but for one man to paſs at a time. Beyond this paſs, he came into a large plain, over which he travelled five leagues the next day, and went to lie near a great river, which the men paſs'd upon floats and in canoes. This river which he call'd of *Canes*, fell into the ſea at *Monte Chriſto*. In his journey, he paſs'd by many *Indian* towns, the houſes whereof were round, thatch'd, and with ſuch a little door, that he who goes in muſt ſtoop very low. Here, as ſoon as ſome of the *Indians* brought from *Iſabella*, went into the houſes, they took what they liked beſt, and yet the owners were not at all diſpleas'd, as if all things were in common. In the like manner, the people of the country, coming near to any chriſtian, would take from him what they thought fit, thinking our things had been as common as theirs.

His journey to the mines.

Conſpiracy againſt the admiral.

But

But they were ſoon undeceiv'd, being told the contrary. In their way they paſs'd over mountains moſt pleaſantly wooded, where there were wild vines, aloes, and cinnamon trees, and another ſort that produces a fruit like a fig, and were vaſtly thick at the foot, but the leaves were like thoſe of the apple tree. Of this ſort of tree, the ſcammony is ſaid to come.

CHAP. LII.

How the admiral came to the province of Cibao, *where he found the gold mines, and built the caſtle of St.* Thomas.

A deſcription of the country.

ON *Friday* the 14th of *March*, the admiral ſet for ward from the river of *Canes*, and a league and a half from it, found a great river, which he call'd the river of *Gold*, becauſe in paſſing it, they gathered ſome grains of gold. Having paſſed it with ſome difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where many of the people fled to the mountains; but moſt of them fortified their houſes, barring their doors with ſome canes, as if that were a great defence, to hinder any body from coming in; for according to their cuſtom, no man dares break in at the door he finds ſo barr'd; foraſmuch as they have no wooden doors, or other means to ſhut themſelves in, and it ſeems theſe bars are ſufficient. Hence the admiral went to another fine river, which he call'd the *Green River*, the banks whereof were covered with bright round ſtones, and there he reſted that night. Holding on his journey the next day, he paſs'd by ſome great towns, where the people had put ſticks croſs their doors, like the others above-mentioned, and the admiral and his men being tired, they ſtayed that night at the foot of a rugged mountain, which he call'd *Port Cibao*.; foraſmuch as the province of *Cibao* begins beyond the mountain. From this the firſt mountain they paſs'd was 11 leagues diſtant, all which diſtance is a plain, and the way directly ſouth. Setting out the next day, he travelled along a path, where they were forced with much difficulty, to lead the horſes; and thence he ſent back ſome mules to *Iſabella*, to bring bread and wine, for they began to want proviſions, and the journey was long; and they ſuffered the more, becauſe they were not yet uſed to the *Indian* diet, as they are now who live and travel in thoſe parts, who find the food of that countrey more eaſy of digeſtion, and more agreeable to that countrey, than what is carried from *Europe*, tho' it is not of ſo great nouriſhment. Thoſe that went for proviſions being returned, the admiral paſſing over the mountain on *Sunday* the 16th of *March*, entered the country of *Cibao*, which is rough and ſtony, full of gravel, plentiful of graſs, and watered by ſeveral rivers, in which gold is found. The further they went into this countrey, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbred with mountains, on the tops whereof, there appeared grains of gold ſand; for as the admiral ſaid, the great rains carry it down from the tops of the mountains, to the rivers in ſmall ſand. This province is as big as *Portugal*, and there are in it abundance of mines, and gold in the brooks; but for the moſt part there are very few trees, and thoſe along the banks of rivers, and are moſt of them pines and palms of ſeveral ſorts. Now *Hojeda* having as was ſaid, travell'd that countrey the *Indians* had ſome knowledge of the chriſtians, ſo it happened, that what way ſoever the admiral went, the ſaid *Indians* came out to the road to meet him, with preſents of proviſions, and ſome ſmall quantity of gold duſt they had gathered, after they underſtood they came for it. The admiral perceiving he was now 18 leagues from *Iſabella*, and the countrey he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a fort to be built in a very pleaſant and ſtrong place, which he call'd the caſtle of St. *Thomas*, to command the countrey about the mines, and be a place of ſafety for the chriſtians that went thither. The command of this new fort he gave to *D. Peter Margarite*, a perſon of account, with 56 men, among whom were workmen of all ſorts to build the caſtle, which was built with clay and timber, that being a ſufficient ſtrength to keep out any number of *Indians* that could come againſt it. Here breaking ground to lay the foundation, and cutting a rock to make the ditches, when they were got two fathom below the the ſtone, they found neſts made of hay and ſtraw, and inſtead of eggs, three or four round ſtones, as big as oranges, as artificially made, as if they had been cannon balls; and in the river that runs at the foot of that hill, the caſtle now ſtands upon, they found ſtones of ſeveral colours, ſome of them large, of pure marble, and other of jaſper.

The fort of St. Thomas.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

How the admiral returned to Iſabella, *and found that ſoil was very fruitful.*

THE admiral having given orders for the finiſhing and fortifying of the caſtle, ſet out for *Iſabella*, on *Friday* the 21ſt of *March*, and near the green river met the mules going with proviſions, and not being able himſelf to ſtay there, becauſe of the great rains, he ſtay'd there, ſending the proviſions to the fort. Afterwards endeavouring to find the ford of that river, and of the river *del Oro*, which is bigger than *Ebro*, he ſtayed ſome days in thoſe *Indian* towns, eating their bread and garlick, which they gave for a ſmall matter. On *Sunday* the 29th of *March*, he came to *Iſabella*, where melons were already grown, fit to eat, tho' it was not above two months ſince the ſeed was put into the ground. So cucumbers came up in 20 days, and a wild vine of that countrey being prun'd, had produced grapes, which were good and large. The next day, being the 30th of *March*, a countreyman gathered ears of wheat he had ſown at the latter end of *January*. There were alſo vetches, but much bigger than thoſe they ſow'd; and all they ſow'd ſprung up above ground in three days, and the 25th day they eat of it. The ſtones of fruit ſet in the ground, ſprouted out in ſeven days, and the vine branches ſhot out in the ſame time, and in 25 days after, they gathered green grapes. The ſugar canes budded in ſeven days, which proceeded from the temperature of the climate, not unlike to that of our countrey, for it was rather cold than hot; beſides, that the waters there are very cold, thin, and wholeſome. The admiral was well enough pleaſed with the air, the ſoil and the people of the countrey. On *Tueſday* the 1ſt of *April*, there came a meſſenger from fort St. *Thomas*, who brought news, that the *Indians* of that countrey fled, and that a *Cacique*, whoſe name was *Caunabo*, was preparing to come and attack the fort. The admiral knowing how inconſiderable the people of that countrey were, made little account of that report, eſpecially confiding in the horſes, by whom the *Indians* were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were ſo much afraid, that they durſt not go into any houſe where a horſe ſtood. However the admiral thought fit to ſend more men and proviſions, conſidering that ſince he deſign'd to go to diſcover the continent with three caravals he had left him, it was fit all things ſhould remain quiet behind. Therefore on *Wedneſday* the 2d of *April*, he ſent 70 men with proviſions and ammunition to the fort, 25 of which were to keep guard, and the others help to make another road, the firſt being very troubleſome, as were the fords of the rivers. Theſe being gone, whilſt the ſhips were fitted to go upon the new diſcovery, he attended to order all things neceſſary for the town he was building, dividing it into ſtreets, with a convenient market place, and endeavouring to bring the river to it along a large cut canal; for which reaſon he alſo made a dam that might ſerve the mills, becauſe the town being almoſt a cannon ſhot from the river, the people would have been troubled to fetch water ſo far, eſpecially then, when moſt of them were very weak and indiſpoſed, by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of the air, which did not agree with them; ſo that ſome were ſick, and had no other *Spaniſh* proviſions but biſket and wine, by reaſon of the ill management of the captains of the ſhips, as alſo becauſe in that countrey nothing keeps ſo well as in *Spain*. And tho' they had plenty of the countrey proviſions, yet not being uſed to that food, it did not agree with them. Therefore the admiral had reſolved to leave but 300 men in the iſland, and to ſend the reſt into *Spain*, which number, conſidering the nature of the iſland, and of the *Indies*, he knew was ſufficient to keep that countrey in ſubjection to their catholick majeſties. In the mean while, becauſe the biſket grew towards an end, and they had no flour, but wheat; he reſolved to make ſome mills, tho' there was no fall of water fit for that purpoſe within a league of the town, at which work, and all others, he was forced to ſtand over the workmen, they all endeavouring to ſave themſelves from any labour. After that, he reſolved to ſend out all the people that were in health, except handicraft men, and artificers, to the royal plain, that travelling about the countrey, they might pacify it, ſtrike a terror into the *Indians*, and by degrees be us'd to their food, ſince they daily felt more want of that of *Spain*. *Hojeda* was ſent to command theſe men, till they came to St. *Thomas*, there to deliver them to *D. Peter Margarite*, who was to lead them about the iſland, and *Hojeda* himſelf to command in the fort, he having taken the pains, the winter before, to diſcover that provice of *Cibao*, which in the *Indian* language ſignifies ſtony. *Hojeda* ſet out from *Iſabella* on *Wedneſday* the 29th

Great fruitfulneſs of Hiſpaniola.

400 *men ſent about the iſland.*

of *April*, towards St. *Thomas*, with all the aforeſaid men, being above 400, and having paſs'd the river *del Oro*, apprehended the *Cacique* that liv'd there, and a brother a nephew of his, ſending them in irons to the admiral, and cut off the ears of one of his ſubjects, in the great place of his town, becauſe three chriſtians coming from St. *Thomas* to *Iſabella*, this *Cacique* gave them five *Indians* to carry their cloaths over the river at the ford, and they being come to the middle of the river, returned to their town with them, and the *Cacique* inſtead of puniſhing them, took the cloaths for himſelf, refuſing to reſtore them. Another *Cacique* who dwelt beyond the river relying on the ſervice he had done the chriſtians, reſolved to go with the priſoners to *Iſabella*, and intercede with the admiral for them, who entertain'd him courteouſly, and ordered that the other *Indians*, with their hands bound, would be publickly ſentenced to die in the market-place, which the honeſt *Cacique* ſeeing, he with many tears obtained their lives, promiſing they ſhould never be guilty of any other offence. The admiral having diſcharged them all, a man a horſeback came from St. *Thomas*'s, and gave an account, that he had found in that ſame *Cacique*, who had been priſoner in his town, five chriſtians taken by his ſubjects as they were coming for *Iſabella*, and that he frightning the *Indians* with his horſe had releaſed them, above 400 men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the purſuit; and that when he had paſs'd the river, he ſaw they turn'd upon the ſaid chriſtians, whereupon he made as if he would go back againſt them, but they for fear of his horſe, all ran away, leaſt the horſe ſhould fly over the river.

CHAP. LIV.

How the admiral ſettled the affairs of the iſland, and went to diſcover Cuba, *ſuppoſing it to be the continent.*

A council to govern Hiſpaniola.

THE admiral being reſolved to go out to diſcover the continent, appointed a council to govern the iſland in his abſence, the perſons it conſiſted of, were, *D. James Columbus*, his brother, with the title of preſident, *F. Boyl*, and *Peter Fernandez Coronell*, Regents, *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal* Rector of *Bacca*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, gentlemen to their catholick majeſties. And that there might not want meal for ſupport of the people, he haſtned the building of the mills, notwithſtanding the rain and flood very much obſtructed it. From theſe rains, the admiral ſays, proceeds the great moiſture, and conſequently the fruitfulneſs of the iſland, which is ſo wonderful, that they eat fruit of the trees in *November*, when they were bloſſoming afreſh, which ſhews that they bear twice a year. But herbs and ſeeds grow at all times, and ſo they find on the trees, neſts with eggs, and young birds. As the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil appeared extraordinary, ſo they daily received freſh advices of the wealth of the countrey; for ſome of thoſe the admiral had ſent out, were always returning with news of new mines diſcovered, beſides the relation of the *Indians* concerning the great plenty of gold found in ſeveral parts of the iſland. The admiral not ſo ſatisfied, reſolved to go out to diſcover along the coaſt of *Cuba*, not knowing whether it was an iſland or continent. Therefore taking 3 ſhips along with him, he ſet ſail upon *Thurſday* the 24th of *April*, after noon, and came to an anchor that day at *Monte Chriſto*, weſt of *Iſabella*. On *Friday* he went to *Guacanagari*'s port, thinking to find him there, but he ſeeing the ſhips, fled for fear, tho' his ſubjects falſly affirm'd he would ſoon return. But the admiral not caring to ſtay without great cauſe, departed on *Saturday* the 26th of *April*, and went to the iſland *Tortuga*, which lies 6 leagues to the weſtward: He lay by it that night, in a calm with his ſails abroad, the tide running back againſt the currents. Next day the north-weſt winds and currents ſetting from the weſt, oblig'd him to go back to an anchor in the river of *Guadalquiver*, which is in the ſame iſland, there to wait for a wind that would ſtem the current, which both then and the year before, he found to run ſtrong there toward the eaſt. On *Tueſday* the 29th of the ſame month, the wind being fair, he came to cape St. *Nicholas*, and thence croſs'd over to the iſland of *Cuba*, running along the ſouth coaſt of it, and having ſail'd a league beyond *Cabo Fuerte*, put into a large bay which he call'd *Puerto Grande*, or great port, the mouth whereof was 150 paces over, and had much water. Here he caſt anchor, and took ſome refreſhment of broil'd fiſh and oiſters, whereof the *Indians* had great ſtore. On the 1ſt of *May* he continued his voyage along the coaſt, where he found commodious harbours, fine rivers and high mountains. Upon

The coaſt of Cuba.

on the ſea, after he left *Tortuga*, he met abundance of the weeds he ſaw on the ocean, in his voyage to and from *Spain*. He ſailing cloſe along the ſhore, abundance of people came aboard in their canoes from the iſland, thinking our men were come down from heaven, bring of their bread, water and fiſh, and giving it all freely, without aſking any thing for it; but the admiral to ſend them home well pleaſed, ordered they ſhould be paid, giving them beads, bells, and ſuch-like baubles.

CHAP. LV.

The admiral diſcovers the iſland of Jamaica.

Coaſt of Jamaica.

ON *Saturday* the 3d of *May*, the admiral reſolved to ſail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the report of ſuch plenty of gold they had there, was in it, prov'd true, and the wind being fair, and he almoſt half way over, diſcovered it on *Sunday*. Upon *Monday* he came to an anchor, and thought it the beautifulleſt of any he had yet ſeen in the *Indies*, and ſuch multitudes of people in great and ſmall canoes came aboard, that it was aſtoniſhing. The next day he ran along the coaſt to find out harbours, and the boats going to ſound the mouths of them, there came out ſo many canoes and arm'd men, to defend the countrey, that they were forced to return to the ſhips, not ſo much for fear, as to avoid falling to enmity with thoſe people. But afterwards conſidering, that if they ſhow'd ſigns of fear the *Indians* would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the port, which the *admiral* call'd *Puerto Bueno*, that is, good harbour. And becauſe the *Indians* came to drive them off, thoſe in boats gave them ſuch a flight of arrows from their croſs-bows, that ſix or ſeven of them being wounded, they retired. The fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of canoes from the neighbouring places in peaceable manner, to ſee and barter proviſions, and ſeveral things they brought, and gave for the leaſt trifle that was offered them. In this port, which is like a horſe-ſhoe, the admiral's ſhip was repaired, it being leaky, and that done, they ſet ſail on *Friday* the 9th of *May*, keeping ſo cloſe along the coaſt weſtward, that the *Indians* follow'd in their canoes to trade, and get ſomething of ours. The wind being ſomewhat contrary, the admiral could not make ſo much way as he wiſh'd, till on *Tueſday* the 14th of *May*, he reſolved to ſtand over again for *Cuba*, to keep along its coaſt, deſigning not to return till he had ſail'd 5 or 600 leagues and were ſatisfied whether it was an iſland or continent. That ſame day, as he was going off from *Jamaica*, a very young *Indian* came aboard, ſaying, he would come into *Spain*, and after him came ſeveral of his kindred and other people in their canoes, earneſtly intreating him to go back, but they could never alter his reſolution; and therefore to avoid ſeeing his ſiſters cry and ſob, he went where they could not come at him. The admiral admiring his reſolution, gave order that he ſhould be uſed with all civility.

CHAP. LVI.

The admiral from Jamaica *returns to the coaſt of* Cuba, *ſtill thinking it to be the continent.*

THE admiral leaving *Jamaica* on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *May*, came to that point of *Cuba*, which he call'd *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or cape Holy Croſs, and running along the coaſt, there happened a great ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which together with the flats and currents, put him into no ſmall danger and to very much trouble, being obliged at the ſame time to ſtruggle againſt theſe two evils, which required contrary remedies; for it is a proper remedy againſt thunder, to ſtrike the ſails, and it is requiſite to ſpread them to avoid the flats, and had this calamity laſted for 8 or 10 leagues, it had been inſupportable. But the worſt of it was, that all over that ſea, both north and north-eaſt, the further they went, the more low little iſlands they met with, and tho' there were trees in ſome of them, yet others were ſandy, and ſcarce appear'd above the ſurface of the water, ſome a league, ſome more and ſome leſs in compaſs. True it is, that the nearer they ſail'd to *Cuba*, the higher and pleaſanter the

Infinite ſmall iſlands.

the little iſlands appeared, and being a matter of difficulty, and to no purpoſe, to give every one of them a name, the admiral called them all in general *Jardin de la Reyna*, the queen's garden. But as many iſlands as he ſaw that day, he ſaw many more and bigger the next day, than he had before, and not only to the north-eaſt, but north-weſt and ſouth-weſt; inſomuch that they counted 160 iſlands that day, all parted by deep channels, which the ſhip ſail'd through. In ſome of theſe iſlands they ſaw abundance of cranes, in ſhape and bigneſs like thoſe of *Spain*, but that they were as red as ſcarlet. In others they found abundance of tortoiſes, and of their eggs, not unlike a hen's, but that the ſhells are very hard. The tortoiſes lay theſe eggs in a hole they make in the ſand, and covering them, leave them till the heat of the ſun hatches and brings forth the tortoiſes, which in time grow as big as a buckler, or great target. In theſe iſlands they alſo ſaw crows and cranes like thoſe of *Spain*, and ſea-crows, and infinite numbers of little birds that ſung ſweetly, and the very air was as ſweet, as if they had been among roſes and the fineſt perfumes in the world, yet the danger was very great, there being ſuch abundance of channels, that much time was ſpent in finding the way out. In one of theſe channels, they ſpy'd a canoe of *Indian* fiſhermen, who very quietly, without the leaſt concern expected the boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a ſign to them in it, till they had done fiſhing. Their manner of fiſhing was ſo ſtrange and new to our men, that they were willing to comply with them; it was thus: they had ty'd ſome ſmall fiſhes they call *Reves*, by the tail, which run themſelves againſt other fiſh, and with a certain roughneſs they have from the head to the middle of the back, they ſtick ſo faſt to the next fiſh they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, drawing their line, they draw them both together; and it was a tortoiſe our men ſaw ſo taken by thoſe fiſhermen, that fiſh clinging about the neck of it, where they generally faſten, being by that means ſafe from the other fiſh biting them, and have ſeen them faſten up on vaſt ſharks. When the *Indians* in the canoe had taken their tortoiſe, and two other fiſhes they had before, they preſently came very friendly to the boat, to know what our men would have, and by their directions went along aboard the ſhips, where the admiral treated them very courteouſly, and underſtood by them that there was an infinite multitude of iſlands in that ſea, and they freely gave all they had, tho' the admiral would ſuffer nothing to be taken of them but the fiſh, the reſt being their nets, hooks, and calabaſhes full of water to drink. Having given them ſome ſmall trifles, they went away very well pleaſed, and he held on his courſe with a deſign not to do ſo long, becauſe he began to want proviſions already, whereas, had he been well ſtored, he thought not to have returned into *Spain*, but caſt about, tho' he was very much ſpent, not only becauſe he fed ill, but alſo becauſe he had not ſtript or lain in a bed ever ſince he ſail'd from *Spain*, till the 19th of *May*, when he writ this, except eight nights, when he was much indiſpoſed. And if he had much care upon him at other times it was doubled this voyage, by reaſon of the innumerable quantity of iſlands, among which he was ſailing, which where ſo many, that on the 20th of *May*, he diſcover'd 71, beſides many more he ſaw W. S. W, at ſun-ſetting. Which iſlands or ſands are not only frightful by their multitude, appearing on all ſides; but what is yet more terrible, is, that every night there riſes off them a great fogg eaſtward, ſo diſmal to behold, that it ſeems as if ſome great ſhower of hail would fall; the thunder and lightning are ſo violent, but when the moon riſes, it all vaniſhes, part of it turning to rain and wind, which is ſo uſual and natural in that countrey, that it did not only happen all thoſe nights the admiral was there, but I ſaw the ſame in thoſe iſlands in the year 1503, in my return from the diſcovery of *Veragua*, and generally here at night the wind is north, coming off the iſland *Cuba*; and afterwards when the ſun is up, it comes about eaſt, and follows the ſun till it comes to the weſt.

Birds and Tortoiſes in them.

A pretty way of fiſhing.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the great fatigue the admiral underwent ſailing among abundance of iſlands.

THE admiral ſtill holding on his courſe weſtward, among infinite numbers of iſlands, upon *Thurſday* the 22d of *May* came to an iſland ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which he call'd St. *Mary*, and landing at a town, there was in it not one *Indian* would ſtay to talk to the chriſtians, nor did they find any thing in the houſes but fiſh, which is all the food thoſe people live on, and ſeveral dogs like maſtiffs, who eat fiſh too

Indians living upon fiſh.

too. Thus without talking to any body, or ſeeing any thing remarkable, he ſail'd away north-eaſt, among abundance of iſlands, in which there were many cranes as red as ſcarlet, parrots, and other ſorts of birds, dogs like thoſe before mentioned, and abundance of thoſe weeds he ſaw on the ocean, when he firſt diſcover'd the *Indies*. Thus ſailing among ſo many ſands and iſlands, fatigued him very much; for ſometimes he was forced to ſtand weſt, ſometimes north, and ſometimes ſouth, according as the channels would permit; for notwithſtanding his care in ſounding, and keeping men upon the round-top to look out, yet the ſhip often touch'd, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the flatts on all hands. Sailing on in this manner, he came again to *Cuba*, to take in water, whereof they had much need. And tho' there was no town where they put in, becauſe the place was wooded, yet one of the ſeamen that went aſhoar, going up among the trees with a croſs-bow to kill ſome bird or beaſt, found 30 people arm'd with ſuch weapons as they uſe, that is, ſpears, and ſtaves, which they wear inſtead of ſwords, and call *Macanas*. Among them he ſaid he ſaw one clad with a white coat or a veſt, down to his knees, and two that carry'd him had them down to their feet, all three of them as white as the *Spaniards*, but that he had no talk with them, becauſe being afraid of ſuch a number, he began to cry out to his companions, and the *Indians* ran away without looking back. Tho' the admiral the next day ſent people aſhoar to know the truth of it, they could not travel above half a league, becauſe of the thickneſs of the trees and buſhes, and becauſe all that coaſt is boggy and muddy, for two leagues up the countrey, where there are hills and mountains, ſo that they only ſaw footſteps of fiſhermen on the ſhoar, and abundance of cranes like thoſe in *Spain*, but bigger. Then ſailing about 10 leagues weſtward, they ſaw houſes on the ſhoar, from which ſome canoes came with water, and ſuch things as thoſe people eat, which they brought to the chriſtians, who payed well for 'em; and the admiral cauſed one of thoſe *Indians* to be ſtopp'd, telling him, and the reſt by his interpreter, that he would let him go freely home, as ſoon as he had directed him in his voyage, and given ſome account of that countrey. At which the *Indian* was very much pleaſed, and aſſured the admiral that *Cuba* was an iſland, and that the king or *Cacique* of the weſtern part of it, never ſpoke to his ſubjects but by ſigns by whom all his orders were immediately obeyed, that all that coaſt was very low, and full of ſmall iſlands, which was found to be too true, that the next day, being the 11th of *June*, to paſs from one channel to another, the admiral was forced to have the ſhips towed over a flat, where there was not a foot water, and all the breadth of it was not above two ſhips length. Bearing up cloſer to *Cuba* they ſaw tortoiſes of a vaſt bigneſs, and in ſuch numbers, that they covered the ſea. At break of day they ſaw ſuch a cloud of ſea crows that they darkened the ſun, coming from the ſeaward to the iſland, where they all lighted; beſides them, abundance of pigeons, and birds of other ſorts were ſeen, and the next day there came ſuch ſwarms of butterflies, that they darkened the air, and laſted till night, when the great rain carried them away.

An Indian *clad.*

Infinite tortoiſes, crows and butterflies.

CHAP. LVIII.

How the admiral returns back towards Hiſpaniola.

ON *Friday* the 13th of *June*, the admiral perceiving that the coaſt of *Cuba* ran far weſt, and that it was a matter of the greateſt difficulty to ſail that way, by reaſon of the infinite multitude of iſlands and ſands there were on all ſides, and that he already began to want proviſions, for which reaſon he could not continue his voyage as he had intended, he reſolved to return to the town he had began to build in *Hiſpaniola*, and to furniſh himſelf with wood and water, he anchored in the iſland *Evangeliſta*, which is 30 leagues in compaſs, and 700 from *Dominica*. Having provided himſelf with what he wanted, he directed his courſe ſouthward, hoping to get out better that way, and ſailing thro' the channel, he ſaw looked cleareſt, after ſailing a few leagues, found it ſhut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify the men, ſeeing themſelves as it were hemmed in on all ſides, and deſtitute of proviſions and all comfort. But the admiral, who was wiſe and couragious, perceiving their faint-heartedneſs, ſaid with a chearful countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the ſame way he came; foraſmuch as if they had continued their voyage that way they intended to go, it might perhaps have happened they might have run themſelves into ſome place whence it would be hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither ſhips nor proviſions to go back, which at preſent they could

The admiral imbay'd.

eaſily do. Thus with great ſatisfaction of all the men, he returned to the iſland *Evangeliſta*, where he had watered, and on *Wedneſday* the 25 of *June*, ſailed thence north-weſt towards ſome ſmall iſlands that appeared 5 leagues off. Going ſtill a little forward he came into a ſea ſo patched with green and white, that it looked like one entire ſand, tho' there was two fathom water; along which he ſailed 7 leagues, till he met another ſea, as white as milk, which he much admired, the water being very thick. This ſea dazzled the eyes of all that beheld it, and ſeemed to be all a ſhoal without water enough for the ſhips, yet there were about 3 fathom water. But when he had ſailed about 4 leagues upon that ſea, he came into another ſea, as black as ink, and 5 fathom deep, thro' which he held his courſe till he came up with *Cuba*. Thence ſtanding to the eaſtward, with ſcant winds, thro' narrow channels and ſhoals. On the 30th of *June* as he was writing his journal of the voyage, his ſhip run a ground ſo faſt, that neither anchors nor other inventions, being able to get it off; it pleaſed God it was drawn off a-head, tho' with ſome damage, becauſe of its beating on the ſand. However, with God's aſſiſtance they got off at laſt, and he ſailed on as the wind and ſhoal-water would permit, always thro' a very white ſea, and two fathom deep, neither deeper nor ſhallower, unleſs he came too cloſe to ſome of the ſands, where there was want of water. Beſides which trouble, every day about ſunſetting, he was troubled with mighty ſhowers, which riſe in the mountains from the moraſſes near the ſea, which were a great fatigue to him, till he came cloſe to *Cuba* towards the eaſt, the way he came at firſt. Thence, as he had found before, came off a moſt fragrant ſcent, as it were of flowers. On the 7th of *July* he landed to hear maſs, and there reſorted to him an old *Cacique* lord of that province, who was very attentive at maſs; when it was ended, by ſigns, and the beſt he could expreſs, he ſaid it was very well done to give thanks to God, becauſe the ſoul which was good, would go to heaven, and the body remain on earth, but that the wicked ſouls muſt go to hell. And among other things ſaid, he had been in the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, where he knew ſome of the chief men; that he had been in *Jamaica*, and a great way towards the weſt of *Cuba*, and that the *Cacique* of that port, was clad like a prieſt.

Notable words of an Indian.

CHAP. LIX.

The great hunger and other calamities the admiral and his men endured, and how he returned to Jamaica.

THE admiral ſailing thence on *Wedneſday* the 16th of *July*, ſtill attended by terrible rains and winds, drew near to cape *Cruz* in *Cuba*, where he was on a ſudden aſſaulted by ſuch a violent rain and ſtorm as bore his ſhip's ſide under water, but it pleaſed God they immediately ſtruck all their ſails, and drop'd their beſt anchors; but they took in ſo much water at the deck, that the men were not able to pump it out, eſpecially in the condition they were, being much ſpent for want of proviſions: For they eat nothing but a pound of rotten biſcuit a day, and about half a pint of wine, unleſs they happened to catch ſome fiſh, which yet they could not keep from one day to the next, proviſions in thoſe parts being of a very ſlight nature, and becauſe the weather was always more inclinable to heat than in our countries, and this want being common to all, the admiral in his journal ſpeaks thus concerning it. I my ſelf am at the ſame allowance, God grant it may be to his honour, and for your highneſs's ſervice, for I ſhall never again for my own benefit expoſe myſelf to ſuch ſufferings and dangers, never a day paſſing; but I ſee we are all upon the brink of death. In this danger and diſtreſs he arrived at cape *Cruz* the 18th of *July*, where he was friendly entertained by the *Indians*. They brought him abundance of *Cazabi*, ſo they call their bread made of roots grated, a great deal of fiſh, ſtore of fruit and ſuch other things as they eat. The wind being contrary to ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, he ſtood over to *Jamaica* on *Wedneſday* the 22d day of *July*, and ſail'd along weſtward cloſe under the ſhore, the countrey all along moſt delightful and fruitful, with excellent harbours, at every league diſtance, and all the coaſt full of towns, the people whereof followed the ſhips in their canoes, bringing ſuch proviſions as they eat, and much better liked by the chriſtians, than that they found in the other iſlands. The climate, air, and weather was the ſame as the reſt, for in this weſtern part of *Jamaica* there gathered every evening a ſtorm of rain, which laſted about an hour more or leſs, which the admiral ſaid, he attributed to the great woods there in thoſe countries, for that he knew this was uſual at firſt in the *Canary* iſlands, *Madera* and the *Azores*, whereas now the woods are cut down

Great diſtreſs.

Great beauty of Jamaica.

down that ſhaded them, there are not ſo great and frequent ſtorms and rains, as there were formerly. Thus the admiral ſail'd on tho' with contrary winds, which obliged him every night to take the ſhelter of the land, which appeared green, pleaſant, fruitful, abounding in proviſions, and ſo populous, that he thought none excell'd it, eſpecially near a bay which he called *De las Vacas*, becauſe there are nine iſlands cloſe to the land, which he ſaid was high as any he had ſeen, and believ'd reached above the region where the ſtorms bred, yet it is all peopled, very fruitful and pleaſant. This iſland he judg'd to be 800 miles in compaſs, and when fully diſcovered, computed it to be 50 leagues in length and 20 in breadth. Being much taken with its beauty, he had a great mind to ſtay there to be fully informed of the nature of it, but the great want of proviſions we mention'd, and the leakineſs of the veſſels would not permit. Therefore as ſoon as the weather was a little fair, he ſail'd away eaſtward, ſo that on *Tueſday* the 19th of *Aug.* he loſt ſight of that iſland, ſtanding over directly for *Hiſpaniola*, and call'd the moſt eaſtward cape of *Jamaica* on the ſouth coaſt *Cabo del Farol.*

CHAP. LX.

The admiral diſcovers the ſouth-ſide of Hiſpaniola, *till he returned eaſt about the town of* Iſabella.

South coaſt of Hiſpaniola *diſcover'd.*

ON *Wedneſday* the 20th of *Auguſt*, the admiral had ſight of the ſouth-ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, and called the firſt point cape *St. Michael*, which was 30 leagues diſtant from the eaſterlyeſt point of *Jamaica*, yet at preſent through the ignorance of the ſailers it is called cape *Tiburon*. From this cape on *Saturday* the 23d of *Auguſt*, there came aboard a *Cacique*, who call'd the admiral by his name, and had ſome other *Spaniſh* words, by which he was convinced this was the ſame land as *Hiſpaniola*. At the end of *Auguſt* he anchor'd in an iſland, which is called *Alto Velo*, and having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips under his command, he cauſed ſome men to go aſhore in that little iſland, whence being very high they might ſee a great way round; but they diſcovered none of their companions. As they were going aboard they killed eight ſea-wolves, that lay aſleep on the ſand, and took abundance of pidgeons and other birds; for that iſland not been inhabited, nor thoſe creatures us'd to ſee men, they ſtood ſtill to be killed with ſtaves. The ſame they did the two following days, waiting for the ſhips which had been aſtray ever ſince the *Friday* before, till at the end of ſix days they came, and all three together went away to the iſland *Beata* twelve leagues diſtant from *Alto Velo*. Hence they paſſed on coaſting *Hiſpaniola*, in ſight of a delightful countrey, which was a plain running up a mile from the ſea, ſo populous, that it ſeem'd to be one continued town for a league in length. In which plain there appear'd a lake five leagues long from eaſt to weſt. The people therefore of the countrey having ſome knowledge of the chriſtians, came aboard in their canoes, bringing news that ſome *Spaniards* from *Iſabella* had happened to come among them, and that they were all well, which much pleaſed the admiral, and to the end they too might hear of his health, and his company's and of his return, being ſomewhat more towards the eaſt, he ſent nine men to croſs the iſland, paſſing by the forts of *St. Thomas* and the *Magdalen* to *Iſabella*, and he with his three ſhips ſtill keeping along the coaſt eaſtward, ſent the boats for water to a place, where a great town appeared. The *Indians* came out againſt them with bows and poiſon'd arrows, and with ropes in their hands, making ſigns that they would bind the chriſtians they ſhould take with them. But as ſoon as the boats came to the ſhore, the *Indians* laid down their arms, and offered to bring bread and water, and all they had, aſking in their lauguage for the admiral. Going hence they ſaw in the ſea a fiſh as big as a whale, which on its neck had a great ſhell, like a tortoiſe, and bore its head, which was as big as a hogſhead, above water, had a tail like a tunny fiſh, very long, and two large fins on the ſides. The admiral by this fiſh and other ſigns, perceiving there would be ſome change of weather, he ſought for ſome harbour to ſecure himſelf. And on the 15th of *September* it pleaſed God to ſhow him an iſland, being near the eaſt part of *Hiſpaniola*, call'd by the *Indians Adamanai*, and the weather being very ſtormy drop'd anchor in the channel, between it and *Hiſpaniola*, cloſe to a ſmall iſland that lies between both, where that night he ſaw the eclipſe of the moon, which he ſaid varied 5 hours 23 minutes from *Cadiz* to the place where he was. This I ſuppoſe made the bad weather laſt ſo long, for he was forced to lie cloſe in that very place till the 20th of the month,

A monſtrous fiſh.

nor

not without fear for the other ſhips, which could not get in, but it pleaſed God to ſave them. Being afterwards together again, on the 24th of *September* they ſail'd to the moſt eaſterly point of *Hiſpaniola*, and thence paſſed over to a little iſland lying between *Hiſpaniola* and *S. John de Borriquen*, called by the *Indians Mona*. From this iſland the admiral does not continue the journal of his voyage, nor does he ſay how he returned to *Iſabella*, but only that going from *Mona* to *St. John*, the great toil he had gone through, his own weakneſs and want of proviſions caſt him into a dangerous diſeaſe between a peſtilential fever and a lethargy, which preſently depriv'd him of all his ſenſes and memory. Whereupon all the men aboard the ſhips reſolved to deſiſt from the deſign he had in hand of diſcovering all the iſlands of the *Caribbees*, and to return to *Iſabella*, where they arriv'd in five days, and on the 29th of *September*, and there it pleaſed God to reſtore his health, tho' his ſickneſs laſted above five months, which was attributed to the great ſufferings he had gone through during that voyage, and to his extraordinary weakneſs; for ſometimes he had not ſleep three hours in eight days, which ſeems almoſt impoſſible, were not he himſelf and his men witneſſes of the truth of it.

CHAP. LXI.

How the admiral ſubdued the iſland Hiſpaniola, *and took ſuch order, that they might not revolt again.*

Bartholomew Columbus.

THE admiral returning to *Hiſpaniola* from the diſcovery of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, found there his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who, as was ſaid before, had been ſent to treat with the king of *England* about the diſcovery of the *Indies*. He returned to *Spain* with the grant of his demands, underſtood at *Paris*, by *Charles* king of *France*, that the admiral his brother had diſcovered the *Indies*, and he ſupplied him with 100 crowns to proceed on his journey. Upon this news he made all the haſte he could to overtake the admiral in *Spain*; yet when he came to *Sevil*, his brother was ſet out for the *Indies* with ſeventeen ſail. Therefore to fulfil the orders he had left him at the beginning of the year 1494, he went away to their catholick majeſties, carrying me and my brother *D. James Columbus*, to ſerve prince *John* as his pages, as had been appointed by the queen, who was then at *Valladolid*. As ſoon as we came thither their majeſties ſent for *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and ſent him to *Hiſpaniola* with three ſhips, where he ſerved ſome years, as appears by a manuſcript I found among his papers, in which are theſe words. "I ſerved as captain from the 14th of "*April* 1494, till the 12th of *March* 1496, "when the admiral ſet out for *Spain*, and "then I began to act as governor till the "24th of *Auguſt* 1498, when the admiral re"turned from the diſcovery of *Paria*, when "I again ſerved as captain till the 11th "of *December* 1500, when I returned to "*Spain*." But to return to the admiral, he returning from *Cuba*, made him governor of the *Indies*, tho' afterwards there aroſe a controverſy on this account, becauſe their catholick majeſties ſaid they had not granted the admiral power to appoint any ſuch. But to decide this difference their highneſſes granted it a-new, and ſo for the future he was called *Adelantado*, tha is, lieutenant of the *Indies*.

Why the Indians revolted.

The admiral having the aſſiſtance and advice of his brother, took ſome reſt, and lived in quiet, tho' on the other ſide he met with trouble enough, as well from his ſickneſs, as becauſe he found almoſt all the *Indians* had revolted, through the fault of *D. Peter Margarite*, of whom we ſpoke above. He tho' obliged to reſpect and honour him that at his departure for *Cuba*, had left him the command of 360 foot and 14 horſe, to travel over the iſland, and reduce it under the obedience of their catholick majeſties and the chriſtians, and particularly the province of *Cibao*, whence the chief profit was expected; yet did all things ſo much to the contrary, that as ſoon as the admiral was gone, he went with all his men to the great plain called *Vega Real*, ten leagues from *Iſabella*, without ſtirring to over-run and reduce the iſland. Hence there enſued diſcord and factions at *Iſabella*; he endeavouring that thoſe of the council inſtituted by the admiral, ſhould obey his orders, ſending them very inſolent letters, till perceiving he could not ſucceed in his deſign of getting the whole command into his hands, rather than ſtay the coming of the admiral, who would call him in queſtion for his behaviour, he went aboard the firſt ſhips that came from *Spain*, and returned in them, without giving any account of himſelf, or any ways diſpoſing of the men left under his command. Upon this every one

one went away among the *Indians*, where he thought fit, taking away their goods and their women, and committing ſuch outrages, that the *Indians* reſolved to be reveng'd on thoſe they found alone, or ſtragling; ſo that the *Cacique* of the *Magdalen*, whoſe name was *Guatiguana*, had killed ten, and privately ordered a houſe to be fired, in which there were eleven ſick. But he was ſeverely puniſhed, when the admiral returned; for tho' he himſelf could not be taken, yet ſome of his ſubjects were made priſoners and ſent into *Spain* in four ſhips, *Antony de Torres* brought on the 24th of *February* 1495. Six or ſeven more, who in other parts of the iſland had done harm to the chriſtians, ſuffer'd for it. The *Caciques* had certainly killed many, and would have deſtroy'd more, but that the admiral came in time to curb them all, who found the iſland in ſuch diſorder, that moſt of the chriſtians committed a thouſand inſolencies, for which they were mortally hated by the *Indians*, who refuſed to ſubmit to them. It was no difficult matter for them all to agree to caſt off the *Spaniſh* yoke; becauſe, as has been ſaid, there were four principal kings or *Caciques*, to whom all the others were ſubject. The names of thoſe four were *Caunabo*, *Guacanagari*, *Behechico* and *Guarionex*; and each of theſe had under him 70 or 80 others little lords; not that they paid tribute or gave any thing, but were obliged, whenſoever called upon, to aſſiſt them in their wars, and till the ground; but *Guacanagari*, one of theſe who was lord of that part of the iſland where the town of the *Nativity* had been built, continued a friend to the chriſtians. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the admiral's coming, he went to viſit him, ſaying, he had no way been aiding or adviſing with the others, which might appear by the great civility the chriſtians had found in his countrey, where 100 men had been always very well uſed and furniſhed with all things he could get to pleaſe them; for which reaſon, the other kings were become his enemies, and particularly *Behechico* had killed one of his women, and *Caunabo* had taken another, wherefore he pray'd him to cauſe her to be reſtored, and aſſiſt him to revenge theſe wrongs. The admiral reſolved to do ſo, believing what he ſaid was true, becauſe he wept every time he called to mind thoſe that had been killed at the *Nativity*, as if they had been his own children, and he was the more inclineable to it, conſidering that the diſcord among them would make it more practicable to conquer the countrey, and puniſh the revolt of the other *Indians*, and killing of the chriſtians. Therefore on the 24th of *March* 1495, he

One Indian *king ſides with the* Spaniards.

ſet out from *Iſabella* to carry on the war, and the aforeſaid *Guacanagari* with him, being very deſirous to cruſh his enemies; tho' the undertaking ſeem'd very difficult, they having raiſed above 100000 *Indians*, whereas the admiral had not along with him above 200 chriſtians, 20 horſes, and as many dogs. The admiral being acquainted with the nature and qualities of the *Indians*, when he was two days journey from *Iſabella*, divided his forces, giving half to his brother the lieutenant, that he might attack that multitude ſcattered about the plains in two places, believing the terror of hearing the noiſe in ſeveral places would put them to flight ſooner than any thing elſe, as in effect it proved. The batallions of foot on both ſides falling upon the multitude of *Indians*, and breaking them with the firſt diſcharge of their croſs-bows and muſkets, the horſe and dogs fell in next in moſt furious manner, that they might not rally, whereupon thoſe faint-hearted creatures fled, ſome one way, and ſome another; and our men purſuing and killing a great number, made ſuch havock, that in a ſhort time, through God's aſſiſtance they obtained a compleat victory, many of the enemies being ſlain, and others taken, among whom was *Caunabo*, the chief *Cacique* of them all, together with his wives and children. This *Caunabo* afterwards confeſſed he had killed 20 of the chriſtians left with *Arana* in the town of the *Nativity*, the firſt voyage when the *Indies* were diſcovered, and that afterwards, under colour of friendſhip, he went in great haſte to ſee the town of *Iſabella*, to obſerve how he might beſt attack it, and do as he had done at the *Nativity*. Of all which things, the admiral had been fully informed by others; and therefore to puniſh him for that offence, and this ſecond revolt, and gathering of forces he had now marched againſt him, and having taken him and his brother, he ſent them all priſoners into *Spain*; for he would not without the knowledge of their catholick majeſties, execute ſo conſiderable a perſon, being ſatisfied with puniſhing ſome of thoſe that were moſt in fault. The victory obtain'd, and this man's impriſonment, put the affairs of the chriſtians into ſuch a good poſture, that tho' at that time they were but 630, many of them ſick, and others women and children; yet in the ſpace of a year, the admiral ſpent in ranging the iſland, without being forced to draw ſword any more, he reduced it to ſuch obedience, that they all promiſed to pay tribute to their catholick majeſties every three months, that is, all that inhabited the province of *Cibao*, where the gold mines were, from 14 years

100000 Indians *defeated.*

of age upward, to pay a large horſe-bell full of gold-duſt, and all the reſt 25 pounds of cotton a head. And that it might be known who had paid this tribute, there was a ſort braſs and tin coin ſtamp'd, one of which pieces was to be given to every one that paid, and he to wear it about his neck, that whoſoever was found without it might be known not to have paid and puniſhed. And doubtleſs this order would have proved effectual, had not thoſe troubles we ſhall ſpeak of afterwards happen'd among the chriſtians; for after the taking of *Caunabo*, the countrey was ſo peaceable, that for the future one ſingle chriſtian went ſafely where he pleaſed; and the *Indians* themſelves would carry him about on their ſhoulders, which the admiral attributed only to God and the good fortune of their catholick majeſties, conſidering it had been otherwiſe impoſſible for 200 men, half ſick and ill-armed, to overthrow ſuch a multitude, which it pleaſed his divine majeſty not only to bring under his command, but to ſend ſuch ſcarcity of proviſions, and ſuch violent diſeaſes among them, that they were reduced to one third of what they had been at firſt, to make it appear the more plain, that ſuch miraculous victories, and the ſubduing of nations are his gift, and not the effect of our power or conduct, or of their want of courage; for tho' our men had been ſuperiour to them, yet their multitude might make amends for any advantage we had over them.

CHAP. LXII.

Some remarkable things in the iſland, as the cuſtoms, ceremonies and religion of the Indies.

Product of Hiſpaniola.

THE people of the iſland being brought under, and converſing more freely with our men, many other particulars, and the ſecrets of their religion were found out, but particularly that there were mines of copper, azure and amber; as alſo ebony, cedar, frankincenſe, and other rich gums and ſpice of ſeveral ſorts, but wild, which being cultivated, might be brought to perfection; as for inſtance, cinnamon of good colour, but bitter, ginger, long pepper, abundance of mulberry trees for making of ſilk, which bear leaves all the year, and many other uſeful trees and plants not known in our parts. Beſides, the *Spaniards* were inform'd of many other things relating to their cuſtoms, which to me ſeem to deſerve a place in our hiſtory. To begin with their religion, I will here ſet down the admiral's own words, writ by himſelf, which are theſe.

" I could diſcover neither idolatry nor " any other ſect among them, tho' every " one of their kings, who are very many, " as well in *Hiſpaniola*, as in all the other " iſlands and continent, has a houſe apart " from the town, in which there is nothing " at all but ſome wooden images carved, " by them called *Cemies*; nor is there any " thing done in thoſe houſes but what is " for the ſervice of thoſe *Cemies*, they re- " pairing to perform certain ceremonies, " and pray there, as we do to our churches.

Superſtitions of Indians.

" In theſe houſes they have a handſome " round table, made like a diſh, on which " is ſome powder, which they lay on the " head of the *Cemies* with a certain cere- " mony; then through a cane that has " two branches clapp'd to their noſe, they " ſnuff up this powder: The words they " ſay none of our people underſtand. This " powder puts them beſides themſelves, as " as if they were drunk. They alſo give " the image a name, and I believe it is " their fathers or grand-fathers, or both; for " they have more than one, and ſome above " ten, all in memory of their forefathers, " as I ſaid before. I have heard them " commend one above another, and have " obſerved them to have more devotion, " and ſhow more reſpect to one than ano- " ther, as we do in proceſſions in time of " need, and the people and *Caciques* boaſt " among themſelves of having the beſt " *Cemies*. When they go to theſe their " *Cemies*, they ſhun the chriſtians, and " will not let them go into thoſe houſes; " and if they ſuſpect they will come, " they take away their *Cemies*, and hide " them in the woods, for fear they ſhould " be taken from them; and what is moſt " ridiculous, they uſe to ſteal one anothers " *Cemies*. It happened once, that the " chriſtians on a ſudden ruſhed into the " houſe with them, and preſently the *Cemi* " cried out, ſpeaking in their language, by " which it appeared to be artificially made; " for it being hollow, they had applied a " trunk to it, which anſwered to a dark " corner of the houſe covered with boughs " and leaves, where a man was concealed " who ſpoke what the *Cacique* ordered " him. The *Spaniards* therefore reflect- " ing on what it might be, kick'd down " the

" the *Cemi*, and found as has been ſaid; " and the *Cacique* ſeeing they had diſco- " vered his practice, earneſtly begg'd of " them not to ſpeak of it to his ſubjects, " or the other *Indians*, becauſe he kept " them in obedience by that policy. This " we may ſay has ſome reſemblance of ido- " latry, at leaſt among thoſe who are igno- " rant of their *Caciques* fraud, ſince they " believe it is the *Cemi* that ſpeaks, and all " of them in general are impoſed upon, " and only the *Cacique* and he that com- " bines with him, abuſe their credulity, " by which means he draws what tribute " he pleaſes from his people. Moſt of the " *Caciques* have three ſtones alſo, to which " they and their people ſhow a great de- " votion. The one they ſay helps the corn " and all ſorts of grain; the ſecond makes " women be delivered without pain; and " the third procures rain or fair weather, " according as they ſtand in need of either. " I ſent your highneſs three of theſe ſtones " by *Antony de Torres*, and have three more " to carry along with me. When theſe " *Indians* die, they have ſeveral ways of " performing their obſequies, but the man- " ner of burying their *Caciques* is thus. " They open and dry him at the fire, that " he may keep whole. Of others they " take only the head, others they bury " in a grot or den, and lay a calabaſh of " water and bread on his head; others they " burn in the houſe where they die, and " when they are at the laſt gaſp, they ſuf- " fer them not to die, but ſtrangle them, " and this is done to *Caciques*. Others " are turn'd out of the houſe, and others " put them into a hamack, which is their " bed, laying bread and water by their head, " never returning to ſee them any more. " Some that are dangerouſly ill, are carri- " ed to the *Cacique*, who tells them whe- " ther they are to be ſtrangled or not, and " what he ſays is done. I have taken pains " to find out what it is they believe, and " whether they know what becomes of them " after they are dead; eſpecially I en- " quired of *Caunabo*, who was the chief- " eſt king in *Hiſpaniola*, a man in years, " knowing, and of a moſt piercing wit. " He and the reſt anſwered, that they go " to a certain vale, which every great *Ca-* " *cique* ſuppoſes to be in his country, where " they affirm they find their parents, and " all their predeceſſors, and that they eat, " have women, and give themſelves up to " pleaſures and paſtimes, as appears more " at large in the following account, in " which I order'd one *F. Roman*, who un- " derſtood their language, to ſet down all " their ceremonies and antiquities, tho' " there are ſo many fables that nothing " can be made of it, but that they have " all ſome regard to a future ſtate, and hold " the immortality of the ſoul.

The MANUSCRIPT of *F. Roman*, concerning the antiquities of the *Indians*, which he, as being ſkill'd in their tongue, has carefully gather'd by order of the admiral.

I F. Roman, *a poor anchorite of the order of St.* Jerome, *by order of the moſt illuſtrious lord admiral, viceroy and governor of the iſlands and continent of the* Indies, *write what I could hear and learn of the belief, and idolatry of the* Indians, *and how they ſerve their Gods. Every one obſerve ſome particular way and ſuperſtition and worſhipping idols, which they call* Cemis. *They think there is an immortal being, like heaven, inviſible, and that has a mother, but has no beginning, and this being they call* Jocakuvague Maorocon, *and its mother they call* Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito *and* Zuimaco, *which are ſeveral names. Thoſe I here write of, are the people of the iſland* Hiſpaniola, *for I know nothing of the others, having never been in them. They alſo know whence they came, the original of the ſun and moon, how the ſea was made, and whither the dead go. And they believe the dead appear to them upon the roads when any of them go alone, for when there are a great many together they do not appear to them. All this their anceſtors have made them believe, for they can neither read nor tell beyond ten.*

CHAP I.

Whence the Indians *came, and after what manner.*

Prepoſterous conceits of the Indians.

THere is a province in *Hiſpaniola* call'd *Caanan*, in which there is a mountain called *Canta*, where there are two grots or caverns; the one called *Cacibagiagua*, the other *Amaiauva*; moſt of the people that firſt inhabited the iſland came out of *Cacibagiagua*.

gua. Theſe being in thoſe caverns, kept watch by night, and one *Marocael* had the charge of it, who coming one day too late to the door, they ſay the ſun took him away. Seeing therefore that the ſun had carried him away for his neglect, they ſhut the door againſt him, and ſo he wus turn'd into a ſtone near the door. Then they ſay, that others going a fiſhing were taken by the ſun, and became trees by them call'd *Jobi*, but otherwiſe *Mirabolans.*

The reaſon why *Marocael* watch'd and warded, was to obſerve whether he would ſend and diſtribute the people, and it appears he ſtaid to his own harm.

CHAP. II.

How the men parted from the women.

IT happened, that one *Guagugiana*, bid another, whoſe name was *Giadruvava*, go and gather an herb called *Digo*, wherewith they cleanſe their body when they go to waſh. He went out before day, the ſun took him by the way, and he became a bird that ſings in the morning, like the *Nightingale*, and is call'd *Giahuba Bagiaci.* *Guagugiana* perceiving he did not return, whom he had ſent to gather *Digo*, reſolv'd to go out of the aforeſaid grot *Cacibagiagua.*

CHAP. III.

Guagugiana reſolv'd to go away in a paſſion, ſeeing they did not return whom he had ſent to gather *Digo* to waſh him, and ſaid to the women, leave your huſbands, and let us go into other countries, and we ſhall get jewels enough. Leave your children, and let us only carry the herbs along with us, and we will come again for them.

CHAP. IV.

Guagugiana ſet out with all the women, and went to ſeek another country, and came to *Matinino*, where he immediately left the women, and went into another countrey, called *Guanin*, having left the children by a brook. Afterwards, when hunger began to pinch them, they ſay, they cry'd, and called their mothers, that were gone; and the fathers could not relieve the children, who for hunger, called their mothers, ſaying, *Ma, Ma,* to ſpeak, but in truth to beg of the earth. And they thus crying and begging of the earth, ſaying, *Too, Too,* like one that very earneſtly begs a thing, they were transform'd into little creatures like dwarfs, and call'd *Tona*, becauſe of their begging of the earth. And thus all the men were left without women.

CHAP. V.

THAT there went women again to the ſaid iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, formerly called *Aiti*, and ſo the inhabitants of it are called, and the other iſlands called them *Bouchi:* And foraſmuch as they have no letters, nor way of writing, they can give no good account how they underſtand this ſtory of their anceſtors, and therefore they do not agree in what they ſay, nor is what they relate to be put into any order. When *Guagugiana*, who carry'd away all the women went off, he took with him the wives of his *Caciques*, whoſe name was *Anacacugia*, deceiving them as he had done the others. Beſides, a kinſman of *Guagugiana*, who followed him, went upon the ſea, and *Guagugiana* ſaid to his kinſman, when he was in the canoe, look what a fine *Cobo* there is in the water, which *Cobo* is the ſea-ſnail, or periwinkle; and he looking down for the *Cobo*, *Guagugiana* his kinſman took him by the feet and threw him into the ſea, and ſo took all the women to himſelf, and left thoſe at *Matinino*, where it is ſaid there are none but women to this day; and he went away to another iſland called *Guanin*, and it was ſo called for what he carried to it when he went thither.

CHAP. VI.

Nonſenſical fables. THAT *Guagugiana* return'd to the ſame *Canta*, whence he had carried the women: They ſay that *Guagugiana* being in that countrey whither he went, ſaw he had left a woman in the ſea, at which he was not pleas'd, and look'd about where to waſh himſelf, being full of thoſe blotches we call the *French Pox*. The woman put him into a *Guanara*, that is, a by-place; and being there, he was heal'd of his ſores.

Afterwards he aſk'd her leave to go his way, and ſhe gave it him. This woman's name was *Guabonito*; and *Guagugiana* chang'd his name, calling himſelf from that time forwards, *Biberoci Guahagiona*. And the woman *Guabonito*, gave *Biberoci Guahagiona* much *Guanine* and *Cibe*, that he might carry them tied to his arms; for in thoſe countries, the *Colecibi* are of ſtone, very like marble, and they wear them about their wriſts and necks; and the *Guanini*'s wear them at their ears, making holes in them when they are little, and they ſound like fine mettle. They ſay, that *Guabonito*, *Albeborael*, *Guahagiona*, and the father of *Albeborael*, were the firſt of theſe *Guanini*'s. *Guahagiona* ſtaid in that countrey with the father, called *Hiauna*, his ſon from his father took the name *Hia Guaili Guanin*, which ſignifies ſon of *Hiauna*, and from thence forward, was called *Guanin*, and is ſo to this day. And they not knowing how to write, cannot give a good account of theſe fables, nor can I write them well; wherefore I believe, I mention the laſt firſt and the firſt laſt. But all I write is related by them, and ſo I deliver it as I had it from the people of the countrey.

CHAP. VII.

How women came again to the aforeſaid iſland Aiti, *now called* Hiſpaniola.

THEY ſay the men went one day to waſh themſelves, and when they were in the water it rain'd much, and they were very deſirous to have women; and that very often, when it rain'd, they had gone to ſeek out the track of their women, and could find no news of them; but they ſay, that as they were waſhing themſelves that day, they ſaw fall down from the trees, as it were ſliding down the branches, the ſhape of people, which were neither men nor women, nor had the ſecret parts of men or women, which they went to catch, but they fled as ſwift as if they had been eagles. Therefore by order of their *Cacique*, they call'd 2 or 3 men, ſince they themſelves could not catch them, to watch how many there were of them, and find out for each of them a man that was *Caracaracoli*; for thoſe men had rough hands, and therefore would hold faſt. They told the *Cacique* they were four, and ſo they took four men that were *Caracaracoli*, which is a diſtemper like the itch, that makes the body very rough. When they had taken thoſe creatures, they held a council about them, how to make them women, ſince they had neither the privities of man or woman.

CHAP. VIII.

How they found the way to make women.

Women made. THEY ſought out a bird called *Turiri*, formerly *Turire Cahuvail*, that is, a *Woodpecker*, that makes holes in trees, and taking thoſe creatures that had neither the parts of man nor woman, tied them hands and feet, and bound the ſaid bird to their body; the which bird taking them to be trees, began to work as it uſes, pecking and boring that part where womens privities ſhould be; and thus ſay the antienteſt *Indians*, they came to have women. I writing in haſte, and not having paper enough, could not place every thing rightly, but through miſtake tranſpos'd ſome; but the miſtake is not great, for they believe all that is here writ. Let us now return to what we ſhould have ſaid firſt, that is, their opinion concerning the original and beginning of the ſea.

CHAP. IX.

How they ſay the ſea was made.

THere was a man they call *Giaia*, whoſe right name they know not, his ſon was call'd *Giaiael*, that is, *Giaia*'s ſon. This *Giaiael* intending to kill his father, he baniſh'd him, where he remain'd an outlaw 4 months; after which his father kill'd him, put his bones into a calabaſh, and hung it to the top of his houſe, where it continued ſome time. It happen'd that being deſirous to ſee his ſon, *Giaia* one day ſaid to his wife, I have a mind to ſee our ſon *Giaiael*, and ſhe was content. Taking down the calabaſh, he turn'd it over to ſee his ſon's bones, and there came out of it abundance of great and ſmall fiſhes. Perceiving that the bones were turn'd into fiſhes, they reſolv'd to eat them. Now they ſay, that one day, when *Giaia* was gone to his *Conichi*, that is, his lands, he had by inheritance, there came 4 ſons of a certain woman called, *Itiba Tahuvava*, all born at one birth; for the ſaid woman dying in labour, they cut her open, and took out the ſaid ſons; and the firſt they cut was *Caracaracol*, that is, *Mangy*; which *Caracaracol* had to name..... the others had no name.

CHAP. X.

HOW the four ſons of *Itiba Tahuvava*, who died in labour, went to take down *Giaia*'s calabaſh; in which was his ſon *Giaiael* who had been converted into fiſh, and none of them durſt lay hold of it but *Dimivan Caracaracol*, who unhung it; and they all eat their belly full of fiſh, but whilſt they were eating, they perceiv'd *Giaia* was coming from his eſtate, and going about in that hurry to hang up the calabaſh; they did not hang it right, ſo that there ran ſo much water from it, as overflow'd all the countrey, and with it came out abundance of fiſh, and hence they believe the ſea had its original. Aftewards they went and met with a man whoſe name was *Cone*, and he was dumb.

CHAP. XI.

What happened to the four brothers, when they fled from Giaia.

AS ſoon as they came to *Baſſamanaco*'s door, and found he brought *Cazzabi*, they ſaid, *Ahiacavo Gearocoel*; that is, let us be acquainted with this grandſire of ours. So *Deminan Caracaracol*, ſeeing his brothers before him, went in to try whether he could get ſome *Cazzabi*, which is the bread they eat there. *Caracaracol* going into the houſe of *Aiamavaco*, aſk'd ſome *Cazzabi* of him, which, as has been ſaid, is bread. He clapt his hand on his noſe, and threw on him a *Guanguaio*, full of *Cogioba*, which he had made that day, and is a ſort of powder they take ſometimes to purge them, and for other purpoſes you ſhall know hereafter. This they take through a cane half a cubit long, one end whereof they put to their noſe, and the other to the powder, and ſo ſnuff it up, which purges them very much. So he gave him that *Guanguaio* inſtead of bread, and leaving what he was about, went away very angry becauſe they aſk'd it of him —— After this, *Caracaracol* return'd to his brothers, and told them what had happen'd to him with *Baiamanicoel*, and the ſtroke he gave him on the ſhoulder with the *Guanguaio*, and that it pain'd him very much. His brothers look'd upon his ſhoulder, and perceiv'd it was much ſwollen, which ſwelling increas'd ſo much, that he was like to die. Therefore they endeavoured to cut it open, and could not; but taking an inſtrument of ſtone, they opened it, and out came a live female tortoiſe; ſo they built their houſe, and bred up the tortoiſe. I underſtood no more of this matter, and what we have writ ſignifies but little. They ſay further, that the ſun and moon came out of a grotto, that is in the countrey of *Cacique*, whoſe name is *Maucia Tiuvel*, and the grotto is called *Giovovava*; and they pay a great veneration to it, and have painted it all after their faſhion, without any figure, but leaves, and the like. In the ſaid grotto, there were two little ſtone *Cemies*, about a quarter of a yard long, their hands

bound, and they look'd as if they ſweated. Theſe *Cemi*'s they honour'd very much; and when they wanted rain, they ſay they uſed to go viſit them, and they preſently had it. One of the *Cemies* is by them called *Boinaiel*, the other *Maroio*.

CHAP. XII.

What their opinion is concerning the wandring of the dead, after what manner they are, and what they do.

Of the dead. THEY hold, there is a place to which the dead go, called *Coaibai*, and lying in a part of the iſland known by the name of *Soraia*. The firſt that was in *Coaibai*, they ſay, was one *Machetaurie Guaiava*, who was lord of the ſaid *Coaibai*, the habitation and dwelling-place of the dead.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the figure they aſſign the dead.

THEY ſay they are ſhut up in the day, and walk abroad in the night; that they feed on a certain fruit, called *Guabazza*, which taſtes like a ——, that in the day-time they are ——, and at night were converted into fruit, and that they feaſt, and go about with the living; and thus it is they know them: They feel their belly, and if they cannot find their navel, they ſay they are dead; for they ſay the dead have no navel; and therefore they are ſometimes deceiv'd, when they do not obſerve this, and lie with ſome of the women of *Coaibai*, whom when they think they have in their arms, they have none, becauſe they vaniſh on a ſudden. This they ſtill believe as to this affair. Whilſt a man is living, they call the ſoul *Goeiz*, and when dead *Opia*, which *Goeiz* they ſay, often appears to them, as well in the ſhape of a man as of a woman; and they ſay, there have been men that would fight with it, and when they came to cloſe, it vaniſh'd, and the man clapp'd his arms elſewhere about ſome tree, to which he clung faſt. This they believe all in general, great and ſmall, and that it appears to them in the ſhape of their father, mother, brother, kindred, or any other. The fruit they ſay the dead feed on, is about the bigneſs of a quince. The dead do not appear to them in the day-time, but always at night; and therefore if any one ventures to go abroad at night, it is with great fear.

CHAP. XIV.

Whence they have this, and who makes them hold ſuch an opinion.

THere is a ſort of men among them, called *Bohuti*'s, who have many jugling tricks, as we ſhall ſay hereafter, to make them believe, they talk with the dead, that they know all their actions and ſecrets, and when they are ſick, cure them. Thus they impoſe upon them, which I have ſeen with my own eyes, tho' as to other particulars I relate only what I have heard from many of them, eſpecially the principal men, with whom I convers'd more than with others; for theſe believe ſuch fables more firmly than the others; for they have all their ſuperſtitions reduced into old ſongs, and are directed by them, as the *Moors* are by the *Alcoran*. When they ſing theſe ſongs, they play upon an inſtrument, called *Maiohavan*, made of wood, hollow, ſtrong, yet very thin, and as long as a man's arm; that part where they play on it is made like a ſmith's tongs, and the other end like a club, ſo that it looks like a calabaſh with a long neck. This inſtrument they play on, and is ſo loud, that it is heard a league and a half off; and to that muſick they ſing thoſe ſongs they have got by heart. The chief men play on it, who learn it from their infancy, and ſo ſing to it according to their cuſtom. Let us now proceed to ſpeak of many other ceremonies and cuſtoms of theſe *Gentiles*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the obſervations of the Indian Buhuitihu's, *how they profeſs phyſick, teach the people, and are often deceived in their cures.*

ALL or moſt of the people of the iſland of *Hiſpaniola* have abundance of *Cemies*, of ſeveral ſorts: ſome have their father, mother, kindred and predeceſſors: ſome figures cut in ſtone and wood, and many of both ſorts, ſome that ſpeak, others that cauſe things to grow, ſome that eat; and others that cauſe rain, and others that make the wind blow; which things thoſe ignorant people believe the idols perform, or rather thoſe devils. They having no knowledge of our holy faith. When any one is ſick, they bring him to *Buhuitihu*, that is, as was ſaid above, the phyſician. The doctor is obliged to be dieted as the ſick man is. and to look like him, which is done thus. He is to purge himſelf as the ſick man does, which is done by ſnuffing a certain powder, called *Cogioba*, up his noſe, which makes him drunk, that he knows not what he does, and ſo ſays many extravagant things, which they affirm is talking with the *Cemies*, and that they tell them how the ſickneſs came.

CHAP. XVI.

What theſe Buhuitihu's *do.*

Cure of the ſick. WHEN they go to viſit any ſick body, before they ſet out from their houſe, they take the ſoot off a pot, or pounded charcoal, and black all their face, to make the ſick man believe what they pleaſe concerning his diſtemper. Then they take ſome ſmall bones, and a little fleſh, and wrapping them all up in ſomething that they may not drop, put them in their mouth, the ſick man being before purged with the powder aforeſaid. When the phyſician is come into the ſick man's houſe, he ſits down, and all perſons are ſilent; and if there are any children, they put them out, that they may not hinder the *Buhuitihu* in performing his office; nor does there remain in the houſe any but one or two of the chief perſons: Being thus by themſelves, they take ſome of the herb *Gioia* —— broad, and another herb, wrapped up in the web of an onion half a quarter long; one of the *Gioia*'s, and the other they hold, and drawing it in their hands they bruiſe it into a paſte, and then put it in their mouths to vomit what they have eaten, that it may not hurt them; then preſently begin their ſong, and lighting a torch, take the juice. This done, having ſtaid a little, the *Buhuitihu* riſes up, and and goes towards the ſick man, who ſits all alone in the middle of the houſe, as has been ſaid, and turns him twice about, as he thinks fit; then ſtands before him, takes him by the legs, and feels his thighs, deſcending by degrees to his feet; then draws hard, as if he would pull ſomething off; then he goes to the door, ſhuts it, and ſays, be gone to the mountain, or to the ſea, or whither thou wilt; and giving a blaſt, as if he blowed ſomething away, turns about, claps his hands together, ſhuts his mouth, his hands quake as if he were cold, he blows on his hands, and then draws in his blaſt as if ſucking the marrow of a bone, ſucks the ſick man's neck, ſtomack, ſhoulders, jaws, breaſt, belly and ſeveral other parts of his body. This done they begin to cough, and make faces, as if they had eaten ſome bitter thing, and the doctor pulls out that we ſaid he put into his mouth at home, or by the way, whether ſtone, fleſh or bone, as above. If it is any thing eatable, he ſays to the ſick man, take notice you have eaten ſomething that has cauſed this diſtemper; ſee how I have taken it out of your body; for your *Cemi* had put it into you becauſe you did not pray to him, or build him ſome temple, or give him ſome of your goods. If it be a ſtone, he ſays, keep it ſafe. Sometimes they take it for certain, that thoſe ſtones are good, and help women in labour; wherefore they keep them very carefully, wrapped up in cotton, putting them into little baſkets, giving them ſuch as they have themſelves to eat, and the ſame they do to the *Cemies* they have in their houſes. Upon any ſolemn day, when they provide much to eat, whether fiſh, fleſh, or any other thing, they put it all into the houſe of the *Cemies*, that the idol may feed on it. The next day they carry all home, after the *Cemi* has eaten. And ſo God help them, as the *Cemi* eats of that, or any other thing, they being inanimate ſtocks or ſtones.

CHAP. XVII.

How the aforeſaid phyſicians have been ſometimes deceived.

WHEN they have done as has been ſaid, and yet the patient dies, if the dead man has many friends, or was lord of a territory, and can oppoſe the ſaid *Buhuitihu*, that is, phyſician, for mean people dare not contend with them; he that would do him harm, does it thus. When they would know whether the patient died through the phyſician's fault or whether he did not obſerve what was preſcribed; they take an herb, called *Gueia*, whoſe leaves are like *Baſil*, thick and broad, being called by another name *Zachon:* they take the juice of this leaf, pair the dead man's nails, and cut off the hair on his forehead, which they powder between two ſtones, and mix with the aforeſaid juice of the herb, and pour it down the dead man's throat, or noſtrils, and ſo doing, aſk him, whether the phyſician was the occaſion of his death? and whether he obſerved order? this they aſk ſeveral times, till he ſpeaks as plain, as if he were alive; ſo that he anſwers to all they aſk of him, ſaying, the *Buhuitihu* did not obſerve order, or was the cauſe of his death; and they ſay, the phyſician aſks him, whether he is alive, and how he comes to talk ſo plain; and he anſwers he is dead. When they have known what they deſire of him, they return him to his grave, whence they took him to make this enquiry. They uſe another method to know what they deſire: they take the dead body and make a great fire, like that uſed for making of charcoal, and when the wood is turned into a live coal, they throw the body into that violent fire, and cover it with earth, as the collier's do the coals, where they let it lie as long as they think fit, and there aſk queſtions, as was ſaid before; who anſwers, he knows nothing. This they aſk ten times, and then he ſpeaks no more. They aſk, whether he is dead? but he ſpeaks only thoſe ten times.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the kindred of the party revenge themſelves, when they have got an anſwer by means of the drench.

Phyſicians puniſh'd.

THE dead man's kindred get together upon a day appointed, wait for the aforeſaid *Buhuitihu*, and baſtinado him, till they break his legs, arms and head, ſo that he is all battered, and ſo they leave him for dead. At night, they ſay, there come abundance of ſnakes of ſeveral ſorts, white, black, green and of ſeveral other colours, which lick the ſaid phyſician's face, and all his body, ſo left, as has been ſaid, and remains in that manner two or three days. Whilſt he is thus, they ſay the bones of his legs and arms knit together again, he gets up, and walks fair and ſoftly towards his houſe and they that ſaw him, aſk the queſtion of him, were not you dead? he anſwers, the *Cemi*'s came to his aſſiſtance in the ſhape of ſnakes. The dead man's kindred, in a rage, becauſe they thought they had revenged their relations death, ſeeing him alive, grow deſperate, and endeavour to lay hold of him to put him to death; and if they can catch him again, they put out his eyes, and bruiſe his teſticles; for they ſay none of theſe phyſicians can die, tho' never ſo much baſtinadoed, if they do not cut out his teſticles.

How they know what they deſire of him they burn, and how they take their revenge.

When they uncover the fire, the ſmoke that comes from it, riſes till they loſe ſight of it, and makes a noiſe, as it breaks out: Then it turns down again, and goes into the houſe of the *Buhuitihu* or phyſician; and that very moment, he that did not obſerve order, falls ſick, is covered with ſores, and all the ſkin of his body flays off; and this they take for a ſign, that he did not do his duty, and therefore the patient died; for which reaſon they endeavour to kill him, as was ſaid in the other caſe. Theſe are the ſorceries they uſe.

CHAP. XIX.

How they make and keep their wooden and ſtone Cemies.

The Cemes or idols. THOSE of wood are made thus: when any one is traveling, he ſays, he ſees ſome tree that ſhakes its root; the man in a great fright, ſtops, and aſks, who he is? it anſwers, my name is, *Buhuitihu*, and he will inform you who I am: the man repairing to the ſaid phyſician, tells him what he has ſeen. The wizard, or conjurer, runs immediately to ſee the tree the other has told him of, ſits down by it, and makes it *Cogioba*, as was ſaid above in the ſtory of the four brothers. The *Cogioba* being made, he ſtands up, gives it all its titles, as if it were ſome great lord; and aſks of it, tell me who you are, what you do here, what you will have with me, and why you ſend for me? tell me whether you will have me cut you, whether you will go along with me, and how you will have me to carry you, and I will build you a houſe and endow it? immediately, that tree, or *Cemi*, becomes an idol, or devil, anſwers, telling how he will have him do it. He cuts it into ſuch a ſhape as he is directed, builds his houſe, and endows it; and makes *Cogioba* for it ſeveral times in the year: which *Cogioba* is to pray to it, to pleaſe it, to aſk and know of the ſaid *Cemi*, what good or evil is to happen, and to beg wealth of it. When they would know whether they ſhall be victorious over their enemies, they go into a houſe, whither none but the chief men are admitted. The lord of them is the firſt that begins to make the *Cogioba*, and to make a noiſe; whilſt he does it, none of the company ſpeaking till he has done. His prayer being ended, he ſtands awhile with his head turned about, and his arms on his knees; then he lifts up his head, and looks towards heaven, and ſpeaks. Then they all anſwer him with a loud voice, and when they have all ſpoke, giving thanks, he tells the viſion he ſaw, being made drunk with the *Cogioba*, he ſnuffed up his noſe, which flies into his head; and ſays, he has talked with the *Cemi*, and ſhall obtain victory, or that his enemies ſhall fly, or that there ſhall be a great mortality, or war, or famine, or ſome ſuch thing, as occurs to him in his drunken fit. Conſider, what a condition their brains are in; for they ſay, the houſes ſeem to them to be turned topſy turvy, and that the men go upon their heads. This *Cogioba* they make for ſtone and wooden *Cemies*, as well as for the dead bodies, as has been ſaid above. The ſtone *Cemies* are of ſeveral ſorts: ſome there are, which they ſay, the phyſicians take out of the body of the ſick, and thoſe they look upon as the beſt to help women in labour. Others there are that ſpeak, which are ſhaped like a long turnip, with the leaves long, and extended, like the ſhrub bearing capers. Thoſe leaves for the moſt part are like thoſe of the elm. Others have three points, and they think they cauſe the *Giuca* to thrive. Their roots are like a radiſh. The leaves of *Giuca* have at leaſt ſix or ſeven points; nor do I know what to compare them to, for I have ſeen nothing like it in *Spain*, or elſewhere. The ſtem of the *Giuca* is as high as a man. Let us now ſpeak of their opinions concerning the idols and *Cemi*'s, and how they are deceived by them.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cemi, Bugid *and* Aiba.

Barbarous opinions. THEY ſay, in the time of the wars, he was burnt, and afterwards being waſh'd with the juice of *Giuca*, his arms grew out again, his body ſpread, and he recovered his eyes. The *Giuca* was ſmall, and they waſh'd it with the above-mentioned water and juice, to make it grow bigger, and they affirm it made thoſe ſick who had made the ſaid *Cemi*, becauſe they had not brought it *Giuca* to eat. This *Cemi* was called *Baidrama*, and when any one fell ſick, they called the *Buhuitihu*, and ask'd him, whence the diſtemper proceeded? He anſwered *Baidrama* had ſent it, becauſe they had not ſent him to eat by thoſe that had charge of his houſe. This the *Buhuitihu* ſaid the *Cemi*, *Baidrama*, had told him.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Guamorete's Cemi.

THEY ſay, that when they built the houſe of *Guamorete*, who was a man of note, they put into it a *Cemi*, that was on the top of his other houſe, which *Cemi* was called *Coroçoſé*; and when they had wars among themſelves, *Guamorete*'s enemies burnt the houſe in which this *Cemi Coroçoſé* was. They ſay he preſently got up, and went a bow-ſhot from that place, near to a water. They further ſay, that when he was on the top of the houſe, he would come down and lie with the women. That afterwards *Camoreſe* died, and the *Cemi* fell into the hands of another *Cacique*, and ſtill continued to lie with the women; and moreover, that he had two crowns grew on his head; for which reaſon they ſaid, ſince ſuch a one has two crowns, he is certainly *Coroçoſé*'s ſon; and this they look'd upon as moſt certain. This *Cemi* came afterwards to another *Cacique*, called *Guatabanex*, and his countrey is called *Giacoba*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of another Cemi, *called* Opigielguoviran, *which belonged to a great man, whoſe name was* Cavavaniova, *who had many ſubjects.*

THIS *Cemi Opigielguoviran*, they ſay, has four feet, like a dog's, and is made of wood, and that he would often at night go out of the houſe into the woods; whither they went to ſeek him out, and when brought home again, they bound him with cords, yet he would go away to the woods. They ſay that when the chriſtians came to the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, he broke looſe, and went into a moras, whither they followed him by the track, but never ſaw him ſince, nor know any thing of him. As I receiv'd this, ſo I deliver it.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of another Cemi, *called* Guabancex.

THIS *Cemi Guabancex* was in the countrey of a great *Cacique*, whoſe name was *Aumatex*; and they ſay, it is a woman *Cemi*, and has two others with it; one a crier, the other gatherer, or governor of the waters. When *Guabancex* is angry, they ſay, it raiſes the winds and waters, overthrows houſes, and ſhakes the trees. This *Cemi* they ſay, is a female, and made of ſtones of that countrey. The other two *Cemi*'s that are with it, are call'd, one of them *Guatauva*, and is a cryer, that by order of *Guabancex*, makes proclamation for all the other *Cemi*'s of that province to help to raiſe a high wind, and cauſe much rain: The other is, *Coatriſchie*, who they ſay, gathers the waters in the vallies among the mountains, and then lets them looſe to deſtroy the countrey. This they believe as moſt certain.

CHAP. XXIV.

Their Belief of another Cemi, *called* Faraguvaol.

THIS *Cemi* belongs to a principal *Cacique* of the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, is an idol, has ſeveral names, and was found as you ſhall now hear. They ſay, that on a certain day in paſt times, before the iſland was diſcovered, they know not how long ſince, being abroad a hunting, they found a certain creature: they ran back, and that got into a ditch; looking into it, they ſaw a beam, which look'd like a thing that had life in it. The huntſman ſeeing it, ran to his lord, who was a *Cacique*, and father to *Guarionel*, telling him what he had ſeen. They went thither, and found the thing as the huntſman had given information, and taking that log, they built a houſe to it. They ſay it went out of that houſe ſeveral times, and return'd to the place whence they brought it, not exactly to the ſame ſpot, but near it; for the aforeſaid

aforeſaid lord, and his ſon *Guaraionel*, ordering it to be ſought out, found it hid; and that another time, they bound and put it in a ſack, and yet bound as it was, it went away as before. Thoſe ignorant people look upon this as undoubted truth.

CHAP. XXV.

Of thoſe things they affirm were reported by two principal Caciques *of the iſland* Hiſpaniola; *one of them called* Cazziva, *father to the aforeſaid* Guaraionel; *the other,* Gamanacoei.

THAT great lord, who, they ſay, is in heaven, at the beginning of the book, is this *Cazziva*, who kept a ſort of abſtinence here, which all of them generally perform; for they ſhut themſelves up ſix or ſeven days, without taking any ſuſtenance but the juice of herbs, with which they alſo waſh themſelves. After this time they begin to eat ſomething that is nouriſhing. During the time they have been without eating, weakneſs makes them ſay, they have ſeen ſomething they earneſtly deſir'd, for they all perform that abſtinence in honour of the *Cemies*, to know whether they ſhall obtain victory over their enemies, or to acquire wealth, or any other thing they deſire. They ſay, this *Cacique* affirm'd, he had ſpoke with *Giocaùvaghama*, who told him, that whoſoever ſurviv'd him, would not long enjoy his power, becauſe they ſhould ſee a people clad in their countrey, who would rule over, and kill them, and they ſhould die for hunger. They thought at firſt, theſe ſhould be the *Canibals*, but afterwards conſidering, that they only plunder'd and fled; they believ'd it was ſome other people the *Cemi* ſpoke of; and now they believe it is the admiral and thoſe that came with him. Now I will give an account of what I ſaw and knew, when *F. Roman*, a poor anchorite, went to the province *Madalena*, to a fort built by *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, admiral, viceroy, and governor of the iſlands and continent of the *Indies*, for their majeſties king *Ferdinand* and Queen *Iſabel*. I being in that fort, with *Arriaga*, appointed governor of it by the aforeſaid viceroy *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, it pleaſed God to give the light of his faith to a whole family of ill-principled people of that province of *Madalena*, which province was called *Maroris*, and the lord of it *Guavaouvionel*, that is, ſon of *Guavaenechin*. In the ſaid houſe are his ſervants, and retainers, whoſe ſurname is *Giahuvavariu*, and were in all 16 perſons, all relations, and among them five brothers. Of theſe one died, and the other four were baptiz'd; and I believe, they died martyrs, for ſo it appear'd by the manner of their death and their conſtancy. The firſt that receiv'd baptiſm was an *Indian* called *Guaticava*, afterwards *John*. This was the firſt chriſtian that ſuffer'd a cruel death, and to me he ſeems to have died a martyr; for I have heard from ſome that were by when he died, that he ſaid, *Dio Aboridacha*, *Dio Aboridacha*, that is, I am God's ſervant. So died his brother *Anthony*, and another with him, ſaying the ſame words. All the people of this houſe attended me, to do whatſoever I pleaſed. Such as are left alive at this day, are now chriſtians by means of *D. Chriſtipher Columbus*, viceroy and governor of the *Indies*, and by the grace of God they are very numerous at preſent.

Let us now ſay what happened in the province of *Madalena*. When I was there, the aforeſaid lord admiral came to the aſſiſtance of *Arriaga*, and ſome chriſtians, beſieged by the ſubjects of a principal *Cacique*, called *Caovalto*. The admiral told me, that the language of the province *Madalena Maroris* was different from the reſt, and not underſtood in all parts of the countrey; and therefore bid me go and reſide with another principal *Cacique*, called *Guarionex*, lord of many ſubjects, whoſe language was underſtood all over the iſland. In obedience to his orders, I went to reſide with the ſaid *Guarionex*. True it is, I ſaid to *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, my lord, why will you have me go to live with *Guarionex*, when I know no language but that of *Maroris?* Be pleas'd to give leave that one of thoſe *Nohuirci*'s, (who were afterwards chriſtians, and knew both the languages) may go along with me; which he granted, and bid me carry who I pleas'd; and it pleaſed God to give me for a companion, the beſt of the *Indians*, and who was beſt inſtructed in the catholick faith; and afterwards took him from me, God be praiſed who gave and took him away; for indeed, I look'd upon him as a good child and a brother; and it was that *Guaicavanu*, who was afterwards a chriſtian, and called *John*. What happened to us there I ſhall not relate, and how I and *Guaicavanu* went to *Iſabella*, where we waited for the admiral, till he return'd from the relief of *Madalena*. As ſoon he came, we went where he had ordered, with one *John de Aguada*, who had

had the command of a fort, which *D. Chriſtopher Columbus* had built, half a league from the place where we were to reſide. The admiral commanded the ſaid *John de Aguada* to allow us ſuch proviſions as there were in the fort, which is called the *Conception*. We continued with that *Cacique*, *Guarionex*, almoſt two years, inſtructing him in our faith, and the manners of chriſtians. At firſt he appear'd well inclin'd, and gave ſome hopes of complying and becoming a chriſtian, bidding us teach him the lord's prayer, the creed, and all other chriſtian prayers, which many in his houſe learnt; and he ſaid his prayers every morning, and caus'd all his family to do ſo twice a day: yet afterwards he fell off from his good purpoſe, through the fault of ſome of the principal men of that countrey, who blam'd him for ſubmitting to the law of chriſt, ſince the chriſtians were ill men, and drove them out of their countrey by force. Therefore they adviſed him never to mind any thing that belong'd to the chriſtians; but that he ſhould joyn and conſpire with them, for their deſtruction, becauſe they could not ſatisfy them, and were reſolv'd to ſubmit no longer. Thus he fell off from his good beginning, and we perceiving he neglected what he had learnt, reſolv'd to depart thence, and go where we might be more ſucceſsful in inſtructing the *Indians* in the faith. We therefore went away to another principal *Cacique*, who ſhow'd a favourable inclination, ſaying, he would be a chriſtian: his name was *Maviatue*.

Accordingly we ſet out to go to the ſaid *Maviatue*'s countrey; I *F. Roman Pane*, poor anchorite, and *F. John Borgognon* of the order of St. *Francis*, and *John Mathew* the firſt that was baptized in *Hiſpaniola*.

The ſecond day after we ſet out from the town and habitation of *Guarionex*, to go to the other *Cacique*, called *Maviatue*; we found *Guarionex*'s people building a houſe near the houſe of prayer, where we left ſome pictures for the *Catecumen*'s, to knee, and pray before them. Theſe were the mother, brothers, and kindred, of the aforeſaid *John Mathew*, the firſt chriſtian; afterwards ſeven more joyn'd them, and at laſt all the family became chriſtians, and perſever'd in the faith; ſo that all the aforeſaid family was left to keep that houſe of prayer, and ſome lands I had cauſed to be till'd. They being ſo left to keep the houſe, two days after we were gone towards the aforeſaid *Maviatue*, ſix men went to the aforeſaid houſe of prayer, left in the cuſtody of the ſeven *Catecumen*'s, and by order of *Guarionex*, told them, they ſhould take thoſe pictures, left by *F. Roman*, and deſtroy them, ſince he and his companion were gone, and they knew not what was become of them. Theſe ſix ſervants of *Guarionex* found ſix children keeping the houſe of prayer, who being ſo inſtructed, ſaid, they ſhould not come in; but they went in by force, took the pictures, and carried them away.

CHAP. XXVI.

What became of the pictures, and a miracle God wrought to ſhow his power.

THESE men being gone out of the houſe, threw the pictures down, cover'd them with earth, and piſs'd upon them, ſaying, now you will yield much fruit. This they ſaid, becauſe they bury'd them in a field that was ſown, ſaying, what grew there would be good, but this they did in ſcorn. The children that were keeping the houſe by order of the *Catechumen's*, ſeeing this, they ran to their friends who were upon their Lands, and told them, that *Guarionex*'s men had abus'd and ſcorn'd the pictures; which they underſtanding, left what they were about, and ran crying out to give an account of it to *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, who was then governor, his brother being gone into *Spain*. He as lieutenant to the viceroy, proceeded againſt the offenders, and having convicted them publickly, burnt them. This did not deter *Guarionex* and his ſubjects, from their deſign of murdering all the chriſtians on the day when they were to bring in their tribute; but the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and they apprehended on the ſame day they were to put it in execution. Still they held on their reſolution, and accordingly killed four *Spaniards*, beſides *John Matthew* and his brother *Anthony*, who had been baptiz'd; and running where they had hid the pictures, tore them in pieces. Some days after, the owner of that field went to dig up his *Agi*'s, which are certain roots like turnips, and ſome like radiſhes; and in the place where the pictures had been buried, two or three *Agi*'s were grown in the ſhape of a croſs, as if they had been ſtuck one through another; nor could any man find this croſs, but only the mother of *Guarionex*, who was the worſt woman I knew in thoſe

parts, who look'd upon this as a great miracle, and ſaid to the commander of the fort of the *conception*, this miracle has been ſhown by God, where the images were found: God knows to what end.

Let us now give an account, how they were converted that firſt became chriſtians, and how much will be requiſite to convert them all. To ſay the truth, that iſland ſtands in much need of people to puniſh the lords, when they will not ſuffer their people to be inſtructed in the faith; for they have nothing to ſay againſt it, which I can with truth maintain, becauſe it has coſt me much labour to know it; as I am ſatisfied may be gathered by what has been ſaid hitherto; and a word to the wiſe is enough.

The firſt chriſtians were thoſe we have beforemention'd in the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, that is, *Gianauvariu*, in whoſe houſe there were ſeventeen perſons who all became chriſtians, only giving them to underſtand, that there is one God, who has made all things, and created heaven and earth, without any further arguments or controverſy; for they were eaſie of belief. With others there muſt be force and ingenuity uſed, for all of them are not alike; for as much, as if thoſe had a good beginning and a better end, they were none of thoſe others that begin well, and then fall off from what has been taught them; and therefore there is need of force and puniſhment.

The firſt that receiv'd baptiſm in the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, was *John Matthew*, who was baptiz'd on the feaſt of St. *Matthew* the evangeliſt, in the year 1496, and after him all his family; where were many chriſtians, and a greater progreſs had been made, had they been inſtructed in the faith, and the *Spaniards* been in a condition to keep them under. And if any one ſhould ask, why I make this ſo eaſy a matter? I ſay, it is, becauſe I know it by experience, eſpecially in the perſon of a principal *Cacique*, called, *Mahuviativire*, who has continued now for three years in his good purpoſe, ſaying, he will be a chriſtian, and have but one wife; for they uſe to have two or three, and the great men twenty five or thirty. This is what I could learn and find out as to the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola*, with all the pains I have taken; wherein I expect no ſpiritual, nor temporal advantage. May it pleaſe our lord, if this turns to his honour and ſervice, to give me his grace to perſevere; and if it muſt fall out otherwiſe, may he deprive me of my underſtanding.

The end of the work of the poor anchorite Roman Pane.

CHAP. LXIII.

How the admiral return'd to Spain *to give their majeſties an account of the condition he left the iſland in.*

TO return to the main ſubject of our hiſtory; I ſay, the admiral having brought the iſland into a peaceable condition, and built the town of *Iſabella*, beſides three forts about the countrey, he reſolv'd to return into *Spain*, to acquaint their catholick majeſties with ſeveral matters he thought convenient for their ſervice; but particularly becauſe of many malicious ſlanderers, who through envy ceaſed not to give the king a falſe information of the affairs of the *Indies*, to the great prejudice and diſhonour of the admiral and his brothers. For theſe reaſons he went on board on *Thurſday* the 10th of *March* 1496, with 225 *Spaniards* and 30 *Indians* ſailed from *Iſabella* about break of day, and turned it along the coaſt with two caravals, one called *Santa Cruz*, the other *Nina*, the ſame he went in to diſcover the iſland of *Cuba*. On *Tueſday* the 22d of *March*, he loſt ſight of the eaſt point of *Hiſpaniola*, holding on his courſe eaſtward as the wind would permit. But the wind for the moſt part continuing at eaſt, on the 6th of *April*, finding his proviſions fell ſhort, and his men were weary and diſcouraged, he fell off towards the ſouth to the *Caribbee* iſlands, and came up with them in three days, anchoring at *Marigalante* on *Saturday* the 9th of *April*. The next day, tho' it was not his cuſtom to weigh anchor on a *Sunday*, when in any port, he ſet ſail, becauſe his men mutter'd, ſaying, when they were to ſeek their bread, they needed not ſo ſtrictly obſerve days. So he anchor'd at the iſland *Guadalupe*, and ſending the boats well-mann'd aſhore, before they came to land, abundance of women came out of a wood, with bows and arrows and feathers, as if they would defend their iſland. For this reaſon, and becauſe the ſea ran ſomewhat high, thoſe in the boats kept aloof, and ſent two *Indian* women, they brought from *Hiſpaniola*, aſhore ſwimming, of whom thoſe other women particularly enquired concern-

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ing the chriſtians; and underſtanding they only deſired proviſions in exchange for ſuch things as they had, bid them go with their ſhips to the north-ſide, where their huſbands were, who would furniſh them with what they wanted. The ſhips ſailing cloſe under the ſhore, ſaw abundance of people come down to the ſhore with bows and arrows, who let fly upon our men with great cries, tho' in vain, for their arrows fell ſhort. But perceiving the boats full of men were going aſhore, the *Indians* went back into an ambuſh, and when our men drew near, came out to hinder their landing, till being frighted with the cannon fir'd at them from the ſhips, they fled to the wood, leaving their houſes and goods, where the chriſtians took and deſtroy'd all they found. Being acquainted with the way of making bread, they fell to work, and made enough to ſupply their want. Among other things they found in the houſes, there were great parrots, honey, wax and iron, whereof they had hatchets to cut, and looms like thoſe for tapiſtry-work, in which they weave their tents. Their houſes were ſquare, and not round, as is uſual in the other iſlands. In one of them was found the arm of a man roaſting upon a ſpit. Whilſt the bread was making, the admiral ſent forty men up the countrey, to learn ſomething of it; who the next day return'd with ten women and three boys, the reſt of the people being fled. Among theſe women, was the wife of a *Cacique*, whom a *Canaryman*, that was very nimble, had much difficulty to overtake; and ſhe had got from him, but that ſeeing him alone, ſhe thought to take him, and cloſing ſhe got him down, and had ſtifled him, but that others came in to his aſſiſtance. Theſe womens legs are ſwathed with cotton from the ancle to the knee, that they may look thick, which ornament they call *Coiro*, and look upon it as very genteel, and they gird ſo hard, that if it happens to ſlip off the leg, that part appears very thin. The ſame both men and women uſe in *Jamaica*, who ſwath their arms up to the arm-pits, that is, about the ſmalleſt parts, like the old faſhion ſleeves uſed among us. Theſe women are alſo exceſſive fat, and there were ſome thicker than a man could graſp; as ſoon as children can ſtand upon their legs and walk, they give them a bow, that they may learn to ſhoot; and they all wear their hair long, and looſe upon their ſhoulders, nor do they cover any part of the body. That lady they took ſaid, the iſland was only inhabited by women, and that thoſe who would have hindered the men landing were women, except only four men, who were there accidentally from another iſland; for at a certain time in the year they come to ſport, and lie with them. The ſame was obſerved by the women of another iſland, called *Matrimonio*, of whom ſhe gave the ſame account we read of the *Amazons*; and the admiral believed it by what he ſaw among thoſe women, and and becauſe of the courage and ſtrength that appeared in them. They alſo ſay, thoſe women ſeem to be endow'd with clearer underſtandings than thoſe of the other iſlands; for in other places they only reckon the day by the ſun, and the night by the moon, whereas theſe women reckoned by other ſtars, ſaying, when the *Charles Wain* riſes, or ſuch a ſtar is north, then it is time to do ſo and ſo.

Women like Amazons.

CHAP. LXIV.

The admiral ſails from the iſland Guadalupe *for* Spain.

WHEN they had made proviſion of bread for twenty days, beſides what they had aboard, the admiral reſolved to continue his voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving that iſland was an inlet to the others, he thought fit firſt to ſatisfy thoſe women with ſome gifts, in ſatisfaction for the loſs they had ſuſtained, and therefore ſent them all aſhore, except the chief lady, who choſe to go into *Spain* with her daughter, among the other *Indians* of the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, one of whom was *Cuonabo*, who it has been ſaid, was the chief man in all the iſland, and that becauſe he was not a native of it, but of the *Caribbees*, and therefore that lady was content to go into *Spain* with the admiral. He having furniſhed himſelf with bread, wood and water, ſet ſail on *Wedneſday* the 20th of *April* from *Guadalupe*, with the wind very ſcant, keeping near the latitude of 22 degrees; for at that time they had not found out the method of running away north to meet the ſouth-weſt winds.

Having made but little way, and the ſhips being full of people, on the 20th of *May*, they all begun to be much afflicted for want of proviſions, which was ſo great, that they had but ſix ounces of bread a day for each, and leſs than a pint of water, without any thing elſe. And though there were eight or nine pilots in thoſe two ſhips, yet none of them knew where they were, but the admiral was confident they were

Great want of Proviſions.

but a little weſt of the *Azores*, whereof he gives an account in his journal thus.

This morning the *Dutch* compaſſes varied as they uſed to do, a point; and thoſe of *Genoa*, that uſed to agree with them, varied but a very little, but afterwards ſailing eaſt vary more, which is a ſign we are 100 leagues, or ſome what more, weſt of the *Azores*; for when we were juſt 100, there were but a few ſcatter'd weeds in the ſea; and the *Dutch* needles varied a point, thoſe of *Genoa* cutting the north-point; and when we are ſomewhat farther E. N. E. they will alter again; which was verified on ſunday following being the 22d of *May*; by which, and the exactneſs of his account, he found he was 100 leagues from the iſlands *Azores*, which he was ſurprized at, and aſſigned this difference to the ſeveral ſorts of load-ſtones the needles are made by; for till they come juſt to that longitude, they all varied a point, and there ſome held it; and thoſe of *Genoa* exactly cut the north-ſtar. The ſame was yet farther demonſtrated the next day, being the 24th of *May*. Thus continuing their voyage, though all the pilots went like blind men, on *Wedneſday* the 8th of *June*, they came in ſight of *Odemira*, between *Liſbon* and cape *St. Vincent*, all the pilots for ſeveral days having ſtill made for the land, except the admiral, who the night before ſlack'd his ſails for fear of land, ſaying, he did ſo becauſe they were near cape *St. Vincent*, which all laugh'd at; ſome of them affirming they were in the *Engliſh* channel, and thoſe that erred leaſt, ſaid, they were on the coaſt of *Galicia*, and therefore ought not to take in any ſail, it being better to die aſhore than ſtarve miſerably at ſea, the ſcarcity being ſo great, that there were many, who like the *Canibals*, were for eating the *Indians* they had aboard; and others, to ſave the little proviſion there was left, were for throwing them overboard, which they would have done, had not the admiral uſed all his authority to prevent it, conſidering they were human creatures, and therefore ought not to be worſe uſed than the reſt, and ſo it pleaſed God to reward him with the ſight of land next morning, as he had promiſed them all, for which reaſon he was afterwards looked upon by the ſeamen as moſt expert, and almoſt prophetical in ſea affairs.

CHAP. LXV.

How the admiral went to court, and their catholic majeſties ſet him out again for the Indies.

THE admiral being landed in *Spain*, began to prepare for his journey to *Burgos*, where he was favourably received by their catholick majeſties, who were there celebrating the nuptials of prince *John* their ſon, who married *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, daughter to *Maximilian* the emperor, who was conducted into *Spain*, and received by moſt of the nobility, and the greateſt appearance of perſons of quality that had ever been ſeen together in *Spain*: But tho' I was preſent as page to prince *John*, I ſhall not mention the particulars of this ſolemnity, as well becauſe it does not belong to our hiſtory, as becauſe their highneſſes hiſtoriographers have doubtleſs taken care to do it. Therefore to return to what concerns the admiral, I ſay, that being come to *Burgos*, he preſented their majeſties with ſeveral things he brought as ſamples from the *Indies*, as well birds and beaſts, as trees, plants, inſtruments and other things the *Indians* uſe for their ſervice and diverſion; alſo ſeveral girdles and maſks, with eyes and ears of plates of gold, beſides much gold ſand, groſs and ſmall, as nature produced it: Some grains as big as vetches, ſome as beans, and ſome as pigeons eggs. This was not afterwards ſo much valued, becauſe in progreſs of time, there were pieces of gold found that weigh'd above thirty pounds. Yet at this time what he brought was much valued, in hopes of what was hoped for, and accordingly their majeſties received it in good part. When the admiral had given them an account of all that related to the improving and peopling the *Indies*; he was deſirous to return with ſpeed, for fear ſome diſaſter ſhould happen in his abſence, eſpecially becauſe he had left the people there in great want of all neceſſaries. Tho' he preſs'd hard on this account, yet the affairs of that court being ſubject to delays, he could not be ſo ſoon diſpatch'd, but that ten or twelve months elapſed before he obtain'd two ſhips, which were ſent before with ſuccours under the command of *Peter Fernandez Coronel*. Theſe ſet out in *February* 1498. and the admiral ſtay'd to negotiate the obtaining ſuch a fleet as was requiſite for him to return to the *Indies*. But he was forced to ſtay above a year at *Burgos* and at *Medina del campo*; where in the year 1499. their catholick majeſties granted him many favours, and gave the neceſſary orders for his

Preſents to the king and queen.

his affairs, and for the government, and ſettling of the *Indies*. Whereof I here make mention, that it may appear how ready their catholick majeſties were as yet to reward his merits and ſervice, and how much they afterwards alter'd through the falſe informations of malicious and envious perſons, inſomuch as to ſuffer the wrongs to be done him, which we ſhall give an account of hereafter. But to return to his departure from court to *Sevil*, there the fitting out of the fleet was retarded much longer than was convenient, through the negligence and ill-management of the king's officers, and particularly of *D. John de Fonſeca*, arch-deacon of *Sevil*. Whence it proceeded, that the ſaid *D. John*, who was afterwards biſhop of *Burgos*, ever was an utter enemy to the admiral and his affairs, and was chief of thoſe that brought him into diſgrace with their catholick majeſties. And to the end that *D. James* my brother and I, who had ſerved as pages to prince *John*, who was now dead, might not ſuffer by his delays, nor be abſent from court, till the time of his departure; he ſent us on the 2d of *November* 1497, from *Sevil*, to ſerve ſtill as pages to her majeſty queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* of glorious memory.

Delays in the admiral's buſineſs.

CHAP. LXVI.

The admiral ſets out from Spain *to diſcover the continent of* Paria.

THE admiral forwarding his expedition with all poſſible care, on the 30th of *May* 1498, ſet ſail from the bay of *St. Lucar de Berrameda*, with ſix ſhips loaded with proviſions and other neceſſaries for the relief of the planters in *Hiſpaniola*, and peopling of that iſland.

On the 7th of *June* he arrived at the iſland of *Puerto Santo*, where he heard maſs, and ſtaid to take in wood and water, and what elſe he ſtood in need of; yet that ſame night ſailed away towards *Madera*, whither he came on *Sunday* the 9th of *June*, and there at the town of *Fonchal*, was courteouſly received and treated by the governor of that iſland, with whom he ſtaid to provide himſelf farther till *Saturday* in the afternoon, when he ſail'd, and on *Wedneſday* the 19th of *June* arrived at *Gomera*, where there was a *French* ſhip that had taken three *Spaniards*; who ſeeing the admiral's ſquadron, weigh'd and ſtood to ſea with them. The admiral ſuppoſing they had been merchant ſhips, and fled, believing him to be a *Frenchman*, took no care to purſue, till when they were at a great diſtance, he was inform'd what they were, and ſent after them three of his ſhips; for fear of which the *French* left one of the ſhips they had taken, and fled with the other two, ſo that the admiral could not fetch them up. They might have carried the other off too, had they not forſaken it; for when the admiral appeared in the port, in the conſternation they were in, they had not time to man it; ſo that there being but four *Frenchmen* aboard, and ſix *Spaniards* of thoſe that had been taken in it; theſe ſeeing the aſſiſtance coming to them, clapt the *French* under hatches, and return'd to the port, where the ſhip was reſtored to its maſter; and the *French* had ſuffer'd, but that *D. Alvaro de Lugo* the governor, and all the iſland interceded for them, who beg'd them to exchange for ſix of their men the *French* had carried away, which the admiral granted. Still haſtening on his way, he ſailed for the iſland *Ferro* on *Thurſday* the 21ſt of *June*. There he reſolved to ſend away three of his ſix ſhips to *Hiſpaniola*, and to ſail away with the reſt towards the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*; thence to ſail directly over, and diſcover the continent. He therefore appointed a captain over each ſhip, of thoſe he ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, one of which was *Peter de Arana*, couſin to that *Arana* who died in *Hiſpaniola*, the 2d *Alonzo Sancher de Carvagal*, and the third one *John Antony Columbus* his own kinſman, to whom he gave particular inſtruction, that each of them ſhould command a week in his turn. This done, he ſet out for the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, and thoſe captains for *Hiſpaniola*. But that climate he was then entring upon being unhealthy at that time, he had a terrible fit of the gout in one leg, and four days after he fell into a violent fever; yet notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, he was ſtill himſelf, and diligently obſerved the way the ſhip made, the alterations of the weather that happened, as he had done ſince his firſt voyage.

The admiral recovers a Spaniſh *ſhip.*

Iſlands of Cabo Verde.

On *Wedneſday* the 25th of *June*, he diſcovered the iſland *de Sal*, one of thoſe of *Capo Verde*, paſſing by it, he came to another called *Boa Viſta*, a name remote from the truth, for it ſignifies a good ſight, and the place is dull and wretched. Here he caſt anchor in a channel near a ſmall iſland on the weſt-ſide of it, near to where there are ſix or ſeven houſes of the inhabitants

Boa Viſta, *where lepers are cured, and how.*

for perſons troubled with the leproſy, who came thither to be cured. And as ſailors rejoyce when they diſcover land, ſo do theſe wretches much more, when they ſee any ſhips. Therefore they preſently ran down to the ſhore, to ſpeak to thoſe the admiral ſent aſhore in the boats to take in water and ſalt, there being alſo abundance of goats there. Underſtanding they were *Spaniards*, the *Portugueſe*, who had charge of the iſland for the owner, went aboard to ſpeak to the admiral, and offer him all he demanded; for which the admiral thanked him, ordered him to be well treated, and ſome proviſion given him, becauſe by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the iſland, they always live miſerably. The admiral being deſirous to known what method they uſed to cure the lepers; that man told him, that the temperature of the air was one main cauſe of it; and the next was their diet, becauſe there came thither a vaſt number of tortoiſes, on which the ſick feed, and anoint themſelves with their blood, and continuing it a ſhort time they recover; but that thoſe who are born infected with this diſtemper are longer a curing. That the reaſon of having ſo many *Tortoiſes*, was the ſhores being all ſandy, whither the tortoiſes, in the months of *June*, *July* and *Auguſt*, came over from the ſhore of *Africk*, moſt of them as big as an ordinary target, and that every night they came up to ſleep and lay their eggs on the ſand; that the people went along the ſhore in the night with lanthorns or other light, ſeeking the track the tortoiſe leaves on the ſand, which they follow till they find the fiſh; which being tired with coming ſo far, ſleeps ſo ſound, that it hears not its enemy. He having found and turned his belly up, without doing it any more harm, goes on to ſeek more; for when turn'd, they cannot ſtir from the place, or recover their feet. Having got as many as they think fit, they come again in the morning to chuſe thoſe they like beſt; and letting go the leaſt, carry away the others to eat. So wretchedly do the ſick live, without any other employment or ſuſtenance, the iſland being very dry and barren, without trees or ſprings, ſo that they drink of certain wells whoſe water is thick and brackiſh. Thoſe who had charge of the iſland, which were only that man and four more, had no other employment but only to kill goats and ſalt them to ſend into *Portugal*. He ſaid, there were ſuch multitudes of theſe goats on the mountains, that ſome years they killed to the value of three or four thouſand ducats, and that they all came from eight goats, carried thither by the proprietor of the iſland, whoſe name was *Roderick Alfonſo*, the king of *Portugal*'s ſecretary of the cuſtoms. That very often the hunters are four or five months without bread, or any other thing to eat, except goats fleſh and fiſh; for which reaſon he made great account of the proviſion he had given him. That man and his companions, with ſome of the admiral's men, went out a goat-hunting; but perceiving it required much time to kill all he had need of, he would ſtay no longer being in great haſte.

Tortoiſes *how caught.*

On *Saturday* the 30 of *June*, he ſailed for the iſland of *Santiago*, the chief of *Cabo Verde*, where he arrived the next day in the evening, and anchored near a church, ſending aſhore to buy ſome cows and bulls to carry alive to *Hiſpaniola*: yet obſerving it was a difficult matter to furniſh himſelf ſo ſoon as he deſired, and how prejudicial delays were to him, he reſolved to ſtay no longer; and the more for fear his men ſhould ſicken, that countrey being unhealthy. He ſays, that all the while he was at that iſland, he never ſaw the ſky nor any ſtar; but there was always a thick hot fog, inſomuch that three parts of the inhabitans were ſick, and they all of them had a baſe colour.

Santiago *iſland.*

CHAP. LXVII.

How the admiral ſailed from the iſlands of Cabo Verde, *to diſcover the continent; of the violent heat he endured, and great brightneſs of the* North-Star.

ON *Thurſday* the 5th of *July*, the admiral left the iſland of *Santiago*, ſailing ſouth weſt, with a reſolution to hold that courſe till he was under the equinoctial, and then to ſteer due-weſt, that he might find ſome other land, or croſs over to *Hiſpaniola*. But the currents among thoſe iſlands ſetting violently towards the north and north weſt, he could not ſail as he deſigned; ſo that he ſays, on *Saturday* the 7th of *July*, he was ſtill in ſight of the iſland of *Fogo*, which is one of thoſe of *Cabo Verde*; which he ſays, is very high land on the ſouth-ſide; and at a diſtance, looks like a great church, with a ſteeple at the eaſt end, which is a vaſt high rock; whence before the eaſt winds blow, there uſually breaks out much fire; as is ſeen at *Tenerif*, *Veſuvius* and mount *Ætna*. From this laſt countrey of chriſtians he held on his courſe ſouth weſt, till he came into only 5 degrees of north latitude, where he was becalmed, having

Fogo *iſland.*

having been till then continually attended by the fog we mentioned above. The calm laſted eight days, with ſuch violent heat, that it almoſt burnt the ſhips; and there was no man could abide under deck, and had it not rained ſometimes, and the ſun been clouded, he thought they would have been burnt alive together with the ſhips; for the firſt day of the calm, which was fair, the heat was ſo violent, that nothing could withſtand it, had not God miraculouſly relieved them with the aforeſaid rain and fog. Having therefore got off a little to the northward, into ſeven degrees of latitude, he reſolved not to make any more to the ſouth, but ſail due-weſt, at leaſt till he ſaw how the weather ſettled; becauſe he had loſt many caſk with the great heat, the hoops flew, and the corn and all proviſions were ſcorched up. About the middle of *July*, he ſays, he very carefully took the latitude, and found a wonderful difference between that and the parallel of the *Azores*. For there, when the *Charles's Wain* was on the right, that is, eaſt, then the *North-Star* was loweſt, and from that time began to riſe; ſo that when the *Charles's Wain* was over head the *North-Star* was two degrees and an half higher, and being once paſſed that, began again to deſcend, the ſame five degrees it aſcended. This, he ſays, he obſerved ſeveral times very carefully, the weather being very fit for that purpoſe. But that where he was at this time in the torrid zone, it happened quite contrary; for when the *Charles's Wain* was in its greateſt elevation, he found the *North-Star* ſix degrees high, and when the *Charles's Wain* came to the weſt, in ſix hours ſpace he found the *North-Star* eleven degrees high; and then in the morning, when the *Charles's Wain* was quite depreſſed, though it could not be ſeen becauſe of the inclination of the pole, the *North-Star* was ſix degrees high, ſo that the difference was ten degrees, and it made a circle, whoſe diameter was ten degrees, whereas in the other place it made but five lowering the poſition; for there it is loweſt when the other is weſt, and here when in its elevation. The reaſon of it he thought very difficult to comprehend, and not being compleatly maſter of it, without farther reflexions on it, he ſays, he is of opinion, that in what relates to the circumference of the ſtars orb, it may be ſaid, that at the equinoctial the full appears, and the nearer a man goes to the pole it ſeems the leſs, becauſe the heaven is more oblique. As for the variation, I believe the ſtar has the quality of all the four quarters, as has the needle, which if touched to the eaſt-ſide points to the eaſt, and ſo of the weſt, north, and ſouth; and therefore he that makes the compaſs, covers the load-ſtone with a cloth, all but the north part of it, *viz.* that which has the virtue to make the ſteel point north.

Maritime obſervations,

CHAP. LXVIII.

How the admiral diſcovered the iſland of the Trinity, *and ſaw the continent.*

ON *Tueſday* the laſt day of *July*, 1498. the admiral having ſailed many days weſt, inſomuch, that in his judgment, the *Caribbee* iſlands were north of him, he reſolved not to hold that courſe any longer, but to make for *Hiſpaniola*, not only becauſe he was in great want of water, but alſo becauſe all his proviſions periſhed, and he was afraid leſt during his abſence ſome mutiny or diſorder had happened among the people he left there, as in effect there had, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter. Therefore altering his courſe from the weſt, he ſtood north, thinking to light on ſome of of the *Caribbee* iſlands, there to refreſh his men, and take in wood and water, whereof he had great want.

Trinity iſland diſcovered.

As he was thus ſailing one day about noon, *Alonzo Perez Norando*, a ſailor of the town of *Gullva*, going up to the round-top, ſaw land to the weſtward at about fifteen leagues diſtance, and there appeared three mountains all at the ſame time, but not long after they perceived the ſame land ſtretched out towards the north-eaſt, as far as the eye could reach, and that did not ſeem to be the end. Having given thanks to God, ſaid the *Salve Regina*, and other prayers, the ſeamen uſe in time of diſtreſs or joy; the admiral called that land the iſland of the *Trinity*, as well becauſe he had before thoughts of giving that name to the firſt land that he found, as in return, becauſe it had pleaſed God to ſhow him three mountains all together, as has been ſaid. He ſailed due-weſt, to make a cape that appeared to the ſouth of him, and making for the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, till he came to an anchor, five leagues beyond a point, which he called *de la Galera*, or of the galley, becauſe of a rock that lay near the point, and at a diſtance look'd like a galley under ſail. Having now but one caſk of water for all his ſhips crew, and the other ſhips being in the ſame condition, there being no conveniency here to take

take in any, on *Wedneſday* following in the morning he continued his courſe ſtill weſt, and caſt anchor at another point, which he called *de la Plaga*, or, of the ſtrand, where the people landed, and took water, in a delicate brook, without ſeeing any town or people there, tho' along the coaſt they left behind they had ſeen many houſes and towns. True it is, they found the tokens of fiſhermen, who had fled, leaving behind them ſome of their fiſhing tackle. They alſo ſaw the prints of the feet of beaſts, which ſeem'd to be of goats, and ſaw the bones of one, but the head being without horns, they thought it might be of ſome catamountain, or monkey, as they afterwards found it to be, ſeeing abundance of thoſe cats in *Paria*. This ſame day, being the firſt of *Auguſt*, ſailing between cape *Galera* and that of *la Plaga* ſouthwards, they diſcovered the continent, about twenty five leagues diſtance, as they gueſſed; but they thinking it another iſland; called it *Iſla Santa*, or Holy Iſland. The land they ſaw of the *Trinity*, between the two points, was thirty leagues in length eaſt and weſt, without any harbour, but all the countrey very pleaſant with trees down to the ſea, and abundance of towns. This ſpace they ran in a very ſhort time, becauſe the current of the ſea ſet ſo very violent weſtward, that it looked like a rapid river both day and night, and at all hours, notwithſtanding the tide flow'd and ebb'd along the ſhore above forty paces, as happens at St *Lucar de Barrameda*, when there are floods; for though the water riſe and fall never ſo much, yet it never ceaſes running towards the ſea.

CHAP. LXIX.

How the admiral ſailed to the cape, called Puntal del Arenal, *and a canoe came out to talk to him.*

PErceiving they could have no account of the people of the countrey at this cape, and that there was no conveniency of taking water, without exceſſive labour, and there was no conveniency of careening the ſhips and getting proviſions. the next being the ſecond of *Auguſt*, the admiral went on to another point of land, which ſeemed to be moſt weſterly in that iſland, and called it *del Arenal*, where he came to an anchor, thinking the eaſterly winds which reign there would not be ſo troubleſome to the boats in going backwards and forwards. On the way before they came to this point, a canoe began to follow them with twenty five men in it, and ſtopped at about a cannon-ſhot diſtance, calling out and talking very loud. Nothing could be underſtood, though it was ſuppoſed they enquired who our men were, and whence they came, as the other *Indians* uſed to do at firſt: there being no poſſibility of perſuading them with any words to come aboard, they began to ſhow them ſeveral things, that they might covet to have them, ſuch as little braſs baſons, looking-glaſſes, and other things, the reſt of the *Indians* uſed to make great account of. But tho' this drew them a little, yet they ſoon ſtopped again, and therefore the more to allure them, the admiral ordered one to get upon the poop with a taber and pipe, and ſome young fellows to dance. As ſoon as the *Indians* ſaw it, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence, laying hold of their targets, and ſhooting their arrows at thoſe that danced, who by the admirals command, that thoſe people might not go unpuniſhed, or contemn the chriſtians, leaving their dance began to ſhoot with their croſs bows, ſo that they were glad to draw off, and made to another caraval, clapping cloſe to its ſide without any apprehenſion. The pilot of the ſhip went over into the canoe and gave them ſome things they were very well pleaſed with, and ſaid, if they had been aſhore they would have brought him bread from their houſes, and ſo they went towards land, nor would they in the ſhip ſtop e'er a one, for fear of diſpleaſing the admiral. The account they gave of them, was, that they were well ſhaped people, and whiter than thoſe of the other iſlands, and that they wear their hair long, like women, bound with ſmall ſtrings, and covered their privities with little clouts.

Indians *of the* Trinity.

CHAP. LXX.

Of the danger the ſhips were in, entering the mouth of the channel, they called Boca del Drago, *or, the* Dragon's Mouth; *and how* Paria *was diſcovered, being the firſt diſcovery on the continent.*

AS ſoon as the ſhips had anchored at *Punta del Arenal*, the admiral ſent the boats aſhore for water, and to get ſome information of the *Indians*, but they could do neither, that countrey being very low, and unpeopled. He therefore ordered them the next day to dig trenches on the iſland, and by good luck they found them ready made and full of excellent water, and it was thought the fiſhermen had made them. Having taken what they wanted, the admiral reſolved to proceed on to another mouth or channel which appeared towards the north-weſt, which he afterwards called *Boca del Drago*, or, the *Dragon's Mouth*, to diſtinguiſh it from that where he was, to which he had given the name of *Boca de la Sierpe*, or, the *Serpent's Mouth*. Theſe two mouths or channels, like the *Dardanels*, were made by the two weſtermoſt points of the *Trinity* iſland, and two others of the continent, and lay almoſt north and ſouth of one another. In the midſt of that, where the admiral anchored, was another rock, which he called *El Gallo*, that is the *Cock*. Through this mouth, he called *Boca de Sierpe*, the water continually ran ſo furiouſly northward, as if it had been the mouth of ſome great river, which was the reaſon of giving it that name, becauſe of the fright it put them into. For as they lay very ſecurely at anchor, there came a ſtronger ſtream of water than uſual, with a hideous noiſe, running through that mouth northward. And another current running out of the gulph now called *Paria*, oppoſite to that before-mentioned, they met with hideous roaring, and cauſed the ſea to ſwell up like a high mountain, or ridge of hills along that channel, which mountain ſoon came towards the ſhips to the great terror of all men fearing they ſhould over-ſet. But it pleaſed God it paſſed under, or rather lifted them up without doing any harm, though it drew the anchor of one of them, carrying the veſſel away, but by the help of their ſails they eſcaped the danger, not without mortal fear of being loſt. That furious current being paſſed, the admiral conſidering the danger he was in there, ſtood for the *Dragon's Mouth*, which was between the north point of the *Trinity* iſland, and the eaſt point of *Paria*; yet went not through it at that time, but ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of *Paria* weſtward, believing it to be an iſland, and hoping to find a way out northwards towards *Hiſpaniola*. And though there were many ports along that coaſt of *Paria*, he would put into none, all the ſea being a harbour locked in with the continent.

The gulph of Paria.

A wonderful ſwelling of water.

CHAP. LXXI.

How there was ſome gold and pearls found in Paria, *and a people of good converſation.*

THE admiral being at an anchor on the *Fifth* of *Auguſt*, and it being his particular devotion never to weigh on a *Sunday*, he ſent the boats aſhore, where they found abundance of fruit of the ſame ſort they had ſeen in the other iſlands; great numbers of trees, and ſigns of people that had fled for fear of the chriſtians. But being unwilling to loſe time, he ſailed down the coaſt fifteen leagues farther without going into any harbour, for fear he ſhould miſs of wind to bring him out. Being at an anchor on the coaſt, at the end of theſe fifteen leagues, there came out a canoe to the caraval called *El Borreo*, with three men in it; and the pilot knowing how much the admiral coveted to receive ſome information from thoſe people, he pretended to talk to them, and let himſelf fall into the canoe, and the *Spaniards* in the boat took thoſe three men, and carried them to the admiral, who made very much of them, and ſent them aſhore with many gifts, where there appeared abundance of *Indians*. Theſe hearing the good account the three gave them, came all in their canoes to barter, for ſuch things as they had, which were much the ſame, as had been ſeen in the iſlands before diſcovered, only that here they had no targets, nor poiſoned arrows, which theſe people do not uſe, but only the *Canibals*. Their drink was a ſort of liquor as white as milk, and another ſomewhat blackiſh, taſting like green wine made of grapes not quite ripe, but they could not learn what fruit it was made of. They wore cottton cloths

Indians *go aboard.*

well wove, of ſeveral colours, about the bigneſs of a handkerchief, ſome bigger and ſome leſs; and what they moſt valued of our things, was braſs, and eſpecially bells. The people ſeem to be more civilized and tractable than thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*. They cover their nakedneſs with one of thoſe cloths above-mentioned, and have another wrapped about their head. The women cover nothing, not even their privities; the ſame they do in the *Trinity* iſland. They ſaw nothing of value here, except ſome little plates of gold they hung about their necks; for which reaſon, and becauſe the admiral could not ſtay to dive into the ſecrets of the countrey, he ordered ſix of thoſe *Indians* to be taken, and continued his voyage weſtward, believing that land of *Paria*, which he called the *Holy Iſland*, was no continent. Soon after another iſland appeared towards the ſouth, and another no leſs than that towards the weſt, all high land, ſowed and well peopled; and the *Indians* had more plates of gold about their necks than the others, and abundance of *Guaninis*, which is very low gold. They ſaid that was produced in other weſtern iſlands inhabited by people that eat men. The women had ſtrings of beads about their arms, and among them very fine large and ſmall pearls ſtrung, ſome whereof were got in exchange to ſend their catholick majeſties as a ſample. Being aſked where they found thoſe things, they made ſigns to ſhow that in the oyſter-ſhels which were taken weſtward of that land of *Paria*, and beyond it towards the north. Upon this, the admiral ſtaid there to know more of that good diſcovery, and ſent the boats aſhore, where all the people of the countrey that had flocked together, appeared ſo tractable and friendly, that they importuned the chriſtians to go along with them to a houſe not far off, where they gave them to eat, and a great deal of that wine of theirs. Then from that houſe, which it is likely was the king's palace, they carried them to another, which was his ſons, and ſhewed them the ſame kindneſs. They were all in general whiter than any they had ſeen in the *Indies*, and of better aſpects and ſhapes, with their hair cut ſhort by their ears, after the *Spaniſh* faſhion. From them they underſtood that land was called *Paria*, and that they would be glad to be in amity with the chriſtians. Thus they departed from them, and returned to the ſhips.

The firſt pearls in the weſt-Indies.

A courteous and obliging people.

CHAP. LXXII.

How the admiral paſſed through Boca del Drago, *and the danger he was in there.*

THE admiral holding on his voyage weſtward, they ſtill found leſs and leſs water, inſomuch that being come through four or five fathom, they found but two and a half at ebb, for the tide differed from that at the *Trinity* iſland; for at the *Trinity*, the water ſwelled three fathom, and here being forty five leagues to the weſtward, it roſe but one; and there always, whether ebb or flood, the current ran weſt; and here upon the ebb they ran eaſt, and upon the flood weſt; there the water was but brackiſh, here it was like river water. The admiral perceiving this difference, and how little water he found, durſt proceed no farther in his ſhip, which required three fathom water, being of a hundred tun, and therefore came to an anchor on that coaſt, which was very ſafe, being a port like a horſeſhoe, locked with that land on all ſides. However, he ſent the little caraval, called *El Boreo*, or the poſt, to diſcover whether there was any paſs weſtward among thoſe iſlands. She having gone but a little way, returned the next day, being the eleventh of *Auguſt*, ſaying, that at the weſtermoſt point of that ſea, there was a mouth or opening, two leagues over from north to ſouth, and within it a round bay, with four other little bays, one towards each quarter of heaven, that from each of them flowed a river, whoſe water made that ſea ſo ſweet, which was yet much ſweeter farther in, adding, that all that land which ſeemed to be iſlands, was one and the ſame continent; that they had every where four or five fathom water, and ſuch abundance of thoſe weeds they ſaw in the ocean, that they hindred ther ſailing. The admiral therefore being certain he could not get out weſtward, that ſame day ſtood back to the eaſtward, deſigning to paſs the ſtreights, which he ſaw between the land the *Indians* call *Paria*, and the *Trinity*. In this ſtreight there are four little iſtands eaſt near the point of the *Trinity*, which he called cape *Boca*, becauſe it was blunt, weſt upon the point of the continent, which he called cape *Lapa*, and in the middle. The reaſon why he called this the *Dragon's Mouth*, was, becauſe it is very dangerous, by reaſon of the abundance of freſh water that ſtruggles to get out there into the ſea, and made three boiſterous channels, extending from eaſt to weſt the width of the ſtreight. And becauſe as he was ſailing through, the wind failed

Account of the gulph of Paria.

Boca del Drago.

failed him, and he was in danger of being drove on ſome ſand or rock; therefore he with reaſon gave it a name anſwerable to that of the other mouth, where he was in no leſs danger as was ſaid above. But it pleas'd God, that what they moſt dreaded ſhould be their greateſt ſafety, the ſtrength of the current carrying them off. Therefore on *Monday* the 17th of *Auguſt*, he began to ſail weſtward along the coaſt of *Paria*, in order to ſtand over afterwards for *Hiſpaniola*, giving thanks to God, who deliver'd him from ſo many troubles and dangers, ſtill ſhowing him new countries full of peaceable people and great wealth, eſpecially that, which he certainly concluded to be the continent, becauſe of the great extent of that gulph of pearls, of the rivers that ran from it, of the ſea, which was all ſweet water; and by the authority of *Eſdras*, in the 8th chapter of the 4th book; where he ſays, that dividing the globe into ſeven parts only, one of them is covered with water; for all the *Indians* of the *Caribbee* iſlands have told him, there was a vaſt land ſouthward.

CHAP. LXXIII.

How the admiral ſtood over from the continent to Hiſpaniola.

THE admiral ſailing along weſtward on the coaſt of *Paria*, ſtill fell farther off from it towards the north weſt, the currents in being calm driving him that way; ſo that on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *Auguſt*, he left the cape, he called *de las Conchas*, or of ſhells, ſouth of him, and the iſland *Margarita* weſt, which name he gave this iſland, perhaps by divine inſpiration; becauſe cloſe by it lies that of *Cubagua*, where an infinite quantity of pearls has been found; and in *Hiſpaniola* and *Jamaica* at his return he called ſome *Mountains of Gold*, where afterwards was found the greateſt quantity and largeſt pieces that ever were carried from thence into *Spain*. But to return to his voyage, he held on his courſe by ſix iſlands, which he called *las Guardas*, or the guards, and three others more to the north, *los Teſtigos*, or the witneſſes. And though they ſtill diſcover'd much land of *Paria* weſtward, yet the admiral ſays, he could not from this time give ſuch an account of it as he would wiſh, becauſe through overmuch watching, his eyes were inflam'd, and therefore was forced to take moſt of his obſervations from the ſailors and pilots. He alſo ſays, that this ſame night, being *Thurſday* the 16th of *Auguſt*, the compaſſes which till now had not varied, did at this time, at leaſt a point and a half, and ſome of them two points, wherein there could be no miſtake, becauſe ſeveral perſons had always watch'd to obſerve it. Admiring at this, and griev'd that he had not the opportunity of following the courſe of the continent, he held on north-weſt, till on *Monday* the 20th of *Auguſt* he came to an anchor between *Beaca*, and *Hiſpaniola*; whence he ſent a letter by ſome *Indians* to his brother the *Adelantodo*, acquainting him with his ſafe arrival and ſucceſs. He was ſurpriz'd to find himſelf ſo far weſtward; for though he knew the force of the currents fail'd, yet he did not think it had been ſo much. Therefore to the end his proviſions might not fail him in time of need, he ſtood to the eaſtward for *S. Domingo*, into which harbour he ſail'd on the 30th of *Auguſt*; for here the lieutenant his brother had appointed the city to be built on the eaſt-ſide of the river, where it ſtands at preſent, and was called *Santo Domingo* in memory of his father, whoſe name was *Dominick*.

Cape Conchas.

Margarita *iſland.*

S. Domingo *in* Hiſpaniola.

CHAP LXXIV.

The rebellion and troubles the admiral met with in Hiſpaniola, *raiſed by the wickedneſs of one* Francis Roldan, *whom he had left as alcalde mayor, or chief juſtice.*

THE admiral being come to *S. Domingo*, almoſt blind with over-watching, he hoped there to reſt himſelf after his voyage, and find peace among his people, but found all quite contrary, for all the people in the iſland were in diſorder and rebellion; for abundance of thoſe he had left were dead, and of thoſe that remain'd, above 160 were ſick of the *French* pox, and beſides that many were in rebellion with *Roldan*, he found not the three ſhips, we ſaid he ſent before him from the *Canary* iſlands. Of theſe things it is requiſite we ſpeak orderly, beginning from the time the admiral ſet out for *Spain*, which as we ſaid, was in *March* 1496, 30 months before his return: the firſt part of which time the people continued pretty quiet in hopes of his return

return, and of being ſpeedily relieved: But the firſt year being paſs'd, the *Spaniſh* proviſions failing, and ſickneſs and ſufferings increaſing, they began to be diſſatisfied with what was, and to deſpair of any better; ſo that the complaints of many diſcontented perſons were heard, who never want ſome body to ſtir them up, deſiring to be head of a party, as was now done by one *Francis Roldan*, born at *Torre de D. Ximeno*, whom the admiral had left in ſuch power among both *Chriſtians* and *Indians*, by making him chief juſtice, that he was as much obey'd as himſelf. For this reaſon it is to be ſuppos'd there was not that good underſtanding between him and the admiral's lieutenant, as ought to have been for the publick good, as time and experience made it appear. For the admiral, neither returning himſelf, nor ſending any ſupplies, this *Roldan* began to think of poſſeſſing himſelf of the iſland, deſigning for this purpoſe to murther the admirals brothers, as thoſe that could beſt oppoſe his rebellion, and waited an opportunity to put this in execution. It happened that the lieutenant of the iſland, one of the admiral's brothers, went to a province in the weſt, called *Xaragua*, 80 leagues from *Iſabella*, where the ſaid *Roldan* remained in his employ, but ſubordinate to *D. James*, ſecond brother to the admiral. This *Roldan* was ſo offended at, that whilſt the lieutenant was taking order how the kings of the iſland ſhould pay tribute to their catholick majeſties, as the admiral had rated all the *Indians*, *Orlando* began underhand to draw ſome of them over to his party. But that it might not prove fatal to riſe on a ſudden, and without ſome pretence: that which *Roldan* laid hold of was, that there was a caraval aſhore at *Iſabella*, built by the lieutenant of the iſland, to ſend to *Spain* in caſe of neceſſity, and there being no launching of it for want of tackle and other neceſſaries, *Roldan* feign'd and gave out there was ſome other reaſon for it, and that it behov'd the publick, that caraval ſhould be fitted out, that ſome of them might go to *Spain* in it, to give an account of their ſufferings. Thus upon pretence of the publick good, he preſs'd that it might be launch'd, and *D. James Columbus* not conſenting to it for want of tackle, as has been ſaid, *Roldan* began more boldly to treat with ſome about launching the caraval in deſpite of him; telling thoſe, he thought to agree with him, that if the lieutenant, and *D. James* were diſpleas'd at it, the reaſon was becauſe they would ſecure to themſelves the dominion of the countrey, and keep them in ſubjection, without any ſhip that might carry the news of their revolt to their catholick majeſties. And ſince they were ſatisfied and convinced of the cruelty and ill-nature of the lieutenant, and what a reſtleſs life he led them, building towns and forts, and that they had no hopes of the admiral's coming with ſupplies, it was fit they ſhould take that caraval and procure their liberty, and not ſuffer themſelves under pretence of pay, which they never receiv'd, to be kept under by a foreigner, whereas it was in their power to live at eaſe and in plenty; for that whatſoever could be had in the iſland would be equally divided among them, and they would be ſerv'd by the *Indians* to their own content, without being ſo much in ſubjection, that they could not take to wife any *Indian* woman they pleaſed. That the lieutenant made them keep the three vows of religious men; and beſides that, they wanted not for faſts and diſciplines, as alſo impriſonment, and other puniſhments, which they endured for the leaſt fault. Therefore, ſince he had the rod of juſtice and regal authority, which ſecured them againſt any thing that might befal them on this account, he adviſed them to do what he directed, wherein they could not do amiſs. With theſe and the like words, proceeding from the hatred he bore the lieutenant, he drew ſo many over to his own party, that one day when the lieutenant was come back from *Xaragua* to *Iſabella*, ſome of them reſolv'd to ſtab him, looking upon it as ſo eaſie a matter, that they had provided a halter to hang him up after he was dead. What at preſent the more incens'd them, was the impriſoning of one *Barahona*, a friend to the conſpirators, againſt whom, if God had not put it into the heart of the lieutenant not to proceed to execution of juſtice at that time, they had then certainly murdered him.

Rebellion among the Spaniards.

CHAP. LXXV.

How Francis Roldan *endeavour'd to make the town of* Conception *mutiny, and plundered* Iſabella.

FRancis *Roldan*, perceiving he had miſs'd of the murther of the lieutenant, and his conſpiracy was diſcovered, he reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and fort of the *Conception*, thinking from thence he might eaſily ſubdue the iſland. It fell out con-

conveniently for his deſign, that he was near the ſaid town; for whilſt the lieutenant was abroad, he had been ſent with 40 men about that province, to reduce the *Indians* that had revolted, with the ſame deſign of making themſelves maſters of that town, and deſtroying the chriſtians. So that *Roldan*, under pretence of putting a ſtop to this evil, and puniſhing the *Indians*, gather'd his men at the reſidence of one of their *Caciques*, call'd *Marche*, deſigning to put his project in execution upon the firſt opportunity. But *Balleſter* the commander of the fort, having ſome jealouſie of him, he ſtood upon his guard, and acquainted the lieutenant of the iſland with the danger he was in, who with all ſpeed, and what men he could gather, threw himſelf into the fort. Thither *Roldan* came upon a ſafe conduct, now his conſpiracy was diſcovered, rather to obſerve by the lieutenant what might do him harm, than through any deſire of coming to an accommodation, and with more boldneſs and impudence than became him, required the lieutenant to cauſe the caraval to be launched, or give him leave to launch it, which he and his friends would do. The lieutenant incenſed at theſe words, anſwered, that neither he nor his friends were ſeamen, or knew what was proper to be done in that caſe; and that though they had known how to launch it, yet they could not ſail in her for want of rigging, and other neceſſaries, and therefore it would be only expoſing the men and the caraval. And, foraſmuch as the lieutenant underſtood that affair, as a ſeaman, and they not being ſuch, knew nothing of it, therefore they varied in their judgments. Theſe and other diſpleaſing words having paſs'd between them, *Roldan* went away in a paſſion, refuſing to quit his rod of juſtice, or ſtand trial, as the lieutenant ordered, ſaying he would do both, when their majeſties, whoſe the iſland was, commanded him; knowing he could expect no juſtice from him, becauſe of the hatred he bore him, but that right or wrong he would find means to put him to death with ſhame: that in the mean while, not to exceed the bounds of reaſon, he would go and reſide where he ſhould bid him. But he at preſent appointing him the reſidence of the *Cacique*, *James Columbus*, he refuſed it, ſaying, there were not proviſions there for his men, and that he would find a more convenient place. He ſet out towards *Iſabella*, and having gathered 65 men, perceiving he could not launch the caraval, he plunder'd the magazines, he and his followers, taking away what arms, ſtuffs, and proviſions they thought fit, *D. James Columbus*, who was there, not being able to oppoſe him, but would have been in danger, had he not retired to the fort with ſome friends and ſervants. Yet in the proceſs afterwards drawn up on this ſubject, there were ſome that depos'd, that *Roldan* promiſed to ſubmit to him, provided he would take his part againſt his own brother: which he refuſing, and *Roldan* not being able to do him any further harm; as alſo fearing the ſuccours that were coming from the lieutenant, he went out of town with all the mutineers, and falling on the cattle that graz'd thereabouts, they kill'd ſuch as they lik'd to eat, and took the beaſts of burthen to ſerve them in their journey, reſolving to go into the province of *Xaragua*, whence the lieutenant was lately come, deſigning to ſettle there, that being the pleaſanteſt and moſt plentiful part of the iſland, the people here being more civiliz'd and wiſer than the reſt of the natives of *Hiſpaniola*; but above all, becauſe the women were the handſomeſt, and of the moſt pleaſing converſation of any others, which moſt invited them to go thither. But that they might not go without making trial of their ſtrength, before the lieutenant could increaſe his power, and puniſh them as they deſerv'd, they reſolved to take the town of the *Conception* in their way, to ſurprize it, and kill the lieutenant, and in caſe this did not ſucceed, to beſiege him. The lieutenant having intelligence of their deſign, ſtood upon his guard, encouraging his men with good words, and promiſing them many gifts, and each of them two ſlaves. And foraſmuch as he underſtood, that moſt of thoſe that were with him, lik'd the life *Roldan* and his men led ſo well, that many of them gave ear to his meſſages; therefore *Roldan* having conceiv'd hopes that they would all go over to him, had the boldneſs to undertake that enterprize, which did not ſucceed as he expected. For the lieutenant, having provided as has been ſaid, being himſelf a man of great reſolution, and having the beſt men on his ſide, was reſolv'd to do that by force of arms, which he could not compaſs by fair means and arguments. Having therefore gathered his men together, he march'd out of town to attack the rebels on the road.

Farther progreſs of the rebels.

CHAP. LXXVI.

How Francis Roldan *incens'd the* Indians *againſt the lieutenant, and went away with his men to* Xaragua.

Francis Roldan, perceiving he was ſo diſappointed, and that not one of the lieutenants men came over to him, as he had expected, reſolved to retire in time, and go away to *Xaragua* as he deſign'd at firſt, not daring to meet him, yet preſum'd to talk contemptibly of him, and to ſtir up the *Indians*, where-ever he went, to rebel againſt him, telling them, the cauſe of his forſaking him was his being a man naturally revengeful and moroſe, as well towards the *Chriſtians*, as *Indians*; and abominably covetous, impoſing great burdens and tributes on them; which if they bore with, he would increaſe every year, tho' againſt their catholick majeſties will; who requir'd nothing of their ſubjects but obedience, maintaining them in juſtice, liberty and peace; which, if they fear'd they ſhould not be able to maintain, he with his friends and followers, would aſſiſt them to aſſert, and would declare himſelf their protector and deliverer. After which, they reſolved to forbid paying the tribute, we ſaid had been impos'd on them, by which means it could not be gathered of thoſe that dwelt far from the lieutenant, nor durſt he exact it of thoſe near about him for fear of provoking them to join with the rebels. Yet this condeſcenſion towards them, had not ſo good an effect, but that as ſoon as the lieutenant was gone from the *Conception*, *Guarionex*, who was the principal *Cacique* of that province, with the aſſiſtance of *Roldan*, reſolv'd to beſiege the fort, and deſtroy the *Chriſtians* that kept it. The better to effect it, he drew together all the *Caciques* of his party, and agreed with them privately, that every one ſhould kill thoſe that were within his precinct, becauſe the territories in *Hiſpaniola* being too ſmall, for any of them to maintain a great number of people, the *Chriſtians* had been obliged to divide themſelves into ſmall parcels of eight or nine in each liberty. This gave the *Indians* hopes, that ſurprizing them all at the ſame time, they might have it in their power to ſuffer none to eſcape. But they having no other way of fixing a time, or ordering any thing elſe that requires counting, but only by their fingers, they reſolved, that every one ſhould be ready to deſtroy the *Chriſtians* at the next full moon. *Guarionex* having thus diſpoſed his *Caciques* to put this in execution, the chiefeſt of them being deſirous to gain honour, and looking upon the matter as very eaſie, and being no good aſtronomers, to know when the full moon was, fell on before the time appointed, and were forced to fly after many blows. He thinking to find aſſiſtance in *Guarionex* found his own ruin; for he put him to death, as he had deſerv'd, for having cauſed the conſpiracy to be diſcovered, and the *Chriſtians* to be upon their guard. The rebels were not a little concern'd at this miſcarriage; for as was reported, it had been contriv'd with their conſent, and therefore they waited to ſee, whether *Guarionex* brought affairs to ſuch terms, that joining with him they might deſtroy the lieutenant: But perceiving this did not ſucceed, they thought not themſelves ſecure in the province where they were, but went away to *Xaragua*, ſtill proclaiming themſelves protectors of the *Indians*, whereas they were thieves in their actions and inclinations, having no regard to God or the world, but following their inordinate appetites; for every one ſtole what he could, and *Roldan* their leader more than all of them, perſuading and commanding every *Cacique* to entertain him that could and would defend the *Indians* and rebels from paying the tribute the lieutenant demanded of them, tho' at the ſame time he under this pretence took much more from them; for from only one *Cacique*, whoſe name was *Manicaotex*, he received every three months, a calabaſh, containing three marks of pure gold, that is, a pound and a half, and to be the more ſure of him, kept his ſon and nephew as hoſtages. He that reads this, muſt not wonder that we reduce the marks of gold to the meaſure of a cabalaſh, which we do to ſhow, that the *Indians* in theſe caſes dealt by meaſure, becauſe they never had any weights.

Conſpiracy of the Indians *to deſtroy the* Spaniards.

CHAP. LXXVII.

How the ſhips came from Spain *with proviſions and ſupplies.*

THE *Chriſtians* being thus divided, as has been ſaid, and no ſhips yet coming from *Spain* with ſupplies, neither the lieutenant, nor his brother *D. James*, could keep the people quiet, that had remained with them; for moſt of them being mean perſons,

perſons, and deſirous to lead that eaſie life *Roldan* promis'd them, they durſt not puniſh the guilty, for fear of being forſaken; which made them ſo inſolent, that it was impoſſible to keep them in order, and therefore they were forced to bear with the affronts of the rebels. But it being God's will to afford them ſome comfort, it pleaſed him to order that the two ſhips ſhould arrive, which, as was ſaid before, had been ſent a year after the admiral's departure from the *Indies*, not without great application us'd by him at court for fitting them out; for he, conſidering the nature of the countrey, the diſpoſitions of the people he left behind, and the great danger that might accrue from his long abſence, preſs'd for and obtain'd of their catholick majeſties, that thoſe two ſhips might be ſent before, of 18 he had been ordered to fit out. The arrival of theſe, the ſupplies they brought of men and proviſions, and the aſſurance that the admiral was ſafe arrived in *Spain*, encouraged thoſe that were with the lieutenant to ſerve him more faithfully, and made thoſe that followed *Roldan*, apprehenſive of being puniſh'd. Theſe being deſirous to hear news, and furniſh themſelves with what they wanted, reſolved to repair to *S. Domingo*, where the ſhips had put in, hoping to draw ſome of the men over to their party. But the lieutenant having intelligence of their march, and being nearer that harbour, he mov'd towards them to hinder their paſſage; and having left guards on the paſſes, went to the port to ſee the ſhips, and order the affairs of that place. And being deſirous the admiral ſhould find the iſland in a peaceable condition, and all troubles ended, he again made new overtures to *Roldan*, who was ſix leagues off with his men, ſending to him for this purpoſe the commander of the two ſhips lately arriv'd, whoſe name was *Peter Fernandez Coronel*; as well becauſe he was a man of worth and in authority, as becauſe he hop'd his words would prove more effectual, ſince he as an eye witneſs, could certifie him of the admiral's arrival in *Spain*, the good reception he had found, and the willingneſs their majeſties expreſs'd to make him ſtill greater. But the chief men among them, fearing the impreſſion this meſſenger might make upon their followers, would not ſuffer him to ſpeak in publick; ſo that they received him with their bows and arrows on the road, and he could only ſpeak ſome few words to thoſe that were appointed to hear him. Thus having done nothing, he returned to the town, and the rebels to their quarters in *Xaragua*, not without apprehenſions, leſt *Roldan* and ſome of the principal men of his gang ſhould write to their friends that were with the lieutenant, deſiring them when the admiral came, to intercede for them, ſince all their complaints were againſt the lieutenant, and not againſt the admiral himſelf, for which reaſon they deſired to be reſtored to his favour.

The rebels refuſe to ſubmit.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

How the three ſhips the admiral ſent from the Canary *iſlands arrived where the rebels were.*

HAving ſpoke of the arrival of the two ſhips the admiral ſent from *Spain* to *Hiſpaniola*, it is fit we give an account of the three that parted from him at the *Canary* iſlands, which proceeded on their voyage with fair winds till they came to the *Caribbee* iſlands, which are the firſt that ſailors meet with in their way to the port of *S. Domingo*. The pilots then not being ſo well acquainted with that voyage, as they have been ſince, it happened they knew not how to hit that port, and were carried away by the currents ſo far to weſtward, that they arrived in the province of *Xaragua*, where the rebels were, who as ſoon as they underſtood that thoſe ſhips were out of their way, and knew nothing of their revolt, ſome of them went peaceably aboard, pretending they were there by the lieutenant's orders, the better to be ſupplied with proviſions, and keep that countrey under. But it being very eaſie for a ſecret, that is among many, to be diſcovered, *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, who was the ſkilfulleſt of the captains of thoſe ſhips, being aware of the rebellion and diſcord, began immediately to make overtures of peace to *Francis Roldan*, thinking to bring him to ſubmit to the lieutenant. But the familiar converſation the rebels had before entertain'd aboard the ſhips, was the cauſe that his perſuaſions had not the deſired effect; for *Roldan* had privately obtain'd promiſes from many of thoſe that came freſh out of *Spain*, that they would ſtay with him, and by that acceſſion he hoped to become ſtill greater. *Carvajal* therefore finding things were not in ſuch a poſture, that he might hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of what he had in hand, thought it convenient, with the advice of the other two captains, that the people they brought under pay to work in the mines, and other

Ignorance of pilots carries the ſhips to the weſt of Hiſpaniola.

employments, ſhould go by land to *S. Domingo*, becauſe the winds and currents being ſet there againſt that voyage, it was poſſible they might not perform it in two or three months; ſo that they would not only conſume the proviſions, but the men might fall ſick, and the time be loſt, which ought to have been employed in the ſervice they came for. Having agreed upon this, it fell to *John Anthony Columbus* his lot to march with the men, which were 40, to *Arana* to ſail about with the ſhips, and to *Caravajal* to ſtay and endeavour to bring the rebels to an accommodation. *John Anthony Columbus* ſetting forward the 2d day after they landed, thoſe labourers and vagabonds ſent over to work, went away to the rebels, leaving their captain with only ſix or ſeven men that ſtuck to him. He ſeeing their baſe infidelity, without apprehending any danger, went to *Roldan*, and told him, That ſince he pretended to promote the ſervice of their catholick majeſties, it was not reaſonable he ſhould ſuffer thoſe men, that were come to people and cultivate the countrey, and to follow their callings with wages in hand, to ſtay there and loſe their time, without doing any thing of that they were obliged to; and that if he had turn'd them away, it had been a token that his words and his actions agreed; that his ſtaying there cauſed the diviſion and diſorder with the lieutenant, and not any inclination in him to obſtruct the king's ſervice. But that which had happened turning to the account of *Roldan* and his followers, as well for the carrying on their deſign, as becauſe the crime committed by many is generally ſooneſt conniv'd at; he excus'd himſelf as to that point, ſaying, He could not uſe violence towards them, and that his was a religious order, which refuſed no man. *John Anthony* knowing it was not the part of a diſcreet man to expoſe himſelf to the danger of preſſing farther without hopes of ſucceſs, reſolved to go aboard again with thoſe few that follow'd him; and therefore that they might not be ſerv'd ſo by thoſe that were left, they two captains ſail'd immediately with their two ſhips towards *S. Domingo*, with the wind as contrary as they had fear'd; for they ſpent many days, ſpoil'd their proviſions, and *Caravajal*'s ſhip was much damaged upon certain ſands, where ſhe loſt her rudder, and ſprung a leak, ſo that they had much to do to bring her in.

Freſh men deſert to the rebels.

CHAP. LXXIX.

How the captains of the ſhips that came from Xaragua, *found the admiral at* S. Domingo.

THE captains with their ſhips, arriving at *S. Domingo*, in their return from *Xaragua*, found the admiral there, after his diſcovery of the continent. He being fully inform'd of the condition of the rebels, and having ſeen the proceſs his lieutenant had made againſt them, tho' the crime was plainly made out to deſerve ſevere puniſhment, yet he thought fit to form a new proceſs, and give their majeſties an account of it, reſolving at the ſame time to uſe all the moderation he could in this matter, and endeavouring to reduce them by fair means. For which reaſon, and that neither they nor any others, might have cauſe to complain of him, or ſay, he kept them there by force, he made proclamation on the 12th of *September*, giving leave to all that would return to *Spain*, and promiſing them free paſſage and proviſions. And being inform'd on the other hand, That *Roldan* was coming towards *S. Domingo* with ſome of his men, he ordered *Michael Balleſter*, commander of the *Conception*, to ſecure his own town and fort; and in caſe *Roldan* came that way, he ſhould tell him from the admiral, that he was much concerned at his ſufferings, and all that was paſt, and would have no more ſaid of it, granting a general pardon to all, and deſiring him to come away immediately to the admiral, without fearing any thing, that by his advice things might be ordered, as was for their majeſties ſervice; and if he required any ſafe conduct, he would ſend it him in ſuch form as he required. *Balleſter* return'd anſwer on the 14th of *February*, That he had received certain information, that *Riquelme* was the day before come to the town of *Bonao*, and that *Adrian* and *Roldan*, who were the ring-leaders, would meet there in ſeven or eight days, at which time he might there apprehend them, as he did. For having diſcours'd them according to the inſtructions given him, he found them obſtinate and unmannerly, *Roldan* telling him, They were not come to treat, nor did they deſire, or care for peace, for he had the admiral and his authority at his beck, either to ſupport, or ſuppreſs it, as he pleaſed; and that they muſt not talk to him of any accommodation, till they had ſent him all the *Indians* taken at the ſiege of the *Conception*, ſince they had met together

The admiral endeavours to reduce the rebels.

together to ſerve the king, and upon his promiſe of ſecurity. Other things he added, by which it appeared, he would make no agreement, but what was much to his advantage. To this purpoſe he demanded, that the admiral ſhould ſend *Caravajal* to him, becauſe he would treat with no other but him, he being a man that would hear reaſon, and had diſcretion, as he had found by experience, when the three ſhips, as has been ſaid, were at *Xaragua*. This anſwer made the admiral ſuſpect *Caravajal*, and not without much cauſe.

Caravajal *ſuſpected, yet truſted.*

Firſt, becauſe before *Caravajal* was at *Xaragua*, where theſe rebels then were, they had often writ and ſent meſſages to their friends that were with the lieutenant, telling them, they would come and deliver themſelves up to the admiral as ſoon as he arrived, and therefore they deſired them to intercede for them, and appeaſe him.

Secondly, becauſe, ſince they did this as ſoon as they heard there were two ſhips come to the aſſiſtance of the lieutenant, they had much more cauſe to perform it, knowing the admiral was not come, had not the long conference *Caravajal* had with them prevented it.

Thirdly, becauſe if he would have done his duty, he might have kept *Roldan*, and the chief men of his gang priſoners, aboard his caraval, they having been two days aboard without any ſecurity given.

Fourthly, becauſe knowing as he did, that they were in rebellion, he ought not to ſuffer them to buy aboard the ſhips, as they did, 56 ſwords, and 60 croſs-bows.

Fifthly, becauſe there being ſome proofs that the men who were to land with *John Anthony* to go to S. *Domingo*, would join the rebels, he ought not to ſuffer them to land, or at leaſt when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more induſtrious to endeavour to recover them.

Sixthly, becauſe he gave out that he came to the *Indies* as companion to the admiral, that nothing might be done without him, for fear the admiral ſhould commit ſome offence.

Seventhly, becauſe *Roldan* had writ to the admiral by *Caravajal* himſelf, acquainting him, that he was drawing near to *S. Domingo* with his men, by the advice of *Caravajal*, to be the nearer to treat of an accommodation, when the admiral arrived in *Hiſpaniola*; and now he was come, his actions not ſuiting with his letter, it appeared he had rather invited him to come thither, to the end that if the admiral had been long coming, or had not come at all, he as the admiral's aſſociate, and *Roldan* as chief juſtice, might govern the iſland in deſpite of the lieutenant.

Eighthly, becauſe at the ſame time that the other captains came with the three caravals to *S. Domingo*, he came by land attended by a guard of the rebels, and one of the chief of them called *Gamir*, who had been two days and two nights with him aboard his ſhip.

Ninthly, becauſe he writ to the rebels when they came to *Bonao*, and ſent them preſents and proviſions.

Tenthly, and laſtly, becauſe, beſides that the ſaid rebels would not treat with any body but him, they all unanimouſly ſaid, if there had been occaſion, they would have taken him for their captain.

Yet the admiral on the other ſide, conſidering that *Caravajal* was a diſcreet prudent perſon, and a gentleman, and that every one of thoſe arguments might be anſwered, and perhaps what he had been told was not true, and looking upon him, as one that would not do any thing contrary to his duty, having a great deſire to put out that fire, he reſolv'd to conſult with all the chief men he had about him, about *Roldan*'s anſwer, and reſolve upon what was to be done on this occaſion. All agreeing upon it, he ſent *Caravajal*, with *Balleſter*, to treat, who had no other anſwer from *Roldan*, but that ſince they had not brought the *Indians* he demanded, they ſhould not without them talk of any accommodation. *Caravajal* diſcreetly anſwering to theſe words, made ſo taking a diſcourſe, that he mov'd *Roldan* and three or four of the chief men to go wait upon the admiral and agree with him; but the others diſliking of it, as *Roldan* and the others were mounting their horſes to go with *Caravajal* to the admiral, they fell upon them, ſaying, they would not allow them to go, and that if any agreement was to be made, it ſhould be drawn up in writing, that they might all know what was doing: So that after ſome days paſs'd upon this reſolution, on the 20th of *October*, *Roldan* by the conſent of all his men, writ a letter to the admiral, laying the blame of their ſeparation on the lieutenant; and telling the admiral, that ſince he had not in writing ſent them ſecurity to come and give an account of themſelves, they had reſolved to ſend him their demands in writing, which were the reward of what they had hitherto done, as ſhall appear hereafter. Though their propoſals were extravagant and inſolent, yet the commander *Balleſter*, the next day writ to the admiral, extolling *Caravajal*'s moving diſcourſe, and

The rebels reject the admiral's offers.

ſaying, that ſince it was not of force to remove thoſe people from their wicked deſign, nothing leſs than granting them what they demanded would prevail; for he found them ſo reſolute, that he looked upon it as moſt certain, that moſt of the people that were with his lordſhip would go over to the rebels. And tho' he might rely on his ſervants and men of honour, yet they would not be able to withſtand ſuch a number, many daily reſorting to them, which the admiral already knew by experience; for when *Roldan* was near *S. Domingo*, he muſter'd all that were fit to bear arms, if it were requiſite, and obſerv'd, that ſome feigning themſelves ſick, and ſome lame, he had not found above 70 men, of which there were not 40 that he could confide in. For which reaſon, the next day, being the 17th of *October* 1498 the aforeſaid *Roldan*, and the chief of his followers, who would have gone to the admiral, ſent him a letter ſubſcribed by them, telling him, they had withdrawn from the lieutenant to ſave their lives, he having a deſign to deſtroy them; and that they being his lordſhip's ſervants, whoſe coming they had expected, as of one, that would look upon what they had done complying with their duty, as good ſervice, they had hindred their people from doing harm to any that belong'd to his lordſhip, as they might eaſily have done. But that ſince he was come, and was ſo far from thinking, that he inſiſted upon taking revenge, and doing them harm, that they might with honour do what they had undertaken, and be at liberty to do it, they took leave of him and his ſervice. Before this letter was delivered to the admiral, he had ſent *Roldan* an anſwer. *Caravajal*, whom he ſent to him, telling him what confidence he always repos'd in him, and what a good account he had given his catholick majeſty of them, adding, that he did not write to him for fear of ſome inconveniency, if his letter ſhould be ſeen by the common ſort, which might redound to his diſadvantage, and therefore inſtead of hand and ſeal, he had ſent that perſon to him, in whom he knew how much he confided, and might regard what he ſaid, as if it were under his ſeal, which was the commander *Balleſter*; and therefore he might conſider what was proper to be done, and he ſhould find him moſt ready to comply. On the 18th of *October*, he ordered five ſhips to depart for *Spain*, ſending their catholick majeſties by them, a moſt particular account of affairs, and ſaying, he had kept thoſe ſhips till then, believing that *Roldan* and his men would have gone away in them, as they had given out at firſt; and that the other three he kept with him, were fitting out for his brother to go in them to purſue the diſcovery of the continent of *Paria*, and take order about the fiſhery and trade for pearls, a ſample whereof he ſent them by *Arogial*.

CHAP. LXXX.

How Francis Roldan *went to treat with the admiral, but came to no agreement with him.*

Roldan having received the admiral's letter, anſwer'd the third day, ſeeming to incline to do all he order'd him, but his men not allowing him to go to treat without a ſafe-conduct, he deſir'd him to ſend one, drawn up according to thoſe heads he ſent under his hand, and ſign'd by the chief men about him. This ſafe-conduct was immediately ſent him by the admiral on the 26th of *October*, and *Roldan* having received it, ſoon came, but rather with a deſign to draw ſome body over to him, than to conclude any thing, as appeared by his impudent propoſals. Thus he return'd without concluding any thing, ſaying, He would give his company an account of matters, and write word what they reſolv'd on. And that there might be ſome body from the admiral to treat and ſign what was agreed on, the admiral's ſteward went with him, his name was *Salamanca*. After much talk, *Roldan* ſent articles of agreement for the admiral to ſubſcribe, telling him, That was all he could obtain of his people, and if his lordſhip thought fit to grant it, he ſhould ſend his aſſent to the *Conception*; for at *Bonao* they had no longer proviſions to ſubſiſt on, and they would expect his anſwer till the next monday. The admiral having read their anſwer and propoſals, and conſidering what diſhonourable things they demanded, would not grant them, leſt he ſhould bring himſelf, his brothers, and juſtice it ſelf into contempt. But that they might have no cauſe to complain, or ſay he was too ſtiff in this affair, he ordered a general pardon to be proclaim'd, and to be 30 days upon the gates of the fort, the purport whereof was as follows.

A general pardon.

"THAT for as much as during his "abſence in *Spain*, ſome difference "had happened between the lieutenant, and "the chief juſtice *Roldan*, and other per-"ſons

" ſons who had fled with him, notwith-
" ſtanding any thing that had happened,
" they might all in general, and every one
" in particular, ſafely come to ſerve their
" catholick majeſties, as if no difference had
" ever been, and that whoſoever would go
" into *Spain* ſhould have his paſſage, and
" an order to receive his pay, as was uſual
" with others, provided they preſented
" themſelves before the admiral within 30
" days, to receive the benefit of this par-
" don, proteſting that in caſe they did not
" appear within the time limited, they
" ſhould be proceeded againſt according to
" courſe of law.

This pardon, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, he ſent to *Roldan* by *Caravajal*, giving him in writing, the reaſons why he neither could nor ought to grant the articles ſent by him, and putting him in mind what they ought to do, if they aim'd at their majeſties ſervice. *Caravajal* went to the rebels at the *Conception*, where they were very haughty and proud, laughing at the admiral's pardon, and ſaying, He ſhould ſoon have occaſion to aſk one of them. All this happened in the ſpace of three weeks, during which time, under colour of apprehending a man *Roldan* would execute, they kept the commander *Balleſter* beſieged in the fort, and cut off his water, believing the want of it would oblige him to ſurrender; but upon *Caravajal*'s arrival, they rais'd the ſiege, and after many alterations made on both ſides, came to the following concluſion.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The agreement made between the admiral, and Roldan *with his rebels.*

THE articles ſigned and agreed to by *Francis Roldan*, and his company, in order to their return to *Spain*, are as follows.

Articles of agreement.

" I. THAT the lord admiral give him two good ſhips, and in
" good order, according to the judgment
" of able ſeamen, to be delivered to him
" at the port of *Xaragua*, becauſe moſt of
" his followers were there; and becauſe
" there is no other port more commodious
" to provide and prepare victualling and
" other neceſſaries, where the ſaid *Roldan*
" and his company ſhall embark, and ſail
" for *Spain*, if ſo God pleaſe.

II. " That his lordſhip ſhall give an
" order for the payment of the ſalaries due
" to them all till that day, and letters of
" recommendation to their catholick ma-
" jeſties, that they may cauſe them to be
" paid.

III. " That he ſhall give them ſlaves
" for the ſervice they have done in the
" iſland, and their ſufferings, and certifie
" the ſaid gift: And becauſe ſome of them
" have women big with child, or deliver-
" ed; if they carry them away, they ſhall
" paſs inſtead of ſuch ſlaves they were to
" have; and the children ſhall be free, and
" they may take them along with them.

IV. " His lordſhip ſhall put into the
" aforeſaid ſhips all the proviſions requiſite
" for that voyage, as has been given to
" others before; and becauſe he could not
" furniſh them with bread, the judge and
" his company have leave to provide in
" the country, and that they have 30
" hundred weight of biſket allowed them,
" or for want of it 30 ſacks of corn; to
" the end, that if the *Carabi* or *Indian*
" bread ſhould ſpoil, as might eaſily hap-
" pen, they may ſubſiſt upon the aforeſaid
" biſket or corn.

V. " That his lordſhip ſhall give a
" ſafe-conduct for ſuch perſons as ſhall
" come to receive the orders for their pay.

VI. " For as much, as ſome goods be-
" longing to ſeveral perſons, who are with
" *Roldan*, have been ſeiz'd, his lordſhip
" ſhall order reſtitution to be made.

VII. " That his lordſhip ſhall write a let-
" ter to their catholick majeſties, acquaint-
" ing them, That the ſaid *Roldan*'s ſwine
" remain in the iſland, for the inhabitants
" proviſion, being 120 great ones, and
" 230 ſmall, praying their highneſs to al-
" low him the price for them they would
" have bore in the iſland; the which
" ſwine were taken from him in *February*
" 1498.

VIII. " That his lordſhip ſhall give the
" ſaid *Roldan* full authority to ſell ſome
" goods he has, which he muſt part with
" to go away, or to do with them as he
" pleaſes, or to leave them for his own
" uſe with whom he thinks fit to make the
" beſt of them.

IX. " That his lordſhip will order the
" judges to give ſpeedy judgment concern-
" ing the horſe.

X. " That if his lordſhip ſhall find the
" demands of *Salamanca* to be juſt, he ſhall
" write to the ſaid judge to cauſe him to
" be paid.

XI. " That his lordſhip ſhall be diſcour-
" ſed concerning the captain's ſlaves.

XII. " That foraſmuch as the ſaid
Roldan

" *Roldan* and his company miſtruſt, that " his lordſhip, or ſome other perſon by " his order, may offer them ſome violence " with the other ſhips that are in the iſland, " he ſhall therefore grant them a paſs or " ſafe-conduct, promiſing in their maje- " ſties name, and upon his own faith, and " the word of a gentleman, as is uſed in " *Spain*, that neither his lordſhip, nor any " other perſon ſhall offend them, or ob- " ſtruct their voyage.

Having examined this agreement made by *Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal* and *James de Salamanca*, with *Francis Roldan* and his company, this day being *Wedneſday* the 21ſt of *November* 1498, I am content it be fully obſerved, upon condition that the ſaid *Francis Roldan*, nor any of his followers, in whoſe name he ſubſcribed and ratified the articles by him delivered to the aforeſaid *Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal* and *James de Salamanca*, ſhall not receive into their company any other chriſtian of the iſland, of any ſtate or condition whatſoever.

I *Francis Roldan*, judge, do promiſe and engage my faith and word for myſelf and all thoſe with me, that the articles above-mentioned ſhall be obſerved and fulfilled, without any fraud, but faithfully as is here ſet down, his lordſhip performing all that has been agreed on between *Alonſo Sanchez de Caravajal* and *James de Salamanca*, and my ſelf, as is in the written articles.

I. " THat from the day of the date here- " of, till the anſwer be brought, " for which ten days ſhall be allowed, I " will admit no perſon whatſoever of thoſe " that are with the lord admiral.

II. " That within fifty days after the " ſaid anſwer ſhall be delivered to me here " in the *Conception*, ſigned and ſealed by " his lordſhip, which ſhall be within the " ten days before-mentioned, we will em- " bark and ſet ſail for *Spain*.

III. " That none of the ſlaves freely grant- " ed us, ſhall be carried away by force.

IV. " That whereas the admiral will not " be at the port where we are to embark, " the perſon or perſons his lordſhip ſhall " ſend thither, be honoured and reſpected " as their majeſties and his lordſhip's officers, " to whom ſhall be given an account of " all we put aboard the ſhips, that they " may enter it, and do as his lordſhip ſhall " think fit; as alſo to deliver to them ſuch " things as we have in our hands belong- " ing to their majeſties. All the afore- " ſaid articles are to be ſubſcribed and per- " form'd by his lordſhip, as *Alonſo Sanchez* " *de Caravajal*, and *James de Salamanca*, " have them in writing; the anſwer where- " of I expect here at the *Conception* for " eight days to come; and if it be not " then brought, I ſhall not be obliged to " any thing here mention'd.

In teſtimony whereof, and that I and my company may obſerve and perform what I have ſaid, I have ſubſcribed this writing, given at the *Conception*, on the 16th of *November* 1498.

CHAP. LXXXII.

How after the agreement concluded, the rebels went away to Xaragua, *ſaying, they would embark on the two ſhips ſent them by the admiral.*

THings being adjuſted as above, *Caravajal* and *Salamanca* returned to *St. Domingo* to the admiral, and at their requeſt, on the 21ſt of *November*, he ſubſcribed the aforeſaid articles brought by them, and granted a new ſafe-conduct or leave to all thoſe that would not go to *Spain* with *Roldan*, promiſing them pay, or the liberty of planters, as they liked beſt, and for others to come freely to manage their affairs. Theſe the *Caſtellan Balleſter* delivered to *Roldan* and his company at the *Conception* on the 24th of *November*, and they having received them, went away toward *Xaragua*, to prepare for their departure, as was afterwards known. And tho' the admiral was ſenſible of their villany, and much concerned that the good ſervice his brother might have done in continuing the diſcovery of the continent of *Paria*, and ſettling the pearl fiſhery and trade, was obſtructed by giving them thoſe ſhips, yet he would not give the rebels occaſion to blame him, ſaying, he had refuſed them their paſſage. He began therefore preſently to fit out the ſhips as had been agreed, tho' the equipment was ſomewhat retarded for want of neceſſaries. To ſupply which defect, and that no time might be loſt, he ordered *Caravajal* to go over by land to provide and diſpoſe all things for the departure of the rebels, whilſt the ſhips came about, giving him ample commiſſion for it, reſolving himſelf to go ſoon to *Iſabella*, to ſettle affairs there, leaving his brother *James* at *St. Domingo*, to look to

Ships fitted to carry away the rebels.

that place. After his departure, about the end of *January*, the two caravals furniſh'd with all neceſſaries for the voyage, ſet out to take up the rebels, but a great ſtorm riſing by the way, they were forced to put into another port till the end of *March*; and becauſe the caraval *Ninna*, one of the two, was in the worſt condition, and required moſt repairs, the admiral ſent orders to *Peter de Arana* and *Francis de Garai*, to repair to *Xaragua* with another called *Santa Cruz* or the *Holy Croſs*, aboard which *Caravajal* went, and not by land. He was 11 days by the way, and found the other caraval waiting for him.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

How the rebels altered their reſolution of going to Spain, *and came to a new agreement with the admiral.*

IN the mean while, the caravals not coming, and moſt of *Roldan*'s men having no mind to embark, they took that delay for a pretence to ſtay, blaming the admiral, as if he had not diſpatch'd them as ſoon as he might; whereof he being informed, writ to *Roldan* and *Adrian*, perſuading them in a friendly manner to perform the agreement, and not fall into diſobedience. Beſides, *Caravajal*, who was with them at *Xaragua*, on the 20th of *April*, entered his proteſtation before a notary, called *Francis de Garai*, afterwards governor of *Panuco* and of *Jamaica*, requiring them, ſince the admiral had ſent the ſhips, to accept of them, and embark according to articles. And becauſe they would not, on the 25th of *April* he ordered the ſhips to return to *St. Domingo*, becauſe they were deſtroyed by the worms, and the men ſuffered much for want of proviſions. The rebels were no way concerned, but rather rejoyced and grew haughty, ſeeing ſuch account was made of them, and were ſo far from acknowledging the admiral's civility, that they laid it to his charge in writing, that it was through his fault they ſtaid, ſaying, he had a mind to be revenged on them, and had therefore delayed the ſending of the caravals, which were in ſuch ill caſe, that it was impoſſible they ſhould go in them to *Spain*, and that tho' they had been never ſo good, their proviſions were ſpent expecting them, and they could not get more under a long while, for which reaſon they had reſolved to expect redreſs from their majeſties. *Caravajal* returned with this anſwer by land to *St. Domingo*, to whom at the time of his departure, *Roldan* ſaid, he would willingly go wait on the admiral, to endeavour for ſuch an accommodation, as might pleaſe all parties, provided he would ſend him his ſafe-conduct. *Caravajal* ſent the admiral word of it from *St. Domingo*, on the 15th of *May*, who anſwered on the 21ſt, commending him for the pains he took, and ſent the ſafe-conduct he required, with a ſhort letter to *Roldan*, tho' very pithy, perſuading him to peace, ſubmiſſion, and their majeſties ſervice; which he afterwards repeated at *S. Domingo*, more at large on the 29th of *June*; and on the 3d of *Auguſt*, ſix or ſeven of the chief men about the admiral, ſent *Roldan* another ſafe-conduct, that he might come to treat with his lordſhip. But the diſtance being great, and the admiral having occaſion to viſit the countrey, he reſolved to go with two caravals to the port of *Azua* in the ſame iſland *Hiſpaniola*, weſt of *S. Domingo*, to be the nearer the province where the rebels were, many of whom came to the ſaid port; and the admiral arriving there about the end of *Auguſt* with his ſhips, conferr'd with the chief of them, exhorting them to deſiſt from their ill courſe, and promiſing them all poſſible favour and kindneſs, which they promiſed to do, provided the admiral granted them four things, *viz.*

The rebels refuſe to go to Spain.

I. "THAT he ſhould ſend fifteen of "them to *Spain* in the firſt ſhips "that went. *New articles agreed on.*

II. "That to thoſe that remained, he "ſhould give land and houſes for their "pay.

III. "That proclamation ſhould be "made, that all what had happened was "cauſed by falſe ſuggeſtions, and through "the fault of ill men.

IV. "That the admiral ſhall a-new ap-"point *Roldan* perpetual judge.

This being concluded among them, *Roldan* returned aſhore from the admiral's caraval, and ſent his companions the articles, which were ſo much to their mind, and ſo unreaſonable, that they concluded, ſaying, in caſe the admiral fail'd in any part, it ſhould be lawful for them by force, or any other means, to oblige him to performance. The admiral being eager to conclude this difficult matter, which had laſted above two years; and conſidering his adverſaries continued more obſtinate than ever, and that many

many of thoſe, who were with him, had a mind to join companies, and conſpire together to go to other parts of the iſland, as *Roldan* had done; he reſolved to ſign the articles whatſoever they were, *viz.* To grant *Roldan* a patent for perpetual judge, and the other three above-mentioned particulars, beſides all they had ſent in writing, a copy whereof was inſerted above. On *Tueſday* following, being the 5th of *November*, *Roldan* to exerciſe his office, and accordingly it being a part of his grant, he conſtituted *Peter Riquelme* judge of *Bonao*, with power to impriſon offenders in criminal caſes, but that he ſhould ſend criminals upon life and death, to be tried by him at the fort of the *Conception*. The ſubſtitute being no honeſter than his maſter, he preſently went about to build a ſtrong houſe at *Bonao*, had not *Peter de Arana* forbid him, becauſe he plainly perceiv'd it was contrary to the reſpect due to the admiral.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

How Ojeda *returning from his diſcovery, excited new troubles in* Hiſpaniola.

TO return to the courſe of our hiſtory, the admiral having adjuſted matters with *Roldan*, appointed a captain with ſome men to march about the iſland to pacify it, and reduce the *Indians* to pay the tribute, and be always in a readineſs, that upon the leaſt mutiny among the chriſtians, and ſign of rebellion among the *Indians*, he might ſuppreſs and puniſh them, which he did with a deſign to go himſelf over to *Spain*, and carry with him his brother the lieutenant, becauſe it would be difficult if he were left behind, to forget old grudges. As he was preparing for his voyage, *Alonzo de Ojeda*, who had been diſcovering with four ſhips, arrived in the iſland. And foraſmuch as this ſort of men ſailed about to make their fortune; on the 5th of *September* he put into the port the chriſtians called *Braſil*, and the *Indians Yaquimo*, deſigning to take what he could from the *Indians*, and load with wood and ſlaves. Whilſt he was thus employ'd, he did all the harm he could, and to ſhow he was a limb of the biſhop we have mention'd, endeavoured to raiſe another mutiny, gave out, that queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* was ready to die; and as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there would be no body left to ſupport the admiral, and that he as a faithful ſervant to the ſaid biſhop, might do what he pleaſed againſt the admiral, becauſe of the enmity there was between them. Upon theſe grounds he began to write to ſome that were not very ſound, after the late troubles, and to hold correſpondence with them. But *Roldan* being inform'd of his proceedings and deſigns, by the admiral's order, went againſt him with 21 men, to prevent him doing the harm he intended: Being come within a league and a half of him on the 29th of *September*, he underſtood he was with 15 men at a *Caciques*, whoſe name was *Haniguaaba*, making bread and biſket, and therefore he travelled that night to ſurprize him. *Ojeda* underſtanding that *Roldan* was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppoſe him, to make the beſt of a bad caſe, went to meet him, ſaying, want of proviſions had brought him thither, to ſupply himſelf in the king his maſter's dominions, without deſigning any harm. And giving him an account of his voyage, ſaid, he had been diſcovering 600 leagues weſtward along the coaſt of *Paria*, where he found people that fought the chriſtians even hand, and had wounded 20 of his men, for which reaſon he could make no advantage of the wealth of the countrey, where he ſaid he had ſeen deer and rabbets and tygers ſkins and paws and *Gaaninies*, all which he ſhow'd *Roldan* aboard the caravals, ſaying, he would ſoon repair to *S. Domingo* to give the admiral an account of all. He at this time was much troubled, becauſe *Peter de Arana* had ſignified to him, that *Riquelme*, judge of *Bonao*, for *Roldan*, under colour of building a houſe for his herds, had made choice of a ſtrong rock, that he might from thence, with a few men, do all the harm he thought fit; that he had forbid him: Whereupon *Riquelme* had drawn up a proceſs, atteſted by witneſſes againſt him, and ſent it to the admiral, complaining that *Arana* uſed violence towards him, and praying relief, that no diſorder might happen among them. Hereupon, tho' the admiral knew that man was not of a quiet diſpoſition, yet he thought fit to conceal his jealouſy, yet ſo as to be upon his guard, being of opinion it was enough to provide againſt *Ojeda*'s open intruſion, without taking notice of that which might tolerably be connived at. *Ojeda* holding his wicked purpoſe, and taking leave of *Roldan* in *February* 1500, went away with his ſhips to *Xaragua*, where a great many of thoſe lived, who had before rebelled with *Roldan*. And becauſe avarice is the moſt beneficial and ready way to promote any miſchief, he began to give out among thoſe people, that their catholick majeſties had appointed him

Roldan *goes againſt* Ojeda.

Ojeda *ſtirs up the people to rebellion.*

him and *Caravajal* the admiral's councellors, that they might not ſuffer him to do any thing, which they did not think was for their majeſties ſervice; and that among many other things they had ordered him to do; one was, that he ſhould immediately pay in ready money, all thoſe that were in the iſland in their ſervice; and ſince the admiral was not ſo juſt as to do it, he was ready to go along with them to *S. Domingo*, to oblige him to pay them out of hand; and that done, if they thought fit, to turn him out of the iſland dead or alive; for they ought not to rely on the agreement made, or the word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than neceſſity obliged him to it. Upon theſe promiſes many reſolved to follow him, and therefore being aſſiſted by them, he one night fell upon others who oppoſed him, and there were ſome killed and wounded on both ſides. And being ſatisfied that *Roldan*, who was returned to the admiral's ſervice, would not join with them, they reſolved to ſurprize and make him priſoner; but he being informed of their deſign, went well attended where *Ojeda* was, to put a ſtop to his diſorders, or puniſh him, as he ſhould find expedient. *Ojeda* for fear of him, retired to his ſhips, and *Roldan* continuing aſhore, they treated about a conference, each of them fearing to put himſelf into the power of the other. *Roldan* perceiving that *Ojeda* was unwilling to come aſhore, he offered to go treat with him aboard; to which purpoſe he ſent to aſk his boat, which he ſent him well mann'd, and having taken in *Roldan* with ſix or ſeven of his followers, when they leaſt ſuſpected it, *Roldan* and his people on a ſudden fell upon *Ojeda*'s men, with their naked ſwords, and killing ſome and wounding others, made themſelves maſters of the boat, returning with it to land, *Ojeda* having only a ſmall ſkiff left him, in which he reſolved to come peaceably to treat with *Roldan*. Having made ſome excuſe for his offences, he agreed to reſtore ſome men he had taken by force, that his boat and men might be returned him, alledging, if it were not reſtored, it would be the ruin of them all and their ſhips, becauſe he had no other fit to ſerve them. *Roldan* readily granted it, that he might have no cauſe to complain, or ſay, he was loſt through his means, yet making him promiſe and give ſecurity that he would depart the iſland by a time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good guard *Roldan* kept aſhore. But as it is a hard matter to root out cockle ſo that it may not ſprout up again, ſo is it no leſs difficult for people that have got a habit of doing ill to forbear relapſing into their crimes, as happened to ſome of the rebels a few days after *Ojeda* was gone. For one *D. Ferdinand de Guevara*, being in diſgrace with the admiral, as a ſeditions perſon, and having taken part with *Ojeda*, in hatred to *Roldan*, becauſe he would not permit him to take to wife the daughter of *Canua*, the principal queen of *Xaragua*, began to gather many conſpirators to ſecure *Roldan*, and ſucceed him in the ill things he had done. Particularly he gained to his party, one *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief man among the late rebels, and to other wicked men, who about the middle of *July* 1500, had contrived to ſecure or murder *Roldan*. He having intelligence of the deſign, ſtood upon his guard, and ordered his buſineſs ſo well, that he ſeized the aforeſaid *D. Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief men of their party, and ſending the admiral an account of what had happened, aſked what his pleaſure was he ſhould do with them? The anſwer was, That ſince they had endeavoured, without any provocation to diſturb the countrey, (and if they were not puniſhed every thing muſt run to ruin) he ſhould puniſh them according to their demerits, and as the law directed. The judge did it accordingly, and proceeding legally againſt them, hanged *Adrian* as chief author of the conſpiracy, baniſhed others, and kept *D. Ferdinand* in priſon, till on the 13th of *June* he delivered him, with other priſoners, to *Gonſalo Blanco*, to carry them to *la Vega*, that is, *the Plain*, where the admiral then was. This example quieted the countrey, and the *Indians* again ſubmitted themſelves to the chriſtians. Such rich gold mines were diſcovered, that every man left the king's pay, and went away to live upon his own account, applying himſelf to dig gold at his own expence, allowing the king the third part of all they found. This proſpered ſo well, that a man has gathered five marks, (a mark is eight ounces) of gold in a day, and a grain of pure gold has been taken up worth above 196 ducats; and the *Indians* were ſubmiſſive, dreading the admiral, and ſo deſirous to pleaſe him, that they readily became chriſtians only to oblige him. When any of the chief of them was to appear before him, he endeavoured to be clad; and therefore to ſettle all things the better, the admiral reſolved to take a progreſs thro' the iſland, and accordingly he and his brother and lieutenant ſet out on *Wedneſday* the 20th of *Feb.* 1499, and came to *Iſabella* on the 19th of *March*. From *Iſabella* they ſet out the 5th of *April* for the *Conception*, and came thither the *Tueſday* following. The lieutenant went thence for *Xaragua* upon *Friday* the 7th of *June*. On *Chriſtmas-day*

Ojeda *forced away.*

Another rebellion ſuppreſs'd.

day following, which was in the year 1499, being forſaken by all the world, the *Indians* and rebel chriſtians fell upon me, and I was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that to avoid death, leaving all behind me, I put to ſea in a little caraval. But our lord preſently relieved me, ſaying, Thou man of little faith, fear not, I am with you, and ſo he diſperſed my enemies, and ſhow'd how he could fulfil my promiſes: Unhappy ſinner that I am, who placed all my hopes on the world. From the *Conception* the admiral deſigned to go to *S. Domingo* on the 3d of *February*, in order to make ready to return into *Spain* to give their catholick majeſties an account of all things.

CHAP. LXXXV.

How their catholick majeſties upon falſe informations, and malicious complaints of ſome perſons, ſent a judge to take cognizance of affairs.

Complaints againſt the admiral.

WHilſt theſe diſorders happened, as has been ſaid, many of the rebels by letters ſent from *Hiſpaniola*, and others that were returned into *Spain*, did not ceaſe to give in falſe informations to the king and his council, againſt the admiral and his brothers, ſaying, they were cruel and unfit for that government, as well becauſe they were ſtrangers and aliens, as becauſe they had not formerly been in a condition to learn by experience how to govern people of condition; affirming, that if their highneſſes did not apply ſome remedy, thoſe countries would be utterly deſtroy'd; and in caſe they were not quite ruined by their ill government, the admiral would revolt, and join in league with ſome prince to ſupport him, he pretending that all was his own, as having been diſcovered by his induſtry and labour; and that the better to compaſs his deſign, he concealed the wealth of the countrey, and would not have the *Indians* ſerve the chriſtians, nor be converted to the faith, becauſe by making much of them he hoped they would be of his ſide, to do what he pleaſed againſt their highneſſes. They proceeding in theſe and ſuch like ſlanders, importuned their catholick majeſties, ever talking ill of the admiral, and complaining there were ſeveral years pay due to the men, gave occaſion to all that were at court to rail. So that when I was at *Granada*, at the time the moſt ſerene prince *Michael* happened to die, above 50 of them, like ſhameleſs wretches, brought a load of grapes, and ſate down in the court of *Alhambra*, (a caſtle and palace) crying out, that their highneſſes and the admiral made them live ſo miſerably by not paying them, with many other ſcandalous expreſſions. And their impudence was ſo great, that if the catholick king went abroad, they all got about him, crying, pay, pay. And if it happened that my brother or I, who were pages to her majeſty, paſſed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous manner, making the ſign of the croſs, and ſaying, there are the admiral of the *Moſquito*'s ſons, he that has found out falſe and deceitful countries, to be the ruin and burial place of the *Spaniſh* gentry; adding many more ſuch inſolencies which made us cautious of appearing before them. Their complaints running ſo high, and their conſtant importunity with the king's favourites, it was reſolved to ſend a judge to *Hiſpaniola*, to enquire into all theſe affairs, ordering him in caſe he found the admiral guilty of what was alledged, to ſend him to *Spain*, and ſtay there himſelf as governor. The perſon their majeſties made choice of for this purpoſe, was one *Francis de Bovadilla*, a poor knight of the order of *Calatrava*, who on the 21ſt of *May* 1499, had full and ample commiſſion given him at *Madrid*, and blank letters, ſubſcribed by their majeſties, to ſuch perſons as he ſhould think fit in *Hiſpaniola*, commanding them to be aiding and aſſiſting to him. Thus furniſhed, he arrived at *S. Domingo* at the latter end of *Auguſt* 1500, at ſuch time as the admiral was at the *Conception*, ſettling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been aſſaulted by the rebels, and where there were more *Indians*, and thoſe more underſtanding people than in the reſt of the iſland. So that *Bovadilla* at his arrival finding no body to keep him in awe, the firſt thing he did was to take up his quarters in the admiral's palace, and ſeize and make uſe of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by inheritance; and gathering together all he could find that had been in rebellion, and many others that hated the admiral and his brothers, he preſently declared himſelf governor. And to gain the affections of the people, he cauſed a general freedom to be proclaimed for 20 years to come; requiring the admiral to repair to him without any delay, becauſe it was convenient for his majeſty's ſervice he ſhould do ſo. And to back his ſummons on the 7th of *September*, ſent him the king's letter by *F. John de la Sera*, which was to this effect.

Bovadilla *the judge in* Hiſpaniola.

To

To *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, our admiral of the ocean.

WE *have ordered the commendary* Francis de Bovadilla, *the bearer, to acquaint you with ſome things, from us: Therefore we deſire you to give him entire credit, and to obey him.* Given at *Madrid the* 21ſt of *May* 1499.

I the king,
I the queen.

By command of their highneſſes,
Mich. Perez de Almazan.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

How the admiral was apprehended and ſent to Spain *in irons, together with his brothers.*

THE admiral having ſeen their majeſties letter, came away preſently to St. *Domingo*, where the aforeſaid judge was, who being eager to remain governor there, at the beginning of *October* 1500. without any delay, or legal information, ſent him priſoner a board a ſhip, together with his brother *James*, putting them in irons, and a good guard over them, and ordered upon ſevere penalties, that none ſhould dare to ſpeak for them. After this, (by *Abington* law) he began to draw up a proceſs againſt them, admitting the rebels his enemies as witneſſes, and publickly favouring all that came to ſpeak ill of them, who in their depoſitions gave in ſuch villainies and incoherencies, that he muſt have been blind that had not plainly perceiv'd, they were falſe and malicious. For which reaſon, their catholick majeſties would not admit of them, and cleared the admiral, repenting that they had ſent ſuch a man in that employment; and not without good cauſe, for this *Bovadilla* ruin'd the iſland, and ſquander'd the king's revenues, that all men might be his friends, ſaying, their majeſties would have nothing but the honour of the dominion, and that the profit ſhould be for their ſubjects. Yet he neglected not his own ſhare, but ſiding with the richeſt and moſt powerful men, gave them *Indians* to ſerve them, upon condition they ſhould ſhare with him all they got by their means, and ſold by auction the poſſeſſions and rights the admiral had acquir'd for their majeſties, ſaying, they were no labourers, nor did they deſire to make a profit of thoſe lands, but only kept them for the benefit of their ſubjects. He thus ſelling all things under this colour, endeavoured on the other ſide that they ſhould be bought by ſome of his own companions, for one third of the value. Beſides all this, he made no other uſe of his judicial power but to enrich himſelf, and gain the affections of the people, being ſtill afraid leſt the lieutenant, who was not yet come from *Xaragua*, ſhould put a ſtop to his proceedings, and endeavour to ſet the admiral at liberty by force of arms; in which particular, the brothers behav'd themſelves very prudently; for the admiral ſent them word immediately, that they ſhould come peaceably to him, the king's ſervice ſo requiring, that the iſland might not be put into an uproar; for when they were in *Spain*, they ſhould more eaſily obtain the puniſhment of ſuch a ſenſeleſs perſon, and ſatisfaction for the wrong done them. Yet this did not divert *Bovadilla* from putting him and his brothers into irons, allowing the baſer ſort to rail at them publickly, blowing horns about the port where they were ſhipp'd, beſides many ſcandalous libels ſet up at corners of ſtreets againſt them; ſo that tho' he was inform'd that one *James Ortir*, governor of the hoſpital, had writ a libel, and read it publickly in the market-place, he was ſo far from puniſhing of him, that he ſeem'd to be very well pleas'd, which made every one endeavour to ſhow himſelf in this ſort. And perhaps for fear the admiral ſhould ſwim back, he took care when they were to ſail, to deſire *Andrew Martin* the maſter of the ſhip, to look to him, and to deliver him in irons as he was, to the biſhop *D. John de Fonſeca*, by whoſe advice and direction it was concluded he did all theſe things; tho' when they were at ſea, the maſter being ſenſible of *Bovadilla*'s unworthineſs, would have knock'd off the admiral's irons, which he would never permit, ſaying, that ſince their catholick majeſties, by their letter directed him to perform whatſoever *Bovadilla* did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commiſſion he had put him into irons, he would have none but their highneſſes themſelves to do their pleaſure herein; and he was reſolv'd to keep thoſe fetters as relicks, and a memorial of the reward of his many ſervices, as accordingly he did; for I always ſaw thoſe irons in his room, which he order'd to be buried with his body; notwithſtanding, that he having on the 20th of *November*

The practices of Bovadilla.

The admiral diſcharg'd.

1500. writ to their majeſties, acquainting them with his arrival at *Cadiz*; they underſtanding the condition he came in, immediately gave orders that he ſhould be releas'd, and ſent him very gracious letters, ſaying, they were very ſorry for his ſufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of *Bovadilla* towards him, ordering him to go to court, where care ſhould be taken about his affairs, and he ſhould be ſhortly diſpatch'd with full reſtitution of his honour. Nevertheleſs, I cannot but blame their catholick majeſties, who choſe for that employment a baſe and ignorant man; for had he been a man who knew the duty of his office, the admiral himſelf would have been glad of his coming; ſince he by letter had deſired that one might be ſent, to take true information of the perverſeneſs of thoſe people, and of the crimes they committed, that they might be puniſh'd by another hand, he being unwilling to uſe that ſeverity which an impartial perſon would have done, becauſe the original of thoſe tumults had been againſt his brother. And tho' it may be urg'd, that tho' their majeſties had ſuch bad accounts of the admiral, yet they ought not to ſend *Bovadilla* with ſo many letters, and ſuch power, without limiting the commiſſion they gave him: It may be anſwer'd in their behalf, that it was no wonder they did ſo, becauſe the complaints againſt the admiral were many, as has been ſaid above.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

How the admiral went to court to give their catholick majeſties an account of himſelf.

AS ſoon as their majeſties heard of the admiral's coming, and being in irons, they ſent orders on the 12th of *December* for him to be ſet at liberty, and writ to him to repair to *Granada*, where he was received by their highneſſes with a favourable aſpect, and kind words, telling him, his impriſonment had not been by their deſire or command, and therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take care thoſe that were in fault ſhould be puniſh'd, and full ſatisfaction given him. Having ſpoke theſe and ſuch like gracious words, they order'd his buſineſs ſhould be immediately gone upon, the reſult whereof was, that a governor ſhould be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, who was to right the admiral and his brothers, and *Bovadilla* ſhould be obliged to reſtore all he had taken from them; and that the admiral ſhould be allow'd all that belong'd to him, according to the articles their highneſſes had granted him; and that the rebels ſhould be proceeded againſt and puniſh'd according to their offences. *Nicolas de Obando*, commendary of laws, was ſent with this power; he was a wiſe and judicious man, but as afterwards appear'd partial, craftily concealing his paſſions, giving credit to his own ſurmiſes, and malicious perſons; and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully, as appears by the death of the eighty kings we have ſpoken of before. But to return to the admiral; as their majeſties were pleas'd to ſend *Obando* to *Hiſpaniola*, ſo they thought it proper to ſend the admiral upon ſome voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employ'd till the ſaid *Obando* could pacify and reduce the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, becauſe they did not like to keep him ſo long out of his right, without any juſt occaſion, the information ſent by *Bovadilla* plainly appearing to be full of malice, and not containing any thing whereby he might forfeit his right. But there being ſome delay in the execution of this deſign, it being now the month of *October* 1500. and ill men endeavour'd to prevail that a new information might be expected, the admiral reſolved to ſpeak to their majeſties, and beg of them that they would defend him againſt all dangers, which he afterwards repeated by letter. This they promis'd him by letter, when the admiral was ready to ſet out upon his voyage; the words of it are to this effect:

The admiral well receiv'd at court.

" AND be aſſured that your impriſon-
" ment was very diſpleaſing to us,
" which you were ſenſible of, and all men
" plainly ſaw, becauſe as ſoon as we heard
" of it, we applied the proper remedies.
" And you know with how much honour
" and reſpect we have always ordered you
" to be treated, which we now direct ſhould
" be done, and that you receive all wor-
" thy and noble uſage, promiſing that the
" privileges and prerogatives by us granted
" you ſhall be preſerv'd in ample manner,
" according to the tenor of our letters pa-
" tents, which you and your children ſhall
" enjoy without any contradiction, as is
" due in reaſon: And if it be requiſite to
" ratify them a-new, we will do it, and
" will order that your ſon be put into poſ-
" ſeſſion of all, for we deſire to honour
" and favour you in greater matters than
" theſe. And be ſatisfied we will take the

" due

" due care of your ſons and brothers, which " ſhall be done when you are departed; " for the employment ſhall be given to " your ſon, as has been ſaid. We there- " fore pray you not to delay your departure. *Given at* Valentia de la Torre, *on the* 14th *of* March 1502.

This their majeſties writ, becauſe the admiral had reſolved not to trouble himſelf any more with the affairs of the *Indies*, but to eaſe himſelf upon my brother, wherein he was in the right; for he ſaid, that if the ſervices he had already done were not ſufficient to deſerve to have thoſe villainous people puniſh'd, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, ſince he had already perform'd the main thing he undertook before he diſcover'd the *Indies*, which was to ſhow that there was a continent and iſlands weſtward, that the way was eaſy and navigable, the advantage viſible, and the people gentle and unarm'd. All which, ſince he had verified himſelf in perſon, there now remained nothing but for their highneſſes to purſue what was begun, ſending people to diſcover the ſecrets of thoſe countries; for now the gate was open'd, any one might follow the coaſt, as ſome did already, who improperly call themſelves diſcoverers; not conſidering they have not diſcovered any new countrey, but that for the future they purſue the firſt diſcovery, the admiral having ſhown them the iſlands and province of *Paria*, which was the firſt land of the continent diſcover'd. Yet the admiral having always had a great inclination to ſerve their catholick majeſties, and particularly the queen, he was content to return to his ſhips, and undertake the voyage we ſhall ſpeak of; for he was convinced there would daily be found out great wealth, as he writ to their highneſſes the year 1499. ſpeaking of the diſcovery in this manner: It is not to be diſcontinued; for to ſay the truth, becauſe one time or other ſomething material will be found. As has ſince appeared by *New Spain* and *Peru*, though at that time, as generally happens to moſt men, no body gave credit to what he ſaid, and yet he ſaid nothing but what proved true, as their catholick majeſties teſtify in a letter of theirs writ at *Barcelona* on the 5th of *September* 1498.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

How the admiral went from Granada *to* Seville, *to fit out a fleet for another diſcovery.*

THE admiral having been well diſpatch'd by their catholick majeſties, ſet out from *Granada* for *Seville* in the year 1501. and being there, ſo earneſtly ſollicited the fitting out his ſquadron, that in a ſmall time he had rigg'd and provided four ſhips, the biggeſt of 70, the leaſt of 50 tun burthen, and 140 men and boys, of which number I was one.

The admiral's 4th voyage.

We ſet ſail from *Cadiz* on the 9th of *May*, 1502. and ſailed to St. *Catherine*'s, whence we parted on *Wedneſday* the 11th of the ſame month, and went to *Arzilla* to relieve the *Portugueſe*, who were reported to be in great diſtreſs; but when we came thither, the *Moors* had raiſed the ſiege. The admiral therefore ſent his brother *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and me, with the captains of the ſhips aſhore, to viſit the governor of *Arzilla*, who had been wounded by the *Moors* in an aſſault. He return'd the admiral thanks for the viſit and his offers, and to this purpoſe ſent ſome gentlemen to him, among whom ſome were relations to *Donna Philippa Moniz*, the admiral's wife in *Portugal*. The ſame day we ſet ſail, and arriving at *Gran Canaria*, on the 20th of *May*, caſt anchor among the little iſlands; and on the 24th went over to *Maſpalomas* in the ſame iſland, there to take in wood and water for our voyage. The next night we ſet out for the *Indies*, and it pleas'd God the wind was ſo fair, that without handling the ſails, on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *June* we arrived at the iſland *Matinino* with a rough ſea and wind. There, according to the cuſtom of thoſe that ſail from *Spain* to the *Indies*, the admiral took in freſh wood and water, and made the men waſh their linen, ſtaying till *Saturday*, when we ſtood to the weſtward, and came to *Dominica*, ten leagues from the other. So running along among the *Caribbee* iſlands, we came to *Santa Cruz*, and on the 24th of the ſame month ran along the ſouth-ſide of the iſland of St. *John*. Thence we took the way for St. *Domingo*, the admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ſhips for another, becauſe it was a bad ſailor, and beſides, could carry no ſail, but the ſide would lie almoſt under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, becauſe his deſign was to have gone directly upon the coaſt of *Paria*, and keep along that ſhore, till he came upon the ſtreight, which he certainly concluded was about *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*. But ſeeing the fault of the ſhip, he was forced to repair to St. *Domingo* to change it for a better.

And to the end the commendary *Lores* ſent by their majeſties to call *Bovadilla* to an account for his male-adminiſtration, might not be ſurpriz'd at our unexpected arrival, upon *Wedneſday* the 29th of *June*, being near the port, the admiral ſent *Peter de Terreros*, captain of one of the ſhips to him, to ſignify what occaſion he had to change that ſhip; for which reaſon, as alſo becauſe he apprehended a great ſtorm was coming, he deſired to ſecure himſelf in that port, adviſing him not to let the fleet ſail out of the port for eight days to come; for if he did it would be in great danger. But the aforeſaid governor would not permit the admiral to come into the harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the fleet that was bound for *Spain*, which conſiſted of eighteen ſail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had impriſon'd the admiral and his brothers, *Francis Roldan*, and all the reſt, who had been in rebellion againſt them, and done them ſo much harm, all whom it pleaſed God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the admiral's good advice. And I am ſatisfied it was the hand of God; for had they arrived in *Spain*, they had never been puniſh'd as their crimes deſerv'd; but rather been favour'd and preferr'd, as being the biſhop's friends. This was prevented by their ſetting out of that port for *Spain*; for no ſooner were they come to the eaſt point of the iſland *Hiſpaniola*, but there aroſe ſo terrible a ſtorm, that the admiral of the fleet ſunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with moſt of the rebels, and made ſuch havock among the reſt, that of 18 ſhips, only three or four were ſaved. This happen'd upon *Thurſday* the laſt of *June*, when the admiral having foreſeen the ſtorm, and being refuſed admittance into the port, for his ſecurity drew up as cloſe to the land as he could, thus ſheltering himſelf, not without much diſſatisfaction among his men, who for being with him were denied that reception, which had been allowed to ſtrangers, much more to them that were of the ſame nation; for they fear'd they might be ſo ſerv'd, if any misfortune ſhould befal them for the future. And tho' the admiral was concern'd on the ſame account, yet it more vex'd him to behold the baſeneſs and ingratitude us'd towards him in that countrey he had given to the honour and benefit of *Spain*, being refuſed to ſhelter his life in it. Yet his prudence and judgment ſecured his ſhips, till the next day the tempeſt increaſing, and the night coming on very dark, three ſhips broke from him every one its own way: the men aboard each of them, tho' all of them in great danger, concluded the others were loſt; but they that ſuffer'd moſt were thoſe aboard the ſhip called *Santo*, who to ſave their boat, which had been aſhore with the captain *Terreros*, dragg'd it a-ſtern, where it over-ſet, and were at laſt forced to let it go to ſave themſelves. But the caraval *Bermuda* was in much more danger, which running out to ſea, was almoſt cover'd with it, by which it appeared the admiral had reaſon to endeavour to change it; and all men concluded, that under God the admiral's brother was the ſaving of her, by his wiſdom and reſolution; for as has been ſaid above, there was not at that time a more expert ſailor than he. So that after they had all ſuffer'd very much, except the admiral, it pleaſed God they met again upon *Sunday* following in the port of *Azua*, on the ſouth-ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, where every one giving an account of his misfortunes, it appeared that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weather'd ſo great a ſtorm, by flying from land like an able ſailor; and that the admiral was out of danger, by lying cloſe to the ſhore like a cunning aſtrologer, who knew whence the danger muſt come. Well might his enemies blame him therefore, ſaying, he had rais'd that ſtorm by art magick, to be reveng'd on *Bovadilla*, and the reſt of his enemies that were with him, ſeeing that none of his four ſhips periſh'd; and that of 18 which ſet out with *Bovadilla*, only one called *la Aguja*, or *The Needle*, the worſt of them all held on its courſe for *Spain*, where it arrived ſafe, having on board 4000 peſo's in gold, worth eight ſhillings a peſo, belonging to the admiral, the other three that eſcap'd, returning to *S. Domingo* ſhatter'd, and in a diſtreſſed condition.

He foreſees a great ſtorm, and is refus'd admittance in Hiſpaniola.

All his ſhips eſcape

Fourteen bound for Spain *caſt away.*

CHAP. LXXXIX.

How the admiral departed from Hiſpaniola, *and diſcovered the iſlands of* Guanaia.

THE admiral in the port of *Azua*, gave his men a breathing time after the ſtorm; and it being one of the diverſions uſed at ſea, to fiſh, when there is nothing elſe to do, I will mention two ſorts of fiſh among the reſt, which I remember were taken there; the one of them was pleaſant, the other wonderful. The firſt was a fiſh call'd *Saavina*, as big as half an ordinary bell, which lying aſleep above water, was ſtruck with a harping-iron from the boat of the ſhip *Biſcaina*, and held ſo faſt, that it could

Two ſtrange fiſhes.

could not break looſe; but being tied with a long roap to the boat, drew it after it as ſwift as an arrow; ſo that thoſe aboard the ſhip ſeeing the boat ſcud about, and not knowing the occaſion, were aſtoniſhed it ſhould do ſo without the help of the oars, till at laſt the fiſh ſunk, and being drawn to the ſhip's ſide, was there hall'd up with the tackle. The other fiſh was taken after another manner, the *Indians* call it *Manati*, and there are none of the ſort in *Europe*: it is as big as a calf, nothing differing from it in the colour and taſte of the fleſh, but that perhaps it is better and fatter; wherefore thoſe that affirm there are all ſorts of creatures in the ſea, will have it, that theſe fiſhes are real calves, ſince within they have nothing like a fiſh, and feed only on the graſs they find along the banks. To return to our hiſtory; the admiral having a little refreſh'd his men, and repaired his ſhips, left port *Azua*, and went to that of *Braſil*, which the *Indians* call *Giacchemo*, to ſhun another ſtorm that was coming. Hence he ſailed again on the 14th of *July*, and was ſo becalm'd, that inſtead of holding on his courſe, the current carried him away to certain iſlands near *Jamaica*, which are very ſmall and ſandy, and he called them *Los Poros*, or *The Wells*, becauſe not finding water in them, they dug many pits in the ſand, and took up that water for their uſe. Then ſailing ſouthward for the continent, we came to certain iſlands, where we went aſhore upon the biggeſt only, called *Guanaia*, whence thoſe that make ſea charts, took occaſion to call all thoſe iſlands of *Guanaia*, which are almoſt 12 leagues from the continent, near the province now call'd *Honduras*, tho' then the admiral called it cape *Caſinas*. But theſe men making ſuch charts without having ſeen the world, they commit vaſt miſtakes; which ſince it now comes in my way, I will here ſet down, tho' it interrupts the courſe of our hiſtory. Theſe ſame iſlands and continent are by them twice ſet down in their charts, as if they were different countries; and whereas cape *Gracias a Dios*, and that they call cape ..... are but one and the ſame, they make two of it. The occaſion of this miſtake was, that after the admiral had diſcovered theſe countries, one *John Diaz de Solis*, (from whom the river *de la Plata*, that is, of Silver or Plate, was called *Rio de Solis*, becauſe he was there killed by the *Indians*,) and one *Vincent Yanez*, who commanded a ſhip the firſt voyage, when the admiral diſcover'd the *Indies*, ſet out together to diſcover in the year 1508. deſigning to follow along that coaſt the admiral had diſcovered in his voyage from *Veragua* weſtward; and he following almoſt the ſame track, they put into the coaſt of *Cariari*, and paſſed by cape *Gracias a Dios*, as far as cape *Caſinas*, which they called *Honduras*, and the aforeſaid iſlands they called *Guanaias*, giving the name of the biggeſt to them all. Thence they proceeded on further, without owning the admiral had been in any of thoſe parts, that the diſcovery might be attributed to them, and to have it believ'd they had found large countries; notwithſtanding that, *Peter de Ledeſma*, one of their pilots, who had been before with the admiral in his voyage to *Veragua*, told them, he knew that countrey, and that he had been there with the admiral diſcovering it, from whom I afterwards had this. But the nature of the charts plainly demonſtrates it; for the ſame thing is twice ſet down, and the iſland is in the ſame ſhape, and at the ſame diſtance, they having at their return brought a true draught of that countrey, only ſaying, it lay beyond that which the admiral had diſcover'd. So that the ſame countrey is twice deſcrib'd in one chart; which, if it pleaſe God, time will make appear, when that coaſt is better known; for they will find but one countrey of that ſort, as has been ſaid. But to return to our diſcovery, being come to the iſland of *Guanaia*, the admiral order'd his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* to go aſhore with two boats, where they found people like thoſe of the other iſlands, but not of ſuch high foreheads. They alſo ſaw abundance of pine-trees and pieces of *Lapis Calaminaris*, us'd to mix with copper, which ſome ſeamen taking for gold, kept hid a long time.

Great error of ſome ſea charts.

The admiral's brother being aſhore in that iſland, very deſirous to know ſomething of it, fortune ſo order'd it, that a canoe as long as a galley, and eight foot wide, all of one tree, and like the others in ſhape, put in there, being loaded with commodities brought from the weſtward, and bound towards *New Spain*. In the midſt of it was a covering like an awning made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike thoſe of the *Venetian Gondola*'s, which kept all under it ſo cloſe, that neither rain nor ſea-water could wet the goods. Under this awning were the children, the women, and all the goods, and tho' there were 25 men aboard this canoe, they had not the courage to defend themſelves againſt the boats that purſued them. The canoe being thus taken without any oppoſition, was carried aboard, where the admiral bleſſed God, for that it had pleaſed him at once to give him ſamples of the commodities of that countrey, without expoſing his men to any danger. He therefore order'd ſuch things to be taken, as he judg'd moſt ſightly and valuable

A cover'd canoe.

What goods they had.

valuable; ſuch as ſome quilts, and ſhirts of cotton, without ſleeves, curiouſly wrought and dy'd of ſeveral colours, and ſome ſmall clouts to cover their privities, of the ſame ſort; and large ſheets in which the *Indian* women aboard the canoe wrapp'd themſelves, as the *Mooriſh* women at *Granada* us'd to do; and long wooden ſwords with a channel on each ſide, where the edge ſhould be, in which there were ſharp edges of flint fix'd with thread, and a bituminous ſort of matter, which cut naked men, as if they were of ſteel, and hatchets to cut wood like thoſe of ſtone the other *Indians* uſe, but that theſe were made of good copper; alſo bells of the ſame metal, plates, and crucibles to melt the metal. For their proviſion they had ſuch roots and grain as they in *Hiſpaniola* eat, and a ſort of liquor made of *Maiz*, like the *Engliſh* beer; and abundance of *Cacao* nuts, which in *New Spain* paſs for money, which they ſeemed to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other goods, I obſerv'd that when any of theſe nuts fell, they all ſtoop'd to take it up, as if it had been a thing of great conſequence: yet at that time they ſeem'd to be in a manner beſides themſelves, being brought priſoners out of their canoe aboard the ſhip, among ſuch ſtrange and fierce people, as we are to them; but ſo prevalent is avarice in man, that we ought not to wonder that it mould prevail upon the *Indians* above the apprehenſion of the danger they were in. I muſt add, that we ought to admire their modeſty; for it falling out, that in getting them aboard, ſome were taken by the clouts they had before their privities, they would immediately clap their hands to cover them; and the women would hide their faces, and wrap themſelves up as we ſaid the *Mooriſh* women do at *Granada*. This mov'd the admiral to uſe them well, to reſtore their canoe, and give them ſome things in exchange for thoſe that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old man, whoſe name was *Giumbe*, that ſeemed to be the wiſeſt and chief of them, to learn ſomething of him concerning the countrey, and that he might draw others to converſe with the chriſtians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we ſailed where his language was underſtood. Therefore, as a reward for this his ſervice, when we came where he was not underſtood, the admiral gave him ſome things, and ſent him home very well pleaſed, which was before he came to cape *Gracias a Dios*, on the coaſt of *Orecchia*, whereof mention has been made already.

Modeſty of the Indians.

CHAP. XC.

How the admiral would not go to New Spain, *but ſail to the eaſtward to find out the ſtreight in the continent.*

NOtwithſtanding the admiral had heard ſo much from thoſe in the canoe, concerning the great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity of the people weſtward towards *New Spain*; yet thinking that thoſe countries lying to the leeward, he could ſail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not go that way at this time, but held on his deſign of diſcovering the ſtreight in the continent, to clear a way into the *South Sea*, which was what he aim'd at in order to come at the countries that produce ſpice, and therefore reſolved to ſail eaſtward towards *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, where he imagin'd the ſaid ſtreight to be, as in effect it was; yet was he deceiv'd in the matter; for he did not conceit it to be an *Iſthmus*, or narrow neck of land, but a ſmall gulph running from ſea to ſea. Which miſtake might proceed from the likeneſs of the names; for when they ſaid the ſtreight was at *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, it might be underſtood either of land or water; and he took it in the moſt uſual ſenſe, and for that he moſt earneſtly deſir'd. And yet tho' that ſtreight is land, yet it was and is the way to the dominion of both ſeas, and by which ſuch immenſe riches have been diſcovered and conveyed; for it was God's will, a matter of ſuch vaſt concern ſhould not be otherwiſe found out, that canoe having given the firſt information concerning *New Spain*.

The admiral ſails eaſtward.

There being nothing therefore in thoſe iſlands of *Guanaia* worth taking notice of, he without further delay ſailed in order to ſeek out the ſtreight towards the continent, to a point he called *Caſinas*, becauſe there were abundance of trees that bear a ſort of fruit that is rough, as a ſpungy bone, and is good to eat, eſpecially boil'd; which fruit the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola* call *Caſinas*. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of all about that countrey, the admiral would not loſe time to go into a great bay the land makes there, but held on his courſe eaſtwards along that coaſt, which runs along the ſame way to cape *Gracias a Dios*, and

and is very low and open. The people neareſt to cape *Caſinas*, wear thoſe painted ſhirts or jerkins before-mentioned, the clouts before their privities, which were like coats of mail made of cotton ſtrong enough to defend them againſt their weapons, and even to bear off the ſtroke of ſome of ours.

But the people higher eaſtward towards cape *Gracias a Dios*, are almoſt black, of a fierce aſpect, go ſtark naked, are very ſavage, and as the *Indian* that was taken, ſaid, eat mens fleſh, and raw fiſh juſt as it is taken. They have their ears bored with ſuch large holes, that they may put a hens egg into them, which made the admiral call that coaſt *de las Orejas*, or *of the Ears*. There on *Sunday* the fourteenth of *Auguſt* 1502, *Bartholomew Columbus* went aſhore in the morning with the colours, the captains, and many of the men, to hear maſs; and on *Wedneſday* following, when the boats went aſhore to take poſſeſſion of the countrey for their catholick majeſties, above a hundred men ran down to the ſhore, loaded with proviſions; who as ſoon as the boats came aſhore came before the lieutenant, and on a ſudden retired back without ſpeaking a word. He ordered they ſhould give them horſe-bells, beads, and other things; and by means of the aforeſaid interpreter, inquired concerning the countrey; tho' he having been but a ſhort time with us, did not underſtand the chriſtians, by reaſon of the diſtance of his countrey from *Hiſpaniola*, where ſeveral perſons aboard the ſhips had learnt the *Indian* language. Nor did he underſtand thoſe *Indians*; but they being pleaſed with what had been given them, came the next day to the ſame place, above two hundred of them loaded with ſeveral ſorts of proviſions, as hens of that countrey, which are better than ours, geeſe, roaſted fiſh, red and white beans, like kidney beans, and other things like thoſe they have in *Hiſpaniola*. The countrey was green and beautiful, tho' low, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm-trees of ſeven ſorts, and *Mirobalans* of thoſe of *Hiſpaniola* they call *Hobi*, and almoſt all ſorts of proviſions that iſland affords were here to be found. Abundance of leopards, deer, and other ſorts of fiſh there are in the iſlands and in *Spain*. The people of this countrey are much like thoſe of the iſlands, but that their foreheads are not ſo high, nor do they ſeem to have any religion. There are ſeveral languages among them, and for the moſt part they go naked, but cover their privities; ſome wear ſhort jumps down to their navel without ſleeves, their arms and bodies have figures wrought on them with fire, which make them look oddly; and ſome have lions, others deer, and others caſtles with towers, and other things painted on their bodies. Inſtead of caps, the better ſort of them wear red and white cloths of cotton; and ſome have locks of hair hanging on their foreheads. But when they are to be fine againſt a feſtival day, they colour their faces, ſome black, and ſome red; others draw ſtreaks of ſeveral colours; others paint their noſe, and others black their eyes; and thus they adorn themſelves to appear beautiful, whereas in truth they look like devils.

CHAP. XCI.

How the admiral left the coaſt called de las Orejas, *and by cape* Gracias a Dios, *came to* Cariari, *and what he did and ſaw there.*

THE admiral ſailed along the ſaid coaſt *de las Orejas* eaſtward to cape *Gracias a Dios*, which was ſo called, becauſe there being but ſixty leagues to it from cape *Caſinas*, we laboured ſeventy days by reaſon of of the currents and contrary winds upon the tact to gain it, ſtanding out to ſea, and then making the ſhore, ſometimes gaining and ſometime loſing ground, as the wind was ſcant or large when we came about. And had not the coaſt afforded ſuch good anchoring we had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two fathom water half a league from the ſhore, and two more at every leagues diſtance; we had always the conveniency of anchoring at night when there was but little wind, ſo that the courſe was navigable by reaſon of the good anchoring, but with difficulty.

When on the fourteenth of *September* we came up to the cape, perceiving the land turned off to the ſouth, and that we could conveniently continue our voyage with thoſe *Levant* winds that reigned there, and had been ſo contrary to us, we all in general gave thanks to God, for which reaſon the admiral called this cape *Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond it, we paſſed by ſome dangerous ſands that ran out to ſea, as far as the eye could reach. *Cape* Gracias a Dios.

It being requiſite to take in wood and water; on the ſixteenth of *September*, the admiral ſent the boats to a river that ſeemed to be deep, and to have a good entrance, but the coming out proved not ſo; for winds freſhing from ſea, and the waves running high againſt the current of the river, ſo diſtreſſed the boats, that one of them

was loſt with all the men in it, wherefore the admiral called it the river *de la Deſgratia*, that is, of the diſaſter.

In this river and about it, there were canes as thick as a man's leg; and on *Sunday* the twenty fifth of *September*, ſtill running ſouthward, we came to an anchor near a little iſland called *Quiriviri*, and a town on the continent, the name whereof was *Cariari*, where were the beſt people, countrey, and ſituation, we had yet ſeen; as well becauſe it was high, full of rivers, and abounding in trees, as becauſe the iſland was thick wooded, and full of foreſts of palm, mirobalan, and other ſorts of trees. For this reaſon, the admiral called it *Hucite*. It is a ſmall league from the town the *Indians* call *Cariari*, which is near a great river, whither reſorted a great multitude of people from the adjacent parts, ſome with bows and arrows, others with ſtaves of palm-tree, as black as a coal, and hard as a horn, pointed with the bones of fiſhes, others with clubs; and they came together as if they meant to defend their countrey. The men had their hair braided and wound about their heads; the women ſhort like ours. But perceiving we were peaceable people, they were very deſirous to barter their commodities for ours, theirs were arms, cotton-jerkins, and large pieces like ſheets, and *Guaninies*, which is pale gold, they wear about their necks, as we do relicks. Theſe things they ſwam with to the boats, for the chriſtians went not aſhore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that we might not be taken for men that value their goods, but gave them ſome of ours. The leſs they ſaw us value the exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of ſigns from land. At laſt, perceiving no body went aſhore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reſerving any, and tying them together, left them in the ſame place where the boats firſt went aſhore, and where our men found them on the *Wedneſday* following when they landed. The *Indians* about this place, believing, that the *Chriſtians* did not confide in them, they ſent an ancient man of an aweful preſence with a flag upon a ſtaff, and two girls, the one about eight, the other about fourteen years of age, who putting them into the boat, made ſigns that the chriſtians might ſafely land. Upon their requeſt, they went aſhore to take in water, the *Indians* taking great care not to do any thing that might fright the chriſtians, and when they ſaw them return to their ſhips, they made ſigns to them to take along with them the young girls with their *Guaninies* about their necks, and at the requeſt of the old man that conducted them, they complied and carried them aboard. Wherein thoſe people ſhowed more friendly than others had done; and in the girls appeared an undauntedneſs. For tho' the chriſtians were ſuch ſtrangers to them, they expreſs no manner of concern, but always looked pleaſant and modeſt, which made the admiral treat them well, cloathed, fed, and ſet them aſhore again, where the fifty men were, and the old man that had delivered them received them again with much ſatisfaction. The boats going aſhore again that ſame day, found the ſame people with the girls, who reſtored all the chriſtians had given them. The next day the admiral's brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of thoſe people, two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms between them, made him ſit down upon the graſs; and he aſking ſome queſtions of them, ordered the ſecretary to write down what they anſwered; but they ſeeing the pen, ink, and paper, were in ſuch a conſternation, that moſt of them ran away, which, as was believed, they did for fear of being bewitched; for to us they ſeemed to be ſorcerers, or ſuperſtitious people, and that not without reaſon; becauſe, when they came near the chriſtians they ſcattered ſome powder about them in the air, and burning ſome of the ſame powder endeavoured to make the ſmoak go towards the chriſtians; beſides, their refuſing to keep any thing that belonged unto us, ſhewed a jealouſy, for, as they ſay, *a knave thinks every man like himſelf.* Having ſtaid here longer than was convenient, conſidering the haſte we were in, after repairing the ſhips, and provided all we wanted, upon *Sunday* the ſecond of *October*, the admiral ordered his brother to go aſhore with ſome men to view that *Indian* town, and learn ſomething of their manners, and the nature of the countrey. The moſt remarkable things they ſaw were, in a great wooden palace covered with canes, ſeveral tombs, in one of which there was a dead body dry'd up and embalmed; in another, two bodies, wrapped up in cotton ſheets without any ill ſcent; and over each tomb, was a board with the figures of beaſts carved on it; and on ſome of them, the effigies of the perſon buried there, adorned with *Guaninies*, beads, and other things they moſt value. Theſe being the moſt civilized *Indians* in thoſe parts, the admiral ordered one to be taken, and learn of him the ſecrets of the countrey; and of ſeven that were taken, two of the chiefeſt were picked out, and the reſt ſent away with ſome gifts, and civil entertainment, that the countrey might not be left in an uproar, telling them, they were to ſerve as

Indians *of* Cariari *civilized.*

guides

guides upon that coaſt, and then be ſet at liberty. But they believing they were taken out of covetouſneſs, that they might ranſom themſelves with their goods and things of value, the next day abundance of them came down to the ſhore, and ſent four aboard the admiral, as their ambaſſadors, to treat about the ranſom, offering ſome things, and freely giving two hogs of the countrey, which tho' ſmall, are very wild. The admiral therefore obſerving the policy of this people, was more deſirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learnt ſomething of them, but would not give ear to their offers. He therefore ordered ſome trifles to be given to the meſſengers, that they might not go away diſſatisfied, and that they ſhould be paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted after this manner. Among other creatures that countrey produces, there is a kind of cats of a greyiſh colour, and as big as a ſhall greyhound, but have a longer tail, and ſo ſtrong, that whatſoever they clap it about is as it were tied with a rope. Theſe run about the trees like the ſquirrels, leaping from one to another; and when they leap, they do not only hold faſt with their claws, but with their tail too, by which they often hang, either to reſt them, or ſport. It happened that one *Balleſter* brought one of theſe cats out of a wood, having knocked him off a tree, and not daring to meddle with it when down, becauſe of its fierceneſs, he cut off one of his fore legs, and carrying it ſo wounded aboard; it frighted a good dog they had; but put one of the hogs they had brought us into a much greater fear; for as ſoon as the ſwine ſaw the cat, it run away, with ſigns of much dread, which we were ſurprized at; becauſe before this happened, the hog ran at every body, and would not let the dog reſt upon the deck. The admiral therefore ordered it to be put cloſe to the cat, which preſently wound her tail about its ſnout, and with that fore-leg it had left, faſtened on its pole to bite it, the hog for fear grunting moſt violently. By this we perceived that theſe cats hunt like the wolves or dogs in *Spain*.

Indian *ſwine, and a fierce wild cat.*

CHAP. XCII.

How the admiral went from Cariari, *to* Caravaro *and* Veragua, *till he came to* Portavelo, *all along a very fruitful coaſt.*

Bay of Caravaro. UPON *Wedneſday* the 5th of *October*, the admiral ſailed, and came to the bay of *Caravaro*, which is ſix leagues in length, and above three in breadth; where there are many ſmall iſlands, and two or three channels to get in or out at any time. Within theſe iſlands the ſhips ſail as it were in ſtreets between iſlands, the leaves of the trees ſtriking againſt the ſhrouds. As ſoon as we anchored in this bay, the boats went to one of the iſlands, where there were twenty canoes upon the ſhore, and the people by, as naked as they were born, and had only a gold plate about their neck, and ſome an eagle of gold. Theſe, without ſhowing any tokens of fear, the two *Indians* of *Cariari* interpreting, gave a gold plate for three horſe-bells; it weighed ten ducats, and they ſaid there was great plenty of that metal up the continent not far from them.

The next day being the ſeventh of *October*, the boats went aſhore upon the continent, where meeting ten canoes full of people, and they refuſing to chaffer away their gold plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the admiral might learn ſomething of them with the aſſiſtance of two interpreters. The gold plate one of them wore weigh'd fourteen ducats, and the other's eagle twenty two. Theſe ſaid, that a day or two's journey up the countrey, there was abundance of gold found in ſome places which they named. In the bay a vaſt deal of fiſh was taken, and aſhore there were abundance of thoſe creatures above-mentioned at *Cariari*; alſo great plenty of their food, ſuch as roots, grain, and fruit. The men, who are painted all over face and body of ſeveral colours, as red, black and white, go naked, only covering their privities with a narrow cotton cloth.

Product of the country.

From this bay of *Caravaro*, we went to another cloſe by it, called *Aburena*, which in ſome meaſure is like the other. Aburena.

On the ſeventeenth we put out to ſea to continue our voyage; and being come to *Guaiga*, a river twelve leagues from *Aburena*, the admiral commanded the boats to go aſhore, which as they were doing, they ſaw above a hundred *Indians* on the ſtrand, who aſſaulted them furiouſly, running up to the middle into the water, brandiſhing their ſpears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their countrey, throwing the ſalt water towards the chriſtians, chewing herbs and ſpurting it towards them. Our men not ſtirring endeavoured to appeaſe them, as they did, for at laſt they drew near to exchange the gold

plates they had about their necks, ſome for two, and ſome for three horſe bells, by which means we got ſixteen gold plates, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day being *Friday* the nineteenth of *October*, the boats went to land again to barter; yet before any chriſtian went aſhore, they called to ſome *Indians*, who were under ſome bowers they had made that night to defend their countrey, fearing the chriſtians would land to do them ſome wrong. Tho' they called never ſo much, yet none of them would come, nor would the chriſtians land without knowing firſt what mind they were in: for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as ſoon as they landed. But perceiving they came not out of the boats, they blew their horns, beat the drum, and making a great noiſe, ran into the water, as they had done the day before, till they came almoſt to the boats, making ſigns as if they would caſt their javelins if they did not return to their ſhips. The chriſtians offended at this their proceeding, that they might not be ſo bold, and deſpiſe them, wounded one with an arrow in the arm, and fired a cannon, at which they were ſo frighted, that all ran away to land. Then four chriſtians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their arms behind them, and exchanged three gold plates, ſaying, they had no more, becauſe they came not provided for to trade, but to fight.

All the admiral looked for in this journey, was to get ſamples of what thoſe parts afforded; and therefore without farther delay, he proceeded to *Catiba*, and caſt anchor in the mouth of a great river. The people of the countrey were ſeen to gather, calling one another with horns and drums; and afterwards ſent a canoe with two men in it to the ſhips, who having talked with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, preſently came aboard the admiral without any apprehenſion of fear; and by the advice of thoſe *Indians*, gave the admiral two plates of gold they had about their necks, and he in return gave them ſome baubles of ours. When theſe were gone aſhore, there came another canoe with three men wearing plates hanging at their necks, who did as the firſt had done. Amity thus ſettled, our men went aſhore, where they found abundance of people with their king, who differed in nothing from the reſt, but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, becauſe at that time it rained hard; and to give his ſubjects a good example, he exchanged a plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which in all were nineteeen of pure gold. This was the firſt place in the *Indies* where they ſaw any ſign of a ſtructure, which was a great maſs of wall, or imagery, that to them ſeemed to be of lime and ſtone; the admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity.

He went away eaſtward, and came to *Cobravo*, the people of which place lie near the rivers of that coaſt; and becauſe none came down to the ſtrand, and the wind blew freſh, he held on his courſe, and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* ſaid the gold was gathered and the plates made.

The next day he came to a town, called *Cubiga*, where the *Indians* of *Cariari* ſaid the trading countrey ended, which began at *Carabora*, and ran as far as *Cubiga*, for fifty leagues along the coaſt.

The admiral without making any ſtay, went on till he put into *Porto Bello*, giving it that name, becauſe it is large, beautiful, well-peopled, and encompaſſed by a well cultivated countrey. He entered this place on the ſecond of *November*, paſſing between two ſmall iſlands, within which the ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore, and turn it out if they have occaſion. The countrey about that harbour higher up, is not very rough, but tilled and full of houſes, a ſtone's throw or a bow ſhot one from the other; and it looks like the fineſt landſkip a man can imagine. During ſeven days we continued there on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the countrey about to trade for proviſions, and bottoms of fine ſpun cotton which they gave for ſome trifles, ſuch as points and pins.

Catiba.

Porto Bello.

CHAP. XCIII.

How the admiral came to port Baſtimentos, *or* Nombre de Dios, *and continued his voyage till he put into* Retrete.

ON *Wedneſday* the 9th of *November*, we ſail'd out of *Porto Bello*, eight leagues to the eaſtward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by ſtreſs of weather, and put in among the iſlands near the continent, where is now the town of *Nombre de Dios*; and becauſe all thoſe ſmall iſlands were full of grain, he call'd it, *Puerto de Baſtimentos*, that is, the port of proviſions.

Puerto de Baſtimentos.

There

There a boat well mann'd, purſuing a canoe, the *Indians* imagining our men would do them ſome harm, and perceiving the boat was within leſs than a ſtone's throw of them, they all threw themſelves into the water to ſwim away, as in effect they did; for tho' the boat row'd hard, it could not in half a league the purſuit laſted, overtake any of them; or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow-ſhot or two from the place. This chaſe was very pleaſant, ſeeing the boat labour in vain, which at laſt returned empty.

Here we continued till the 23d of *November*, refitting the ſhips, and mending our caſk; and that day we ſailed eaſtward to a place called *Guiga*, there being another of the ſame name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*. The boats going aſhore, found above 300 perſons on it, ready to trade for ſuch proviſions as they have, and ſome ſmall things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noſes.

But without making any ſtay here, on *Saturday* the 24th of *November*, we put in to a ſmall port, which was called *Retrete*, that is, retir'd place, becauſe it could not contain above five or ſix ſhips together, and the mouth of it was not above 15 or 20 paces over, and on both ſides of it rocks appearing above water as ſharp as diamonds; and the channel between them was ſo deep that they found no bottom, tho' if the ſhips inclin'd never ſo little to either ſide, the men might leap aſhore, which was it that ſav'd the ſhips in that narrow place, which was the fault of thoſe who went in the boats to view it, they being covetous to deal with the *Indians*, and perceiving the ſhips would lie there conveniently for it, cloſe to the ſhore. In this place we continued nine days with bad weather; and at firſt the *Indians* came very familiarly to trade for ſuch as they had, but when they ſaw the chriſtians ſteal privately out of their ſhips they retir'd to their houſes, becauſe the ſeamen like covetous, diſſolute men, committed a thouſand inſolencies; inſomuch that they provok'd the *Indians* to break the peace, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between them. They increaſing daily, took courage to come up to the ſhips, which, as we ſaid, lay with their ſides cloſe to the ſhore, thinking to do ſome harm, which deſign of theirs had turn'd to their own detriments, had not the admiral always endeavoured to gain them by patience and civility: but at laſt, perceiving their inſolence, to ſtrike a terror into them, he caus'd ſome pieces of cannon to be fir'd, which they anſwer'd with ſhouts, threſhing the trees with ſtaves, and threatening by ſigns, ſhewing they did not fear the noiſe, for they thought it had been only a thundering to terrify them. Therefore to abate their pride, and make them not contemn the chriſtians, the admiral cauſed a ſhot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midſt of them, made them ſenſible there was a thunderbolt as well as thunder; ſo that for the future they durſt not appear, even behind the mountains. The people of this countrey were the propereſt they had yet ſeen among the *Indians*, for they were tall and ſpare, without any great bellies, and well countenanced.

War with Indians.

Retrete, *a very ſmall port.*

The countrey was all plain, bearing little graſs, and a few trees; and in the harbour there were vaſt great *Crocodiles* or *Alligators*, which go out to ſtay and ſleep aſhore, and ſcatter a ſcent as if all the muſk in the world were together; but they are ſo ravenous and cruel, that if they find a man ſleeping, they drag him to the water to devour him, tho' they are fearful and cowardly when attack'd. Theſe *Alligators* are found in many other parts of the continent, and ſome do affirm they are the ſame as the *Crocodiles* of *Nile*.

Alligators.

CHAP. XCIV.

How the admiral being drove by ſtreſs of weather, ſtood again to weſtward, to get intelligence concerning the mines, and enquire concerning Veragua.

ON *Monday* the 5th of *December*, the admiral perceiving the violent eaſt and north-eaſt winds did not ceaſe, and that there was no trading with thoſe people, he reſolved to go back, to be ſatisfied concerning what the *Indians* ſaid of the mines of *Veragua*, and therefore that day he return'd to *Porto Bello*, ten leagues weſtward; and continuing his courſe the next day, was aſſaulted by a weſt wind, which was oppoſite to his new deſign, but favourable to that he had for three months paſt. But he believing this wind would not laſt long, did not alter his courſe, but bore up againſt the wind for ſome days, becauſe the weather was unſettled; and when the weather ſeem'd a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, another wind would ſtart up and drive him towards *Porto Bello*; and when we were moſt in hopes to get into port, we were quite beat off again, and ſometimes with ſuch thunder and lightning, that the men durſt

not

not open their eyes, the ſhips ſeem'd to be juſt ſinking, and the ſky to come down. Sometimes the thunder was ſo continued, that it was concluded, ſome ſhip fired its cannon to deſire aſſiſtance. Another time there would fall ſuch ſtorms of rain, that it would laſt violently for two or three days, inſomuch that it look'd like another univerſal deluge. This perplex'd all the men, and made them almoſt deſpair, ſeeing they could not get half an hour's reſt, being continually wet, turning ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, ſtruggling againſt all the elements, and dreading them all; for in ſuch dreadful ſtorms, they dread the fire in flaſhes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and ſands which ſometimes a man meets with near the port, where he hop'd for ſafety, and not knowing them, chuſes rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has leſs ſhare.

Terrible tempeſts for many days.

Beſides all theſe terrors, there occur'd another no leſs dangerous and wonderful, which was a ſpout riſing from the ſea, on *Tueſday* the 13th of *December*, which if they had not diſſolv'd by ſaying the goſpel of St. *John*, it had certainly ſunk whatſoever it fell upon; for as has been ſaid, it draws the water up to the clouds like a pillar, and thicker than a butt, twiſting it about like a whirlwind. That ſame night we loſt ſight of the ſhip called *Caino*, and had the good fortune to ſee it again after three dreadful dark days, though it had loſt its boat, and been in great danger, being ſo near land as to caſt anchor, which it loſt at long run, being forced to cut the cable. Now it appeared that the currents on that coaſt follow the wind, running weſtward with the eaſt-wind, and the contrary, the water ſtill going after the prevailing wind. The ſhips being now almoſt ſhattered to pieces with the tempeſt, and the men quite ſpent with labour, a day or two's calm gave them ſome reſpite, and brought ſuch multitudes of ſharks about the ſhips, that they were dreadful to behold, eſpecially for ſuch as are ſuperſtitious; becauſe, as it is reported, that ravens at a great diſtance ſmell out dead bodies; ſo ſome think theſe ſharks do, which if they lay hold of a man's arm or leg, cut it off like a razor, for they have two rows of teeth in the nature of a ſaw. Such a multitude of theſe was killed with the hook and chain, that being able to deſtroy no more, they lay ſwimming upon the water, and they are ſo greedy, that they do not only bite at carrion, but may be taken with a red rag upon the hook. I have ſeen a tortoiſe taken out of the belly of one of theſe ſharks, and it afterwards liv'd aboard the ſhip; but out of another was taken the whole head of one of his own kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the water, as not good to eat, no more than they are themſelves, and that ſhark had ſwallowed it; and to us it ſeem'd contrary to reaſon, that one creature ſhould ſwallow the head of another of its own bigneſs, which is not to be admired, becauſe their mouth reaches almoſt to their belly, and the head is ſhaped like an olive. Tho' ſome look'd upon them to forebode miſchief, and others thought them bad fiſh, yet we all made much of them, by reaſon of the want we were in, having been now above 8 months at ſea, ſo that we had conſum'd all the fiſh and fleſh brought from *Spain*; and what with the heat and moiſture of the ſea, the biſket was ſo full of maggots, that, as God ſhall help me, I ſaw many that ſtaid till night to eat the pottage or brewice made of it, that they might not ſee the maggots; and others were ſo us'd to eat them, that they did not mind to throw them away when they ſaw them, becauſe they might loſe their ſupper if they were ſo very curious.

Multitudes of ſharks.

Upon *Saturday* the 17th, the admiral put into a port 3 leagues eaſt of *Pennon*, which the *Indians* called *Huiva*. It was like a great bay, where we reſted 3 days, and going aſhore, ſaw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying ſticks acroſs from bough to bough, and building huts upon them, rather than houſes. Tho' we knew not the reaſon of this ſtrange cuſtom, yet we gueſs'd it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that countrey, or of enemies; for all along that coaſt, the people at every league diſtance are great enemies to one another.

We ſailed from this port on the 20th with fair weather, but not ſettled; for as ſoon as we were got out to ſea, the tempeſt began to rage again, and drove us into another port, whence we departed again the third day, the weather ſeeming ſomewhat mended, but like an enemy that lies in wait for a man, ruſh'd out again, and forced us to *Pennon*, where when we hop'd to put in, the wind ſtarted up ſo contrary, that we were drove again towards *Veragua*. Being at an anchor in the river, the weather became again ſo ſtormy, that all the favour we had from it, was, that it allowed us to get into that port, where we had been before on *Thurſday* the 12th of the ſame month. Here we continued from the 2d day in *Chriſtmas*, till the 3d of *January* the following year 1503. when having repair'd the ſhip called *Gallega*, and taken aboard abundance of *Indian* wheat, water,

and wood, we turn'd back towards *Veragua* with bad weather, and contrary winds, which chang'd crosly, just as the admiral alter'd his course. And this was so strange and unheard of a thing, that I would not have repeated so many changes, if, besides by being then present, I had not seen the same written by *James Mendez*, who sail'd with the canoes of *Jamaica*, whereof I shall speak hereafter, and writ an account of this voyage; and the letter the admiral sent by him to their catholick majesties, which is printed, will inform the reader how great our sufferings were, and how much fortune persecuted him she ought most to favour. But to return to the changes of weather, and of our course, which put us to so much trouble between *Veragua* and *Porto Bello*, for which reason, that coast was called *Costa de Contrasses*, that is, coast of thwartings.

Wonderful changes of weather.

Upon *Thursday*, being the feast of the *Epiphany*, we cast anchor near a river, which the *Indians* call *Yebra*, and the admiral nam'd *Belem*, or *Bethlem*, because we came to that place upon the feast of the three kings. He caus'd the mouth of that river, and of another westward, to be sounded; the latter the *Indians* call *Veragua*, where he found but shoal water, and in that of *Belem*, 4 fathom at high water. The boats went up this river to the town, where they were inform'd the gold mines of *Veragua* were. At first the *Indians* were so far from conversing, that they assembled with their weapons, to hinder the christians landing. The next day, our boats going to the river of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there did as the others had done, and that not only ashore, but stood upon their guard with their canoes in the water. But an *Indian* of that coast, who understood them a little, going ashore with the christians, and telling them, we were good people, and desir'd nothing but what we paid for, they were somewhat pacified, and truck'd 20 gold plates, some hollow pieces like joints of reeds, and some grains never melted; which to make their value the more, they said were gathered a great way off upon uncouth mountains; and that when they gather'd it, they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which same thing the people of *Hispaniola* said, when it was first discovered.

Indian policy.

CHAP. XCV.

How the admiral went into the river of Belem, *and resolv'd to build a town there and leave his brother the lieutenant in it.*

ON monday the 9th of *January*, the admiral's ship, and that call'd *Biscaina*, went up the river, and the *Indians* came presently to truck for such things as they had, particularly fish, which at certain times of the year comes out of the sea up these rivers in such quantities as seems incredible to such as do not see it; and they exchang'd some little gold for pins, and those things they most valued, they gave for beads or hawks-bells. Next day the other two ships came in, which they had not done at first, because there being but little water at the mouth of the river, they were forced to stay for the flood; tho' there the sea never rises or falls above half a fathom.

Trade with the Indians.

Veragua being fam'd for mines and extraordinary wealth, the third day after our arrival, the admiral's brother went up the river with the boats to the town of *Quibio*, so the *Indians* call their king, who hearing of the lieutenant's coming, came down the river in his canoes to meet him. They met in very friendly manner, giving one another interchangeably such things as they valu'd most, and having discours'd a long time together, every one went away peaceably. Next day the said *Quibio* came aboard to visit the admiral, and having discours'd together about an hour, the admiral gave him some things, and his men truck'd bells for some gold, and so he return'd without any ceremony the same way he came.

We being thus very easie and secure, on *Wednesday* the 24th of *January*, the river of *Belem* suddenly swell'd so high, that before we could provide against it, or carry a cable ashore, the fury of the water came so impetuously against the admiral's ship, that it broke one of its two anchors, and drove her with such force against the ship *Gallega*, which lay a-stern of it, that it brought the foremast by the board, and were both carried away foul of one another in utmost danger of perishing. Some judg'd the mighty rains to have been the cause of this mighty flood, they having never ceased all the winter in that countrey; but had that been it, the river would have swell'd by degrees, and not all on a sudden, which made it be believed some great shower had fallen on the mountains of *Veragua*, which the admiral called St. *Christophers*, because the highest of them was above the region of the air, where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever seen above, but all below

A dangerous sudden flood.

below it. To look to, it is like an hermitage, and lies at leaſt 20 leagues up the countrey, in the midſt of woody mountains, whence we believed that flood came which was ſo dangerous, that tho' it brought water enough to carry the ſhips out to ſea, the wind was then ſo boiſterous, that they muſt have been ſhatter'd to pieces at the mouth of the river, diſtant half a mile from whence they broke looſe. This tempeſt laſted ſo long, that we had time enough to refit and caulk the ſhips. The waves broke ſo furiouſly upon the mouth of the river, that the boats could not go out to diſcover along the coaſt, to learn where the mines lay, and chuſe a place to build a town; the admiral having reſolved to leave his brother there with moſt of the men, that they might ſettle and ſubdue that countrey, whilſt he went to *Spain* to ſend ſupplies of men and proviſions: Upon this proſpect, the weather growing calmer, on *Monday* the 6th of *February*, he ſent his brother with 68 men by ſea to the mouth of *Veragua* river, a league diſtant from *Belem* weſtward, and he went a league and a half up the river, to the *Cacique*'s town, where he ſtaid a day enquiring out the way to the mines.

On *Wedneſday* they travel'd four leagues and a half and came to lie near a river, which they paſs'd 44 times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines, ſhow'd them by *Indians* ſent by *Quibio* to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither, every man gather'd ſome gold about the roots of the trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious height. This ſample was much valued, becauſe none of thoſe that went had any tools to dig, or had ever gather'd any. Therefore the deſign of their journey being only to get information of the mines, they return'd very well pleas'd that ſame day to *Veragua*, and the next to the ſhips. True it is, that, as was afterwards known, theſe mines, were not thoſe of *Veragua*, which lay much nearer, but of *Urira*, a town whoſe people are enemies to thoſe of *Veragua*, to do whom a diſpleaſure, *Quibio* ordered the chriſtians to be conducted thither, and that they might go away to thoſe and leave his. *Gold Mines of* Urira.

CHAP. XCVI.

How the admiral's brother went to ſee ſome towns of that province; with an account of the countrey, and cuſtoms of thoſe people.

ON *Thurſday* the 14th of *February* 1503, the admiral's brother went into the countrey with 40 Men, a boat following with 14. The next day they came to the river of *Urira*, 7 leagues from *Belem* weſtward. The *Cacique* came out a league from his town to meet him, with 20 Men, and preſented him with ſuch things as they feed on, and ſome gold plates were exchang'd here. Whilſt they were here, the *Cacique*, and chief men, never ceaſed putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and ſometimes they took a ſort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd. Having reſted here a while, the chriſtians and *Indians* went together to the town, where abundance of people came out to them, and aſſign'd them a great houſe to lie in, giving them much to eat. Soon after came the *Cacique* of *Dururi*, which is a neighbouring town, with a great many *Indians*, who brought ſome gold plates to truck; all theſe *Indians* ſaid, there were *Caciques* up the countrey, who had plenty of gold, and abundance of men arm'd like ours. Next day, the lieutenant ordered the reſt of his men to return by land to the ſhips, and he with thirty, he kept with him, held on his journey towards *Zobraba*, where the fields for above 6 leagues were all full of *Maiz*, like corn-fields. Thence he went to *Cateba*, another town; at both places he was well entertained, abundance of proviſions given him, and ſome gold plates truck'd, which, as has been ſaid, are like the paten of a chalice, ſome bigger and ſome leſs, weighing 12 ducats more or leſs; they wear them about their necks, hanging by a ſtring, as we do relicks. The lieutenant being now very far from the ſhips, without finding any port along that coaſt, or any river bigger than that of *Belem* to ſettle his colony, he came back the ſame way on the 24th of *February*, bringing above —— ducats in gold he had exchanged for. As ſoon as he return'd, preſently order was taken for his ſtay, and 80 men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by ten and ten, or more or leſs in a gang, and began to build houſes upon the bank of the aforeſaid river of *Belem*, about a cannon ſhot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at the mouth of which there is a little hill. Beſides theſe houſes, which were all of timber, and covered with palm-tree leaves, which grew along the ſhore, another large houſe

Chriſtians find good reception.

Dururi.

Zobraba.

Cateba.

A colony at Belem.

houſe was built, to ſerve as a ſtorehouſe and magazine, into which ſeveral pieces of cannon, powder, and proviſions were put, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport of the planters. But for wine, biſket, oil, vinegar, cheeſe, and much grain, which was all they had to eat, theſe things were left in the ſafeſt place, aboard the ſhip called *Gallega*, that was to be left with the lieutenant, that he might make uſe of it either at ſea, or aſhore, having all its cordage, nets, hooks, and other fiſhing tackle; for as we have ſaid, there is vaſt plenty of fiſh in that countrey in every river, ſeveral ſorts at certain times running along the coaſt in ſhoals, on which the people of the countrey feed more than upon fleſh; for tho' there be ſome ſorts of beaſts they are not enough to maintain them. The cuſtoms of theſe *Indians* are for the moſt part much like thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*, and the neighbouring iſlands; but theſe people of *Veragua*, and the countrey about it, when they talk to one another, and eat, turn their backs, and are always chewing an herb, which we look upon to be the occaſion that their teeth are decay'd and rotten. Their food is fiſh, which they take with nets and hooks made of tortoiſe-ſhell, which they cut with a thread, as if they were ſawing; the ſame they uſe in the iſlands. They have another way of catching ſome very ſmall fiſhes, which in *Hiſpaniola* they call *Titi*. Theſe at certain times being drove to the ſhore by the rains, are ſo perſecuted by the bigger fiſh, that they are forced up to the ſurface of the water, where the *Indians* take as many as they will of them in little mats, or ſmall nets, and wrap them up in leaves of trees, as apothecaries do their drugs; and having dried them in an oven, they keep a long time. They alſo catch pilchards almoſt in the ſame manner; for at certain times theſe fiſhes fly from the great ones ſo violently, and in ſuch fear, that they leap out two or three paces upon the dry land, ſo that there is no more to do, but to take them as they do the others. Theſe pilchards are taken after another manner; for in the middle of their canoes, from ſtem to ſtern, they raiſe a partition of palm-tree leaves two yards high, and plying about the river they make a noiſe, and beat the ſhore with their oars, and then the pilchards, to fly from the other fiſh, leap into the canoe, and hitting againſt thoſe leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they pleaſe. Several ſorts of fiſh paſs along the coaſt in ſhoals, whereof wonderful quantities are taken, which they keep roaſted a long time. They have alſo abundance of *Maiz*, which is a ſort of grain growing in an ear, or hard head like *millet*, whereof they make white and red wine, as beer is made in *England*, and mix of their ſpice with it as pleaſes their palate; it has a pleaſant taſte like a ſharp briſk wine: they alſo make another ſort of wine of certain trees like palms; and I believe they are of that kind, but that they are ſmooth, and have ſuch prickles on the trunk as the thorn. From the pith of this palm, which is like palmitoes ſqueez'd, they draw a juice, whereof they make wine, boiling with it water and ſpice; and this they make great account of. They make another wine of the fruit we ſaid is found in the iſland *Guadalupe*, which is like a great pine-apple: It is planted in great fields, and the plant is a ſprout growing out at the top of the fruit it ſelf, like that which grows out of a cabbage or lattice. One plant laſts three or four years, and bears. They make wine of other ſorts of fruit, particularly of one that grows upon very high trees, and is as big as a large limon, and every one has two, three, and ſome nine ſtones like nuts, but they are not round, but long, or like a cheſnut. The rind of this fruit is like a pomgranate, and when firſt taken from the tree it reſembles it exactly, ſave only that it wants the prickly circle at the top. The taſte of it is like a peach: Of theſe ſome are better, ſome worſe, as is uſual among other fruit. There are of them in the iſlands, and the *Indians* call them *Mamei*.

Indians *manner of fiſhing.*

Indian *wines.*

CHAP. XCVII.

How for the greater ſecurity of the chriſtian colony, Quibio, *and ſeveral of the principal men were made priſoners, and how through the careleſneſs of his keepers, he made his eſcape.*

The mouth of the river choak'd up with ſand.

ALL things were now ſettled for the chriſtian colony, and ten or twelve houſes built and thatched, and the admiral ready to ſail for *Spain*, when he fell into greater danger for want of water, than he had been before by the inundation. For the great rains of *January*, being over, the mouth of the river was ſo choaked up with ſand, that whereas when they came in, there was about ten foot water, which was ſcant enough, when we would have gone out there were not two foot, ſo that we were ſhut up without any help, it being impoſſible to get the ſhips over the ſand,

ſand; and though there had been ſuch an engine, the ſea was ſo boiſterous, that the leaſt wave which beats upon the ſhore was enough to beat the ſhips in pieces, eſpecially ours, which were at this time like a honey-comb, being all worm-eaten through and through. We had nothing left but to have recourſe to God, and beg rain of him, as before we pray'd for fair weather; for the rain we knew would ſwell the river, and clear the ſand from the mouth of it, as is uſual in thoſe rivers. It being in the mean while diſcovered by means of the interpreter, that *Quibio*, the *Cacique* of *Veragua* intended to ſet fire to the houſes and deſtroy the chriſtians, becauſe all the *Indians* were againſt their planting upon that river; it was therefore thought fit, as a puniſhment to him, and a terror and example to others, to make him a priſoner with all his chief men, and ſend them into *Spain*, and that his town ſhould remain at the diſpoſal of the chriſtians.

To this purpoſe, the lieutenant on the 30th of *March*, went with 76 men to the town or village of *Veragua*; and becauſe I call it a town or village, it is to be obſerved that in thoſe parts their houſes are not cloſe together, but they live as in *Biſcay* at ſome diſtance from one another. When *Quibio* underſtood that the lieutenant was come near, he ſent him word not to come up to his houſe, which ſtood upon a hill above the river of *Veragua*; and the lieutenant, that he might not fly for fear of him, reſolved to go with only five men, ordering thoſe he left behind to come after him, two and two, at ſome diſtance from one another; and when they heard a muſquet fired, they ſhould beſet the houſe, that none might eſcape. Being come up to the houſe, *Quibio* ſent another meſſenger, bidding him not go in, for he would come out to talk to him, tho' he was wounded with an arrow, which they do that their women may not be ſeen, being wonderful jealous of them. Accordingly he came and ſat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did ſo, ordering the reſt to fall on, as ſoon as he laid hold of his arm. He aſked the *Cacique* ſome queſtions concerning his indiſpoſition, and the affairs of the country by the aſſiſtance of an *Indian* he had, whom we had taken not far off, above three months ſince, and he willingly went along with us. This man was then much afraid, for knowing that *Quibio* deſign'd to deſtroy all the chriſtians, and not knowing our ſtrength, he thought that might eaſily be done by the great multitude of people there was in that province. But the lieutenant minded not his fear, and pretending to look where the *Cacique* was wounded, he took him by the arm, and tho' they were both very ſtrong, yet the lieutenant took ſuch good hold, that he loſt it not till the other four came up, which done, one of them fired a muſquet, and on a ſudden all the chriſtians running out of their ambuſh, beſet the houſe, in which there were thirty people great and ſmall, moſt of which were taken, and never a one wounded, for they ſeeing their king taken, would make no reſiſtance. Among theſe there were ſome wives and children of *Quibio*, and other men of note, who offered great wealth, ſaying, there was a great treaſure in the adjoining wood, and they would give it all for their ranſom. But the lieutenant not regarding their promiſes, ordered *Quibio*, with his wives and children, and the principal men, to be carried aboard, before the countrey took the alarm, ſtaying himſelf there with moſt of the men, to go after his kindred and ſubjects who were fled. Then having conſulted with the captains and chief men, whom they ſhould intruſt to conduct the priſoners to the mouth of the river; he at laſt delivered them to *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, a pilot, and a man in good reputation, he offering to carry them, the *Cacique* being bound hands and feet; and this pilot being charged to take ſpecial care that the *Cacique* ſhould not eſcape, he anſwered, he would give them leave to pull of his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his cuſtody, and went down the river of *Veragua*. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and *Quibio* complaining that his hands were too hard bound, *John Sanchez* out of compaſſion, looſed him from the ſeat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, *Quibio* obſerving he did not mind him, threw himſelf into the water; and *John Sanchez* not being able to hold faſt the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and thoſe in the boat being all in a confuſion, they could not ſee or hear where he got aſhore, ſo that they heard no more of him than if a ſtone had fallen into the water: That the like might not happen with the reſt of the priſoners, they held on their way to the ſhips with much ſhame for their careleſſneſs and overſight. The next day the lieutenant perceiving the countrey was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular towns, but one houſe here, and another at a great diſtance, and that it would be very difficult to purſue the *Indians* from place to place, he reſolved to return to the ſhips with his men, not one of them being either killed or wounded. He preſented

The Cacique *apprehended.*

Makes his eſcape.

preſented the admiral with the plunder of *Quibio*'s houſe, worth about 300 ducats in gold plates, little eagles, and ſmall quills which they ſtring and wear about their arms and legs, and in gold twiſts which they put about their head in the nature of a coronet. All which things, deducting only the 5th part for their catholick majeſties, he divided among thoſe that went upon the expedition: And to the lieutenant, in token of victory, was given one of thoſe crowns or coronets above-mention'd.

CHAP. XCVIII.

How after the admiral was gone from Belem *to return to* Spain, Quibio *aſſaulted the chriſtian colony, in which engagement there were many killed and wounded.*

ALL things being provided for the maintenance of the colony, and the rules and methods for them to be govern'd by, ſettled by the admiral, it pleaſed God to ſend ſo much rain, as ſwelled the river and open'd the mouth of it; wherefore the admiral reſolved to depart with all ſpeed for *Hiſpaniola*, to ſend ſpeedy ſupplies to this place. Having waited for a calm that the ſea might not beat upon the mouth of the river, he went out with three ſhips, the boats going a-head and towing us. Yet never a one went out ſo cleverly, but his keel raced upon the ſand, and had been in danger notwithſtanding the calm but that thoſe are looſe moving ſands. Then we preſently took in all we had unladed to lighten the ſhips that they might get out. As we lay waiting for a fair wind upon the open coaſt, a league from the mouth of the river, it pleaſed God miraculouſly to give us an occaſion of ſending the admiral's boat aſhore as well for water, as for other neceſſary affairs, that by the loſs of theſe both thoſe aſhore, and thoſe in the ſhips might be ſaved, which happened thus. When *Quibio* and the *Indians* ſaw that the ſhips were without, and could not relieve them that were left behind, they aſſaulted the chriſtian colony at the ſame time that the boat came to the ſhore. They having not been diſcover'd by reaſon of the thickneſs of the wood, when they came within ten paces of our mens houſes, fell on with great ſhouts, caſting javelins at thoſe they ſpied, and at the very houſes, which being covered with palm-tree leaves, were eaſily ſtruck through and through, and ſo ſometimes they wounded thoſe within. Having thus ſurprized our men thinking of no ſuch thing, they wounded 4 or 5 before they could put themſelves into a poſture of defence. But the lieutenant being a man of great reſolution, he went out againſt the enemy with a ſpear, encouraging his men, and falling furiouſly on the *Indians*, with 7 or 8 that followed him, ſo that he made them retire to the wood, which (as we ſaid) was cloſe to the houſes. Thence they returned and ſkirmiſh'd, caſting their javelins and then retiring, as the *Spaniards* uſe to do in the ſport they call *Juego de Canas*, many of them flying from the chriſtians after they had felt the edge of their ſwords, and the teeth of a dog, who furiouſly fell in among them; ſo that at length they fled, having killed one chriſtian and wounded 7, one of which was the lieutenant, who was hurt with a javelin in the breaſt; from which danger two chriſtians took care to preſerve themſelves, which ſtory I will relate to ſhow the comicalneſs of the one, who was an *Italian* of *Lombardy*, and the gravity of the other who was a *Spaniard*. The *Lombard* running haſtily to hide himſelf in a houſe, *James Mendez*, of whom mention will be made hereafter, ſaid to him, turn, turn back *Sebaſtian*, whither are you going? He anſwered, let me go, you devil, for I am going to ſecure my perſon. The *Spaniard* was captain *James Triſtan*, whom the admiral ſent aſhore in the boat, who never went out of it with his men, tho' the fray was juſt by the river; and being blamed by ſome for not aſſiſting the chriſtians, he anſwered, he ſaid he did it that thoſe aſhore might not run to the boat and ſo all periſh, becauſe if the boat were loſt, the admiral would be in danger at ſea, and therefore he would do no more than he had been commanded, which was to take in water, and to ſee whether there was any need of his aſſiſtance. Reſolving therefore to take in the water immediately, that he might carry the admiral an account of what had happen'd, he went up the river for it, where the ſweet did not mix with the ſalt, tho' ſome adviſed him not to go, for the danger there was of the *Indians* and their canoes; to which he anſwered, he did not fear that danger, ſince he was ſent for that purpoſe by the admiral. Accordingly he went up the river, which is very deep within, and ſhelter'd on both ſides with abundance of trees, which come to the edge of the water and ſo thick that there is ſcarce any going aſhore, except in ſome places which are the fiſhermen's paths, and where they hide their canoes. As ſoon as the *Indians* perceived he was got about a league from the colony up the river, they ruſhed out from the thickeſt on both ſides the river in their canoes, and making a hideous noiſe, blowing

The admiral ſails.

Indians *attack the new Colony.*

Indians *kill all the* Spaniards *in the boats.*

ing their horns, aſſaulting him boldly on all ſides with great odds on their ſide, becauſe their canoes being ſwift, and one man being enough to command and turn them which way they pleaſe, eſpecially thoſe that are little and belong to the fiſhermen, three or four men came in each of them, one of whom row'd, and the reſt caſt their javelins at thoſe in the boat; I call them javelins becauſe of their bigneſs, tho' they have no iron-heads, but only points of fiſh-bones. There being but ſeven or eight men in our boat who row'd, and the captain with three or four men for fight, they could not cover themſelves againſt the many javelins they threw at them, and therefore they were forced to quit the oars to take up their targets. But there was ſuch a multitude of *Indians*, who pour'd in on all ſides, coming up and retiring in good order, as they thought fit, that they wounded moſt of the chriſtians, eſpecially the captain, who was hurt in many places; and tho' he ſtood unmoved incouraging his men, it availed him nothing; for he was beſet on all ſides, and could not ſtir, nor make uſe of his muſquets, till at laſt they ſtruck a javelin into his eye, and he fell down dead; and all the reſt came to the like fate, except one *John de Noia* of *Sevil*, who by good luck in the height of the fray fell into the water, and diving got to the ſhore, and made his way through the thickeſt of the wood to the colony, to carry the news of what had happened. This ſo terrified our men, that ſeeing they were but a few, ſome of their companions being kill'd and others wounded, and that the admiral was at ſea without a boat, and in danger not to return to a place whence he might ſend them relief, they reſolved not to ſtay there; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without any orders, had not the mouth of the river hindred, the bad weather having ſhut it up again; for neither could the ſhip they had left them get out, nor durſt any boat attempt it, becauſe the ſea beat ſo violently, ſo that there was no ſending the admiral advice of what had happened. He was in no leſs danger himſelf, riding in an open road, having no boat and but few men, ſo many having been killed: So that we were all in the ſame trouble and confuſion, as they were within, who conſidering what had happened, and ſeeing thoſe that had been killed in the boat drive down the river covered with wounds, and followed by the countrey crows, look'd upon theſe things as ill omens, and dreaded coming to the ſame end; and the more becauſe they perceived the *Indians* were puffed up with their ſucceſs, inſomuch that they gave them not a minute's reſpite by reaſon of the ill ſituation of the colony; and there is no doubt but that they muſt have all ſuffer'd, had they not adviſed to remove to an open ſtrand eaſtward, where they made a work round them with the caſks and other things, and planting the cannon in convenient places defending themſelves, the *Indians* not daring to come out of the wood, becauſe of the miſchief the bullets did among them.

CHAP. XCIX.

How the Indians *that were kept priſoners aboard made their eſcape, and the admiral was informed of the ſucceſs of his men.*

Some Indians *ſwim aſhore, others hang themſelves.*

WHilſt theſe things happen'd, the admiral waited ten days with much trouble, and ſuſpecting what might fall out, till the ſea would ſettle, that he might ſend another boat to know what it was that detain'd the firſt; but fortune thwarting him in all things, would not allow us to hear of one another; and to add to our affliction, it happened that the ſons and kindred of *Quibio*, whom we kept priſoners aboard the ſhip *Bermuda*, to carry them to *Spain*, found means to eſcape thus. At night they were kept under hatches, and the ſcuttle being ſo high that they could not reach it, the watch forgot to faſten it with a chain as they uſed to do, eſpecially becauſe ſome ſeamen lay upon it. The priſoners therefore one night gathering the ſtones that were in the hold under the ſcuttle, and raiſing themſelves on them, ſet their ſhoulders againſt it, and forced it open, tumbling thoſe that lay on it over and over, and ſome of the principal men leaping out, caſt themſelves into the ſea. The ſeamen taking the alarm, many of them could not get out; and the ſcuttle being faſtened with the chain, better care was taken; but thoſe that remained in deſpair, becauſe they could not get off with their companions, hang'd themſelves with the ropes they could come at, and ſo were found the next morning, their feet and knees dragging upon the bottom of the hold, the place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, ſo that all the priſoners aboard that ſhip eſcaped or died. Tho' this loſs was not material to the ſhips, yet beſides that it increaſed the number of misfortunes, it was

fear'd

fear'd it might be hurtful to thoſe aſhore; becauſe *Quibio* would willingly have made peace with them to get his children, and now there being no hoſtage left, there was cauſe to ſuſpect he would make war with the greater fury. Being thus afflicted amidſt ſo many troubles and diſaſters, having nothing to truſt to but our anchors and cables, without knowing any thing from ſhore, there wanted not thoſe, who ſaid, that ſince thoſe *Indians* only to obtain their liberty, had ventured to leap into the ſea above a league from ſhore, they to ſave themſelves, and ſo many more, would be content to ſwim aſhore, provided that boat which remained would carry them as far as where the waves did not break. I ſay one boat remain'd, which was that of the ſhip *Bermuda*, for that of the *Biſcaina*, we ſaid before, was loſt in the fray, ſo that they had only that one boat at preſent among the three ſhips. The admiral hearing theſe ſeamens honeſt propoſal, allow'd of it, and ſo the boat carried them within a muſket ſhot of land, not being able to go nearer without great danger, becauſe of the great waves that broke on it. There one *Peter de Ledeſma*, a pilot of *Sevil*, threw himſelf into the water, and with a good heart got to ſhore, where he learnt the condition our men were in, and how they all unanimouſly ſaid, they would not upon any account remain there in that forlorn condition, and therefore deſired the admiral not to ſail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was ſacrificing of them, and the more becauſe there were already diviſions among them, and they obey'd neither the admiral's brother nor the captains, and all their care was upon the firſt fair weather, to ſecure a canoe and go aboard, becauſe this could not be conveniently done with only one boat that was left them; and if the admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to ſave their lives aboard that ſhip which was left them, and rather truſt fortune than be at the mercy of the *Indians*, who would inhumanly butcher them. With this anſwer *Peter de Ledeſma* returned to the boat which waited for him, and thence to the ſhips, where he gave the admiral an account how matters ſtood.

A Spaniard ſwims aſhore.

CHAP. C.

How the admiral brought off the men he had left at Belem, *and ſtruck over to* Jamaica.

The new colony abandon'd.

THE admiral underſtanding the rout, the confuſion and deſpair thoſe aſhore were in, he reſolved to ſtay and bring them off, tho' not without great danger, becauſe his ſhips lay in an open road, out of all ſhelter, and without hopes of eſcaping had the weather grown more boiſterous. But it pleaſed God in eight days he continued there, the weather mended ſo much, that thoſe aſhore with their boat and large canoes faſt bound together, that they might not over-ſet, began to gather their goods, and every one ſtriving to be none of the laſt, they uſed ſuch diligence, that in two days nothing was left aſhore but the hulk of the ſhip, which by reaſon of the worms was unfit for ſervice. Thus rejoycing we were all together again, we ſailed up that coaſt eaſtward; for tho' all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to *St. Domingo* ſtanding away to the north, yet only the admiral and his brother, knew it was requiſite to run a conſiderable way up that coaſt, before they ſtruck acroſs that gulph that is between the continent and *Hiſpaniola*, which our men were much diſpleaſed at, thinking the admiral deſign'd directly for *Spain*, whereas he neither had proviſions, nor were his ſhips fit for that voyage. But he knowing beſt what was fit to be done, we held on our courſe till we came to *Porto Bello*, where we were forced to leave the ſhip *Biſcaina*, it was ſo leaky, being all worm-eaten through and through. And holding along up the coaſt, we paſs'd by the port we called *Retrete*, and a countrey near which there were abundance of ſmall iſlands, which the admiral called *las Barbas*, but the *Indians* and pilots, call that the territory of the *Cacique Pocoroſa:* Hence we held on ten leagues to the laſt land we ſaw of the continent, called *Marmora*, and on *Monday* the firſt of *May* 1503, we ſtood to the northward, the wind and currents eaſt, which made us lie as near the wind as we could. And tho' all the pilots ſaid, we ſhould be eaſt of the *Caribbee* iſlands, yet the admiral fear'd he ſhould not make *Hiſpaniola*, which proved ſo; for upon *Wedneſday* the 10th of the ſame month of *May*, we were in ſight of two very ſmall and low iſlands, full of tortoiſes, as was all the ſea about, inſomuch that they look'd like little rocks, for which reaſon thoſe iſlands were called *Tortugas* or *Tortoiſes*. Sailing on northwards, on *Friday* following about evening, 30 leagues from thoſe iſlands, we came to thoſe called *Jardin de la Reina*, or *the queen's garden*, which is a great number of iſlands on the ſouth-ſide of *Cuba*. Being here at

Tortugas Iſlands.

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an anchor, ten leagues from *Cuba*, with men and trouble enough, becauſe they had nothing to eat but biſket, with ſome little oil and vinegar, labouring day and night at the pump, becauſe the ſhips were ſo worm-eaten they were ready to ſink, a great ſtorm aroſe in the night, and the ſhip *Bermuda* not being able to ride it out, ran foul of us, and broke our ſtem and its own ſtern, and tho' with much difficulty, becauſe of the roughneſs of the ſea and high wind, it pleas'd God they got looſe from one another; and tho' we caſt all our anchors none would hold but the ſheet-anchor, whoſe cable when day appeared, we found held but by a thread, which if the night had laſted an hour longer, muſt have given way, and all that place being full of rocks, we could not miſs ſpliting upon ſome of thoſe that were a-ſtern us. But it pleaſed God to deliver us here, as he had done from many other dangers. And ſo ſailing hence with much toil, we came to an *Indian* town on the coaſt of *Cuba*, called *Mataia*, where having got ſome refreſhment, we ſailed for *Jamaica*; for the eaſt winds and great currents ſetting weſtward, would not permit us to ſtand for *Hiſpaniola*, eſpecially the ſhips being ſo worm-eaten, that as has been ſaid, we never ceaſed day and night working at three pumps in each of them, and if any one broke, whilſt it was mended, we were forced to ſupply the want of it with kettles. For all this, the night before *Midſummer-Eve*, the water was ſo high in our ſhip, that there was no draining of, for it came almoſt up to the deck; and with much labour we held out in that manner till day appearing we put into a harbour in *Jamaica* called *Puerto Bueno* or *Good Harbour*, which tho' good to take ſhelter againſt a ſtorm, had no freſh water, nor any town near it. Having made the beſt ſhift we could, on the day after the feaſt of St. *John*, we ſet out for another harbour eaſtward, called *Santa Gloria* or *Holy Glory*, which is encloſed with rocks. Being got in, and no longer able to keep the ſhips above water, we run them aſhore as far in as we could, ſtranding them cloſe together board and board, and ſhoaring them up on both ſides, fixed them ſo that they could not budge; and in this poſture the water came up almoſt to the deck, upon which, and the poop and fore-caſtle, were ſheds made for the men to lie in, to ſecure our ſelves, that the *Indians* might not hurt us, becauſe the iſland was not then inhabited or ſubdued by *Chriſtians*.

The admiral runs his ſhips aground.

CHAP. CI.

How the admiral ſent canoes from Jamaica *to* Hiſpaniola, *to give advice that he was caſt aſhore there with his men.*

BEing thus fortified in our ſhips about a bow ſhot from land, the *Indians*, who were a peaceable good natured people, came in their canoes to ſell proviſions, and ſuch things as they had, for our commodities. Therefore, that there might not be ſome diſorder committed among the chriſtians, and that they might not take more in exchange than was fitting, and the others might have their due, the admiral appointed two perſons to overſee the buying of ſuch things as they brought, and to divide daily among the men what was exchanged, becauſe there was nothing left aboard to ſubſiſt on, as well becauſe moſt of the proviſions were ſpent, as for that the reſt was ſpoil'd and ſome loſt when the men came away from *Belem*, where the haſte and confuſion hindred things being brought off as they ſhould. That we might be ſupplied with ſuſtenance, it pleaſed God to direct us to that iſland, which abounds in proviſions, and is inhabited by *Indians*, who are willing enough to trade, and therefore they reſorted from all parts to barter ſuch commodities as they had. For this reaſon, and that the chriſtians might not diſperſe about the iſland, the admiral choſe to fortify himſelf upon the ſea, and not ſettle a dwelling aſhore; becauſe we being naturally diſobedient, no command or puniſhment would have kept the men from running about the countrey, and into the houſes of the *Indians*, to take from them what they found, and thus they would have anger'd their wives and children, which would have cauſed quarrels and made them our enemies, and the taking their proviſions by force, would have reduced us to great want and diſtreſs. This could not happen now, becauſe the men were aboard, and there was no going aſhore without leave, which pleaſed the *Indians*, who ſold two *Huties*, which are little creatures like rabbets, for a bit of tin, and cakes of bread they call *Zabi*, for two or three red or yellow glaſs beads; and when they brought a quantity of any thing, they had a hawk's-bell, and ſometimes we gave a *Cacique* or great man a little looking-glaſs or red cap, or a pair of ſciſſors to pleaſe them. This good order kept the men plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and the *Indians* were well pleaſed with our company.

The admiral's care to prevent diſorders.

pany. But it being requiſite to find ſome means to return to *Spain*, the admiral ſometimes conſulted with the captains and principal men about the means of getting out of that confinement, and at leaſt returning to *Hiſpaniola*; for to ſtay there in hopes ſome ſhips might arrive was a mere folly, and to think to build a veſſel was impoſſible, having neither tools nor workmen fit to do any thing to the purpoſe, but what would take up a long time, and not produce ſuch a veſſel as was fit to ſail againſt the winds and currents that prevail among thoſe iſlands; and therefore it had been only time loſt, and would rather have proved our ruin than relief. Therefor eafter many conſultations, the admiral reſolved to ſend to *Hiſpaniola* to give an account that he was caſt aſhore on that iſland, and deſired a ſhip might be ſent him with proviſions and ammunition. To this purpoſe he made choice of two perſons that might perform it faithfully and couragiouſly, I ſay couragiouſly, becauſe it ſeemed impoſſible to go over from one iſland to the other in canoes, and there was no other way for it: Theſe being boats, as has been ſaid above, made of one ſingle tree hollowed, and ſo contriv'd that when they are loaded, they are not a ſpan above water. Beſides, they muſt be indifferently large for that paſſage, becauſe little ones would be more dangerous, and the biggeſt by reaſon of their own weight were not fit for a long voyage, or to perform what was deſign'd. Two canoes fit for the purpoſe being choſe, the admiral in *July* 1503, ordered *James Mendez de Segura*, his chief ſecretary, to go in one of them with ſix chriſtians and ten *Indians* to row, and in the other he ſent *Bartholomew Fieſco*, a *Genoeſe* gentleman, with the like number of men; that as ſoon as *James Mendez* got over to *Hiſpaniola*, he might continue his journey to *St. Domingo*, which was 250 leagues from the place where we were, and *Fieſco* might return to bring the news that the other was ſafe arrived, and we might not be left in fear leaſt ſome diſaſter had befallen him, which there was much cauſe to fear; conſidering, as has been ſaid, how unfit a canoe is to live upon a rough ſea, eſpecially when there were chriſtians in it; for if there were none but *Indians* the danger had not been ſo great, becauſe they are ſo dexterous, that tho' a canoe overſets when they are half way over, they turn it up again, ſwimming, and get into it. But honour and neceſſity putting men upon bolder attempts than this, the perſons abovementioned took their way along the coaſt of *Jamaica* to the eaſtermoſt point of it, that the *Indians* call *Aoamaquique* from a *Cacique* of that province ſo called, 33 leagues from *Maima*, where we were. There being 30 leagues diſtance between the two iſlands, and nothing in the way but one little iſland or rock eight leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, it was requiſite to expect a calm, in order to croſs over ſo great a ſea in ſuch poor veſſels, which it pleaſed God they ſoon had. Every *Indian* having put aboard his calabaſh of water and *Carrabi*, or ſuch proviſions as they uſe, and the *Chriſtians* with ſwords and targets, and the neceſſary ſuſtenance, they put out to ſea; and the admiral's brother, who went to that point of *Jamaica* to ſee that the *Indians* of the iſland ſhould no way hinder them, ſtaid there till night coming on, he loſt ſight of them, and then returned eaſily towards the ſhips, in his way perceiving the people of the countrey to converſe and be friendly with us.

Canoes ſent over to Hiſpaniola.

CHAP CII.

How the brothers called Porras, *with many of the men, mutiny'd againſt the admiral, ſaying, they would go to* Spain.

WHEN the canoes were gone for *Hiſpaniola*, the men left aboard the ſhips began to fall ſick, as well by reaſon of the hardſhips endur'd during the voyage, as the change of diet; for at preſent they had no *Spaniſh* proviſions, nor wine, nor fleſh, except ſome of thoſe *Huties* we have ſpoke of, they happened to get in exchange. So that thoſe who were found, thinking it very hard to be ſo long confin'd, did not forbear to mutter among themſelves in private; ſaying, the admiral would return into *Spain* no more, becauſe their catholick majeſties had turn'd him off, nor much leſs to *Hiſpaniola*, where he had been refus'd admittance at his coming from *Spain*, and that he had ſent thoſe in the canoes into *Spain* to ſollicit his own affairs, and not to bring ſhips or other ſuccours, and that he deſign'd, whilſt they were ſolliciting their catholick majeſties to ſtay there to fulfil his baniſhment; for otherwiſe *Bartholomew Fieſco* had been come back by this time, as was given out he was to do. Beſides, they knew not, whether he and *James Mendez* were drown'd by the way; which, if it had happened, they ſhould never be reliev'd, if they did not take care for it themſelves, ſince the admiral

Mutiny againſt the admiral.

ral did not ſeem to look to it for the reaſons aforeſaid, and becauſe of the gout, which had ſo ſeiz'd all his limbs, that he could ſcarce ſtir in his bed, much leſs undergo the fatigue and danger of going over to *Hiſpaniola* in canoes. For which reaſons, they ought with a good heart to fix their reſolution, ſince they were well, before they fell ſick, with the reſt, that it would not be in the admiral's power to hinder them; and being once in *Hiſpaniola*, they would be ſo much the better received, by how much the danger they left him in was greater, becauſe of the hatred and enmity born him by the commendary *Lares*, then governor of that iſland; and that when they went into *Spain* they might go to the biſhop *D. John de Fonſeca*, who would favour them, as would the treaſurer *Morales*, who kept for his miſtreſs the ſiſter of thoſe *Porras*'s, the ring-leaders of the mutineers, and chief fomenters of the ſedition, who did not doubt but they ſhould be well received by their catholick majeſties, before whom all the fault would be laid upon the admiral, as had been in the affairs of *Hiſpaniola* with *Roldan*; and their majeſties would the rather ſeize him and take all he had, than be obliged to perform all that was agreed upon between them and him. Theſe and the like arguments they us'd among themſelves, and the perſuaſions and ſuggeſtions of the aforeſaid brothers, one of whom was captain of the ſhip *Bermuda*, and the other controller to the ſquadron, prevail'd with 48 men to join in this conſpiracy, taking *Porras* for their captain; and every one provided what he could againſt the day and hour appointed; and being all ready with their arms, on the 2d of *January* in the morning, the aforeſaid captain *Francis de Porras* came upon the quarter-deck of the admiral's ſhip, and ſaid to him, My lord, what is the meaning that you will not go into *Spain*, and will keep us all here periſhing? The admiral hearing theſe unuſual inſolent words, and ſuſpecting what the matter might be, very calmly anſwer'd, He did not ſee which way they could go, till thoſe that were gone in the canoes ſent a ſhip. That no man was more deſirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private intereſt, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing elſe to propoſe, he would again call together the captains and principal men to conſult, as had been done ſeveral times before. *Porras* replied, It was no time to talk, but that he ſhould embark quickly, or ſtay there by himſelf; and ſo turning his back, added in a loud voice, I am going to *Spain* with thoſe that will follow me, at which time all his followers, who were preſent began to cry out, We will go with you, We will go with you, and running about, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the forecaſtle, poop, and round tops, all in confuſion; and crying, Let them die; others, For *Spain*, for *Spain*; and others, What ſhall we do captain? Though the admiral was then in bed ſo lame of the gout that he could not ſtand; yet he could not forbear riſing and ſtumbling out at this noiſe. But two or three worthy perſons, his ſervants, laid hold of, and with labour laid him in his bed, that the mutineers might not murder him. Then they ran to his brother, who was couragiouſly come out with a half pike in his hand; and wreſting it out of his hands, put him in to his brother, deſiring captain *Porras* to go about his buſineſs, and not do ſome miſchief they might all ſuffer for, that he might be ſatisfied they did not oppoſe his going; but if he ſhould kill the admiral, he could not expect but to be ſeverely puniſh'd, without hopes of any benefit. The tumult being ſomewhat appeas'd, the conſpirators took ten canoes, that were by the ſhip's ſide, and which the admiral had bought all about the iſland, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in ſome port of *Spain*. Upon this, many more, who had no hand in the plot, in deſpair to ſee themſelves as they thought forſaken, taking what they could along with them, went aboard the canoes with them, to the great ſorrow and affliction of thoſe few faithful ſervants, who remain'd with the admiral, and of all the ſick, who thought themſelves loſt for ever, and without hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain, that had the people been well, not 20 men had remain'd with the admiral, who went out to comfort his men with the beſt words the poſture of his affairs would ſuggeſt; and the mutineers, with their captain, *Francis de Porras*, in their canoes, went away for the eaſt-point of the iſland, whence *James Mendez* and *Fieſco* went over for *Hiſpaniola*; and wherefoever they came, they inſulted the *Indians*, taking away their proviſions, and what elſe they pleas'd by force; and telling them, they might go to the admiral and he would pay them, but in caſe he did not, they might kill him, which was the beſt thing they could do; becauſe he was not only hated by the *Chriſtians*, but had been the cauſe of all the miſchief had befallen the *Indians* of the other iſland, and would do the ſame by them, if they did not prevent it by his death, for that was his deſign in ſtaying there. Thus travelling to the eaſtermoſt point of *Jamaica*, the firſt calm they ſet out for *Hiſpaniola*, carrying ſome *Indians* in every canoe to row. But the weather not being well ſettled,

Mutineers go away to the Coaſt of the Iſland.

ſettled, and their canoes overloaded, they reſolv'd to return to *Jamaica* before they were four leagues at ſea, the wind turning againſt them, and they being able to make but little way. Beſides, they not being ſkilful at managing the canoes, it happened a little water flaſh'd in over the ſides; to remedy which, they lightened, throwing all they carried over-board; ſo that nothing remain'd but their arms, and as much proviſion as would ſerve them back. The wind ſtill freſhing, and they thinking themſelves in ſome danger, it was reſolv'd to murder the *Indians*, and throw them into the ſea; this they accordingly executed upon ſome of them; and others, who for fear of death, truſting in their ſkill in ſwimming, leap'd over into the water, and being very weary would hang by the canoes to breath a little, had their hands cut off, and were wounded in other parts; ſo that they butcher'd 18, leaving only a few alive to ſteer the canoes, becauſe they knew not how to do it. And had not the need they had of them prevented it, they had compleated the greateſt act of cruelty imaginable, leaving not one of them alive, after they had by intreaties, and deceitfully drawn them to their aſſiſtance in that dangerous voyage. Being come to ſhore, they differ'd in opinions; for ſome ſaid it was better to go to *Cuba*, and that from that place where they were, they might take the eaſt winds and currents upon their quarter, and ſo run over without any trouble in a ſhort time, and ſo croſs over from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, not knowing they were 17 leagues aſunder: Others ſaid it was better to return to the ſhips, and make their peace with the admiral, or take from him by force what commodities and arms he had left; others were for ſtaying till another calm, to attempt the ſame paſſage again. This being thought the beſt advice, they ſtaid in that town of *Aoamaquique* above a month, waiting for fair weather, and deſtroying the countrey. When the fair weather came, they imbark'd again twice, but made nothing of it, the wind being contrary. Being thus diſappointed of that paſſage, they ſet out towards the weſt from one town to another, with an ill-will, without canoes or any comfort, ſometimes eating what they found, and taking it where they could by force, according to their ſtrength, and that of the *Caciques*, through whoſe territories they paſs'd.

Their Barbarities.

CHAP. CIII.

What the admiral did, after the mutineers were gone from him, and the Advantage he made of an eclipſe.

TO return to what the admiral did, after the rebels were gone, he took great care that the ſick ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch things as were proper for their recovery, and that the *Indians* ſhould be ſo civilly treated that they might not forbear bringing proviſions to exchange for our commodities; which things were ſo well manag'd, and with ſuch application by him, that the *Chriſtians* ſoon recover'd, and the *Indians* continued ſome days providing all things plentifully. But they being a people that take little pains in ſowing; and we eating more in one day than they did in 20; beſides having no longer any inclination to our commodities, and making little account of them, they began in ſome meaſure to take the advice of the mutineers, ſince they ſaw ſo great a part of our men againſt us, and therefore brought not ſuch plenty of proviſions as we ſtood in need of. This brought us to great diſtreſs; for if we would have taken it by force, the greateſt part of us muſt have gone aſhore in warlike manner, and have left the admiral aboard in great danger, he being very ill of the gout; and if we expected they ſhould bring it of their own accord, we muſt live in miſery, and give ten times as much for it as we did at firſt, they knowing how to make their bargains, as being ſenſible of the advantage they had over us. But God, who never forſakes thoſe that have recourſe to him, as the admiral had, put him in the way how he ſhould be furniſh'd with all he wanted, which was thus. He bethought himſelf, that within three days there would be an eclipſe of the moon in the firſt part of the night; and then ſends an *Indian* of *Hiſpaniola*, who was with us, to call the principal *Indians* of that province, ſaying, he would talk with them about a matter of concern. Being come that day before the eclipſe was, he ordered the interpreter to tell them, That we were *Chriſtians*, and believ'd in God, who dwelt in heaven, and took care of the good, and puniſh'd the wicked: That he ſeeing the rebellion of the *Spaniards*, had not permitted them to go over to *Hiſpaniola*, as *James Mendez* and *Fieſco* had done, but had made them run through all thoſe ſufferings and dangers all

The Indians *fail to ſupply the* Spaniards.

the iſland had heard of: That as for the *Indians*, ſeeing how negligent they were in bringing proviſions for our commodities, he was angry with them, and had decreed to puniſh them with plague and famine; which becauſe perhaps they would not believe, God had appointed to give them a manifeſt token of it in the heaven that they might plainly know the puniſhment was to come from him. Therefore, he bid them that night, obſerve when the moon appear'd, and they ſhould ſee her riſe angry and of a bloody hue, to denote the miſchief God intended ſhould fall on them. Having ſaid this to them, the *Indians* went away, ſome afraid, and others looking upon it as an idle ſtory: but the eclipſe beginning as the moon was riſing, and increaſing, the higher ſhe was, the *Indians* took notice of it, and were ſo frighted, that they came running from all parts loaded with proviſions, crying and lamenting, and pray'd the admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the effects of his wrath, and promiſing for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted. The admiral ſaid he would ſpeak with God, and ſhut himſelf up whilſt the eclipſe laſted, they ſtill crying out to him to aſſiſt them; and when the admiral ſaw, the eclipſe began to go off, and the moon would ſoon ſhine, he came out of his cabin, ſaying, He had pray'd to his God for them, and promis'd him in their names they would be good for the future, and uſe the *Chriſtians* well, bringing them proviſions and other neceſſaries; and that therefore God forgave them, and as a token of it they ſhould ſee the angryneſs and bloody colour of the moon would go off. This proving ſo; juſt as he ſpoke it, they gave the admiral many thanks, and prais'd God, continuing ſo till the eclipſe was quite paſs'd. From that time forwards they always took care to provide all that was neceſſary, ever praiſing the God of the *Chriſtians*; for they believ'd the eclipſes they had ſeen at other times, had denoted miſchiefs to befal them; and being ignorant of the cauſe of them, and that they happened at certain times, not believing it poſſible to know on earth, what was to happen in the heavens, they certainly concluded the God of the *Chriſtians* had reveal'd it to the admiral.

CHAP. CIV.

Of another mutiny among thoſe that remain'd with the admiral, which was quell'd by the coming of a veſſel from Hiſpaniola

Another Mutiny.

EIGHT months being paſs'd after *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fieſco* went away, and there being no news of them, the admiral's men were very much caſt down, ſuſpecting the worſt; ſome ſaying they were loſt at ſea; others, that they were kill'd by the *Indians* in *Hiſpaniola*; and others, that they had died with ſickneſs and hardſhips; for from the point of that iſland, which lay next *Jamaica*, there was above 100 leagues to *S. Domingo*, whither they were to go for relief, the way by land being over uncouth mountains, and by ſea againſt the prevailing winds and currents. To confirm their ſuſpicion, ſome *Indians* aſſur'd them they had ſeen a canoe overſet and carried on the coaſt of *Jamaica* by the current, which its likely had been ſpread abroad by the mutineers to make thoſe that were with the admiral deſpair of getting off. They therefore concluding for certain that no relief would come to them; one *Bernard*, an apothecary of *Valencia*, with two companions, whoſe names were *Zamora* and *Villatoro*, and moſt of thoſe that had remain'd ſick, ſecretly conſpir'd together to do the ſame the others had done before. But almighty God, who knew how dangerous this ſecond ſedition muſt be to the admiral, was pleas'd to put a ſtop to it by the coming of a veſſel ſent by the governor of *Hiſpaniola*. It came to an anchor one evening near the ſhips that were a ground; and the captain of it, whoſe name was *James de Eſcobar*, came in his boat to viſit the admiral, ſaying, The commendary and governor of *Hiſpaniola* ſent him his commendations; and not being able ſo ſoon to ſend a ſhip fit to carry off all thoſe men, had ſent him in his name to viſit him, and preſenting him a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon, return'd to his caraval, and without taking any letter, ſail'd away that very evening. The men, ſomewhat comforted with his coming, took no notice of what they had conſpir'd to do; tho' at the ſame time they much wondred that the caraval had ſtole away ſo privately, and in ſuch haſte; and they ſuſpected, that perhaps the governor of *Hiſpaniola* would not have the admiral go thither. He being aware of it, told them he had ſo ordered it, becauſe he would not go away without carrying them all off, which that caraval was not big enough to perform; he being willing to prevent any diſorders his ſtay might occaſion, from the mutineers. But the

Baſe Practice of the Governor of Hiſpaniola.

the governor of *Hiſpaniola* was afraid that if the admiral return'd to *Spain*, their catholick majeſties would reſtore him to his government, and ſo he ſhould be forced to quit it; for which reaſon he would not provide, as he might have done, for the admiral's voyage to *Hiſpaniola*; and therefore had ſent that little caraval to ſpy and obſerve the condition the admiral was in; and to know whether he could contrive with ſafety to have him deſtroyed, which he knew, by what had happened to *James Mendez*, who ſent an account of his voyage in writing, by the caraval, which was as follows.

CHAP. CV.

An account of what happened to James Mendez, *and* Fieſco *in their voyage.*

JAMES Mendez, and *Fieſco*, ſetting out from *Jamaica*, that day they found the weather ſettled calm, and ſo held on till night, encouraging and perſuading the *Indians* to row with thoſe paddles they uſe inſtead of oars; and the weather being violently hot, they would ſometimes leap into the water and ſwim, and then come freſh again to row. Thus holding on their way, at ſun-ſet they loſt ſight of land, and half the *Chriſtians* and *Indians* taking their watch together at night to row, and take care the *Indians* ſhould not prove treacherous, they advanced all that night without ſtaying, ſo that when day appeared they were all weary enough. But the commanders encouraging their men, and ſometimes rowing to give a good example; after eating to recover their ſtrength, and the fatigue of the night, they fell to their labour again, ſeeing nothing but ſky and water. And tho' this was enough to afflict them ſufficiently, yet we may ſay of them that they were in *Tantalus* his condition; who having water within a ſpan of his mouth, could not quench his thirſt; ſo they were in diſtreſs; for through the ill management of the *Indians*, and the great heat of the foregoing day and night, all the water was drank up, without any regard to the future: And all heat and labour being intolerable without drink, the higher the ſun aſcended the ſecond day after they ſet out, the more the heat and thirſt increaſed, ſo that by noon they had no ſtrength left. And as upon ſuch occaſions, the head is bound to ſupply the defect of the hands and feet; ſo by good fortune, the captains found two caſks of water, wherewith now and then relieving the *Indians*, they kept them up till the cool of the evening, encouraging them, and affirming they ſhould be ſoon near a ſmall iſland called *Nabazza*, which lay in their way eight leagues diſtant from *Hiſpaniola*. This with their extraordinary thirſt, and the labour of rowing two days and a night, quite caſt them down, believing they had loſt their way; for according to their reckoning they had run 20 leagues, and ought now to be in ſight of the iſland. But it was wearineſs that deceived them, as well becauſe a canoe that rows well cannot in a day and night row above 10 leagues, as by reaſon the currents are againſt them that go from *Jamaica* to *Hiſpaniola*, which they always judge to be more that ſuffer moſt by it. Night being come, having thrown one into the ſea who died with thirſt, and others lying ſtretch'd out on the bottom of the canoe, they were ſo afflicted in mind, and ſo weak and ſpent, that they hardly made any way. Yet, taking ſometimes ſea-water to refreſh their mouths, which we may ſay was the comfort given our ſaviour, when he ſaid, *I thirſt*; they gently held on their way till the ſecond night came on without ſight of land: But they being of thoſe God intended to ſave, it pleaſed him, that in that time of need, when the moon began to riſe, *James Mendez* perceiv'd ſhe got up over-land, for a little iſland cover'd her in the nature of an eclipſe. Nor could they have ſeen it otherwiſe, becauſe it was ſmall, and at that time of night. Comforting them chearfully, and ſhowing them the land, he ſo encouraged them, ſupplying them in their great thirſt with a little water out of the barrels, that the next morning they found themſelves near the ſmall iſland, we ſaid was 8 leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, and called *Nabazza*. They found it to be all round a hard rock, and about half a league in circumference. Landing there the beſt they could, they all gave God thanks for that mercy; and there being no ſpring nor tree, they went about taking up rain-water with their calabaſhes, which lay in holes among the rocks; which it pleas'd God to give them ſuch plenty of, that they fill'd their bellies and veſſels; and tho' the wiſer ſort advis'd the others to uſe moderation in drinking, yet thirſt made ſome of the *Indians* exceed all meaſure, whereof ſome died there, and others got deſperate diſtempers. Having reſted that day till evening, diverting themſelves, and eating ſuch things as they found along the ſhore; for *James Mendez* had all utenſils to ſtrike fire, rejoycing to be in ſight of *Hiſpaniola*; and fearing ſome bad weather might ſtart up, they made ready to put an end to their voyage, and accordingly about ſun-ſetting in the cool of the evening, they ſet out towards cape *St. Michael*, the neareſt land of *Hiſpaniola*, where they arriv'd the next morning

Great Diſtreſs for thirſt.

Nabazza Iſland.

morning, being the fourth day after they ſet out. When they had reſted here two days, *Bartholomew Fieſco*, who was a gentleman that ſtood upon his honour, would have return'd as the admiral had commanded him, but the men who were ſailors, and *Indians*; being ſpent and in diſpos'd with their paſt labour, and drinking ſea-water, and thought they had been delivered out of the whales belly, their 3 days and nights anſwering to thoſe *Jonas* lay there, he could not get a man to go with him. *James Mendez*, as being moſt in haſte, was gone up the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola* in his canoe, notwithſtanding he ſuffer'd under a quartan ague caus'd by his great ſufferings at ſea and at land, in that condition, travelling over mountains and bad roads, he came to *Xaragua*, which is a province in the weſt of *Hiſpaniola*, where the governor then was, who ſeem'd to rejoyce at his coming, tho' afterwards he was tedious in diſpatching him, for the cauſes abovemention'd, till after much importunity, it was obtain'd of him, that he ſhould give *James Mendez* leave to go to St. *Domingo*, there to buy and fit out a veſſel with the admiral's money; which ſhip being by him got ready, was ſent to *Jamaica* at the latter end of *May* 1504, and ſailed for *Spain*, according to the admiral's direction, to give their catholick majeſties an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage.

CHAP. CVI.

How the mutineers ſet themſelves againſt the admiral, and would hear of no agreement.

The admiral ſends and offers pardon to the mutineers.

NOW to return to the admiral, who with all his company had now receiv'd ſome comfort and certain hopes of being delivered, by the account of *James Mendez* his arrival, and the coming of the caraval; he therefore thought fit to make it known to the mutineers, that their jealouſy ceaſing, they might return to their duty. He therefore ſent two men of note, who had friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or at leaſt not ſeem to believe the coming of the caraval, he ſent them part of the bacon, the captain of it had preſented him. Theſe two being come where captain *Porras* was, with thoſe he confided moſt in, he came out to meet them, that they might not move, or perſuade the men to repent them of the crime they had committed, imagining, as the truth was, that the admiral ſent them a general pardon. Yet it was not in the power of the brothers ſo to curb their men, but that they heard the news of the coming of the caraval, the health of thoſe that were with the admiral, and the offers he made them. After ſeveral conſultations among themſelves, and the principal men, the reſult was, that they would not truſt to the pardon the admiral ſent them, but would go peaceably away to *Hiſpaniola*, if he would promiſe to give them a ſhip to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, he ſhould aſſign them half of it; and in the mean while, becauſe they had loſt their clothes, and commodities they had to trade upon the ſea, he ſhould ſhare what he had with them. To which the meſſengers anſwering, that thoſe were no reaſonable propoſals, they interrupted them ſaying, that ſince it was not granted them by fair means, they would have it by force. Thus they diſmiſs'd the admiral's meſſengers, miſinterpreting his offers, and telling their followers, that he was a cruel revengeful man; and tho' they fear'd nothing for themſelves, becauſe the admiral durſt not preſume to wrong them, becauſe of the favour they had at court, yet they had reaſon to fear he would be reveng'd on the reſt, under colour of juſt puniſhment; and that for this reaſon; *Roldan* and his friends in *Hiſpaniola* had not truſted him, nor his offers, and it ſucceeded well with them, they finding ſo much favour, that they had him ſent into *Spain* in irons. And that the coming of the caraval with the news of *James Mendez*, might make no impreſſion on them, they intimated to them, that it was no true caraval, but a phantom made by art magick, the admiral being very ſkilful in that art, alledging, it was not at all likely, that if it had really been a caraval, the men aboard it would not have had ſome further diſcourſe with thoſe about the admiral, but would have vaniſh'd ſo ſoon. Nay, it was more probable, that had it been a caraval, the admiral himſelf would have gone aboard it, with his ſon and brother. With theſe and other words to this purpoſe, they again confirm'd them in their rebellion; and then brought them to reſolve to repair to the ſhips to take what they found by force, and ſecure the admiral.

The rebels obſtinate.

CHAP. CVII.

How the mutineers being come to the ſhips, the admiral's brother went out to fight them, overcame them, and took Porras *their captain.*

THE mutineers continuing obſtinate in their wicked reſolution, came to a town of the *Indians* within a quarter of a league of the ſhips, then called *Maima*, where afterwards the *Chriſtians* built the town they called *Sevil*; which the admiral under-

underſtanding, and being inform'd of their deſign, he reſolved to ſend his brother againſt them, to endeavour to reduce them by good words; but ſo attended, that if they offer'd him any wrong, he might be able to oppoſe them. To this purpoſe, the lieutenant drew out 50 men, well arm'd, and ready for any ſervice. Theſe being come to a ſmall hill, a bow-ſhot from the town where the rebels were, ſent thoſe two before, who had gone on the firſt meſſage, to require them to be peaceable, and that their captain ſhould come peaceably to a conference. But they being nothing inferior in ſtrength or number, and almoſt all ſeamen, perſuaded themſelves, that thoſe who came with the lieutenant were weak men, and would not fight them; therefore they would not permit the meſſengers to talk to them, but with their naked ſwords, and the ſpears, they had all in a body, crying, Kill, kill, fell upon the lieutenant's party; ſix of the rebels, who were accounted the boldeſt, having taken an oath, not to part, but go directly againſt the lieutenant, for if he were kill'd, they made no account of the reſt; wherein it pleas'd God they were diſappointed; for they were ſo well received, that 5 or 6 of them drop'd at the firſt charge, moſt of them being of thoſe that aim'd at the lieutenant, who fell upon his enemies in ſuch manner, that in a very ſhort time, *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, from whom *Quibio* made his eſcape, was kill'd, as was *John Barba*; the firſt I ſaw draw his ſword when they ran into rebellion, and ſome others fell very much wounded, and *Francis de Porras* their captain was taken. Seeing themſelves ſo roughly handled like baſe rebellious people, they turn'd their backs and fled as faſt as they could. The lieutenant would have purſued, had not ſome of the chief men about him been againſt it, ſaying, it was good to puniſh, but not ſo ſeverely, leſt when he had killed many of them, the *Indians* ſhould think fit to fall upon the victors, ſince he ſaw they were all in arms, waiting the event of the fray, without taking either ſide. The lieutenant approving of the advice, return'd to the ſhips, carrying along with him the captain of the rebels and ſome other priſoners, where he was well receiv'd by the admiral, his brother, and thoſe that had remain'd with him, all of them giving thanks to God for that victory, which they attributed to him, and wherein the guilty had receiv'd their juſt puniſhment, and their pride been humbled, none being wounded on our ſide but the lieutenant in his hand, and one of the admiral's gentlemen of the chamber, who died of a ſmall wound he receiv'd with a ſpear in his hip. But to return to the rebels, *Peter de Ledeſma*, that pilot we mention'd above, who went with *Vincent Yanez* to *Honduras*, and ſwam aſhore at *Belem*, fell down certain rocks, and lay hid that day and the next, till the evening, no body aſſiſting him, or knowing where he was, except the *Indians*, who with amazement, not knowing how our ſwords would cut, with little ſticks opened his wounds, one of which was in his head, and his brains were ſeen thro' it, another on his ſhoulder, ſo large that his arm hung, as it were, looſe, and the calf of one leg almoſt cut off, ſo that it hung down to his ankle, and one foot, as if it had a ſlipper on it, being ſliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithſtanding all which deſperate hurts, when the *Indians* diſturb'd him, he would ſay, Let me alone, for if I get up, *&c.* And they at theſe words would fly in a great conſternation. This being known aboard the ſhips, he was carried into a thatch'd houſe hard by, where the dampneſs and gnats were enough to have kill'd him. Here inſtead of turpentine, they dreſs'd his wounds with oil, and he had ſo many, beſides thoſe already mention'd, that the ſurgeon who dreſs'd him ſwore, that for the firſt 8 days, he ſtill found out new ones; and yet at laſt he recover'd, the gentleman of the chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no danger. The next day, being the 20th of *May*, all thoſe that had eſcap'd, ſent a petition to the admiral, humbly begging he would be merciful to them, for they repented them of what was paſt, and were ready to ſubmit themſelves to him. The admiral granted their requeſt, and paſs'd a general pardon, upon condition the captain ſhould continue a priſoner, as he was, that he might not raiſe another mutiny. And becauſe they could not be ſo eaſy, and conveniently aboard the ſhips, and there might ariſe ſome provoking words among the common ſort, which would cauſe diſturbance, and rub up old ſores, which might be the cauſe of freſh tumults, and becauſe it would be a hard matter to quarter, and maintain ſo many men conveniently, thoſe few there were beginning to ſuffer want, he reſolv'd to ſend them a commander with commodities to exchange, that he might go with them about the iſland, and contain them within the bounds of juſtice, till ſuch time as the ſhips came, which he daily expected.

The rebels routed.

A wonderful account of a wounded man.

The rebels ſubmit, and are pardoned.

CHAP. CVIII.

How the admiral went over to Hiſpaniola, *and thence into* Spain, *where at* Valladolid *it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf.*

THE chriſtians being all again return'd to their duty, and the *Indians* for that ſame reaſon being more careful to ſupply them for their commodities, ſome days paſs'd

paſs'd which made up a year ſince we arrived at *Jamaica*. After which, there arrived a ſhip, which *James Mendez* had bought and fitted out at *St. Domingo* with the admiral's money, aboard which all the men, as well enemies as friends, were ſhipped, and ſetting ſail on the 28th of *June*, we proceeded on our voyage with much difficulty, the winds and currents, as we have ſaid before, being very contrary to go from *Jamaica* to *St. Domingo*, where we arrived in great need of reſt, on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1504, and the governor made a great reception for the admiral, lodging him in his own houſe; tho' this was a treacherous kindneſs; for on the other ſide, he ſet *Porras* who had headed the mutineers at liberty, and attempted to puniſh thoſe who had a hand in apprehending of him, and to try other cauſes and offences that belong'd only to their catholick majeſties, who had appointed the admiral captain general of their fleet; and yet he fawned upon the admiral, uſing all demonſtrations of kindneſs in his preſence. This laſted till our ſhip was refitted, and another hired, on which the admiral, his kindred and ſervants embark'd, moſt of the reſt remaining in *Hiſpaniola*. We ſailed on the 2d of *September*, and being but two leagues at ſea, the maſt of the ſhip came by the board; for which reaſon the admiral cauſed it to return into the harbour, and we in the other held on our courſe for *Spain*. Having run about the 3d part of the way, there aroſe ſuch a terrible ſtorm, that the ſhip was in great danger. The next day, which was the 19th of *October*, the weather being fair, and we very ſtill, the maſt flew into four pieces; but the courage of the lieutenant, and the admiral's ingenuity, tho' he could not riſe out of his bed for the gout, found a remedy for this misfortune, making a jury-maſt of a yard, and ſtrengthening the middle of it with ropes, and ſome planks they took from the poop and ſtern. In another ſtorm we ſpent our foremaſt, and yet it pleaſed God we ſailed 700 leagues in that condition, and arrived at the port of *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, and thence to *Sevil*, where the admiral took ſome reſt after the fatigues he had gone through; and in *May* 1505, ſet out for the catholick king's court; for the glorious queen *Iſabel* had the year before exchanged this life for a better, which was no ſmall trouble to the admiral, ſhe having always favoured and ſupported him, whereas the catholick king had proved unkind and averſe to his affairs, which plainly appeared by the reception he gave him; for tho' to appearance he ſhow'd him a favourable aſpect, and pretended to reſtore him to his full power, yet he would have quite ſtript him of all, had not ſhame hindred him; which, as has been ſaid, has great power over noble ſpirits; and the king himſelf and queen had both ingag'd their faith to him, when he went upon his laſt voyage. But the *Indies* daily more and more diſcovering what they were like to be, and the king perceiving how great a ſhare fell to the admiral, by virtue of the articles granted him, he ſtrove to have the abſolute dominion in himſelf, and to diſpoſe of all thoſe employments which belong'd to the admiral, according to his own will and pleaſure. Hereupon he began to propoſe new terms to him, by way of equivalent, which God would not permit to take effect; becauſe juſt then king *Philip* I. came to reign in *Spain*; and at the time his catholick majeſty went from *Valladolid* to meet him, the admiral much oppreſs'd with the gout, and troubled to ſee himſelf put by his right, other diſtempers coming on him, gave up his ſoul to God upon *Aſcenſion-Day*, being the 20th of *May* 1506, at the aforeſaid city of *Valladolid*, having devoutly received all the ſacraments of the church, and ſaid theſe words laſt, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit*; which through his infinite mercy we do not queſtion but he received into his glory: To which may he admit us with him.

His body was afterwards convey'd to *Sevil*, and there by the catholick king's order magnificently buried in the cathedral, and an epitaph in *Spaniſh* cut on his tomb, in memory of his renowned actions, and diſcovery of the *Indies*. The words are theſe:

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

That is,

Columbus *gave* Caſtile *and* Leon *a new world*.

words well worth obſerving, becauſe the like cannot be found either among the ancients or moderns.

It will therefore be ever remembred, that he was the diſcoverer of the *Weſt-Indies*, tho' ſince then, *Ferdinand Cortez* and *Francis Pizarro* have found out many other provinces and vaſt kingdoms on the continent; for *Cortez* diſcovered the province of *Yucatan*, and the city of *Mexico*, called *New Spain*, then poſſeſs'd by the great *Montezeuma*, emperor of thoſe parts; and *Francis Pizarro* found out the kingdom of *Peru*, which is of a vaſt extent, and full of endleſs wealth, which was under the dominion of the great king *Atabaliba*. From which countries and kingdoms there come every year into *Spain*, many ſhips laden with gold, ſilver, brazil, cochineal, ſugar, and many other commodities of great value, beſides pearls and other jewels, which are the cauſe that at this time *Spain* and its princes flouriſh and abound in wealth.

Pyrami-

Pyramidographia:

OR, A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PYRAMIDS

IN

Æ G Y P T.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Professor of Astronomy in the University of* Oxford.

Romanorum Fabricæ & antiqua opera (cum veniâ id dictum sit) nihil accedunt ad Pyramidum splendorem, & superbiam.
Bellon. lib. II. Observ. cap. 42.

This LETTER *underneath was written by Mr.* Greaves *to the famous* Claudius Hardy, *who publiſhed* EUCLID's *DATA, and was in great Eſteem for his Learning in the Mathematicks, and his skill in the Oriental Languages.*

Clariſſimo Doctiſſimoque Viro D. C. H.

QUatuor anni elapſi ſunt (vir clariſſimè) ex quo propter longinquam peregrinationem à me in Orientem ſuſceptam, nulla mihi opportunitas data eſt, affectum, ſincerúmque tibi animum teſtandi. Tandem favente NUMINE, ſalvo & incolumi reverſo, conceditur nonnihil otii, & de periculis præteritis, & de amicis veteribus, cogitandi. Inter quos ſi rectè de humanitate, ſtudiiſque tuis judico, nemo erit qui de reditu meo, majori, quàm tu, lætitiâ afficiatur. Eáque tantò erit accumulatior, cùm intellexeris iter tam periculoſum non alias ob cauſas initum, niſi ut linguis orientalibus, & ſtudiis aſtronomicis, peregrè feliciùs incumberem, in quibus utriſque quantum profeceris, eruditis tuis ſcriptis, literatis omnibus ſatis comprobaſti. Quapropter breviter, ſtrictimque, ubi commoratus ſim, quid præſtiterim, & quos libros mecum adduxerim, pro veteri amicitiâ tibi indicabo. Primum annum Conſtantinopoli egi, ut me totum linguæ Arabicæ addicerem, ſed ſpe falſus, idoneis deſtitutus magiſtris, ad alias curas animum induxi, eúmque diligenti librorum MSS. diſquiſitioni applicui. Quo quidem in genere non pœnitendam operam locavi. Nam præter varios codices Arabicos, Perſicos, Turcicos, propemodum de univerſis ſcientiis ſcriptos, & præter lexica melioris notæ tribus hiſce linguis deſervientia, coemi inſuper penè omnes antiquos mathematicos Græcos, in idioma Arabicum ante aliquot ſæcula traductos, unà cum operibus præcipuè aſtronomorum recentium, apud Arabes, & Indos, maximè inſignium. Inter verò illos antiquos, non leviter gaudeo adhuc ſuperſtites reperiri, quatuor libros Apollonii Pergæi geometræ ſubtiliſſimi,

في قطع المخطوط على النسب

quorum Pappus, aliique meminerunt. Conſtantinopoli cum claſſe Turcicâ ſolvi, eo anni tempore, quo ſolent, multis navigiis ſimul, pro more gentis, Alexandriam petere. Fretus ſatis proſperâ navigatione Rhodum appuli, ubi, propter auctoritatem Poſidonii, clanculùm in ſubmœnianis Chriſtianorum hortis altitudinem ſolis ſæpe ob-

To the moſt worthy and moſt learned D. *C. D.*

IT is now four years, worthy ſir, ſince my long travels into the Eaſt *have deprived me of the opportunity of giving you ſome teſtimony of my affection, and ſincere inclinations to you. Being at length, by the help of* GOD, *returned in ſafety, I have ſome leiſure to think on paſt dangers, and old friends; among whom, if I be not miſtaken in your favour and inclinations, none will more rejoice at my return than you. And your ſatisfaction will be the greater, when you underſtand that I undertook ſo dangerous a journey upon no other account, but to apply my ſelf more ſucceſsfully in foreign parts, to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and the oriental languages; in both which, how great a proficient you are, has been ſufficiently made appear to the learned world by your writings, full of erudition. I will therefore, in purſuance of our former friendſhip, briefly inform you in what parts I reſided, what I did there, and what books I have brought with me. I ſpent the firſt year at* Conſtantinople, *with a deſign to apply my ſelf wholly to the* Arabick *tongue; but being deceived in my expectation, and wanting able maſters, I bent my mind to other affairs, and applied my ſelf to a diligent ſearch of manſcript books. Wherein I have not loſt my labour: for beſides ſeveral* Arabick, Perſian, *and* Turkiſh *books, which treat of almoſt all ſciences, and beſides the beſt lexicons for the underſtanding of theſe three languages, I have bought almoſt all the ancient* Greek *mathematicians, tranſlated ſome ages ſince into the* Arabick *tongue, together with the works of the moſt renowned modern aſtronomers among the* Arabians *and* Indians. *But among thoſe ancient ones, I do not a little rejoice, that there are ſtill found in being four books of* Apollonius Pergæus, *the moſt ſubtle geometrician,*

Conicorum libri quatuor.

of which Pappus, *and others make mention. I ſailed from* Conſtantinople *with the* Turkiſh *fleet at the ſame time the great convoy of that nation uſes to ſet out for* Alexandria. *My paſſage was good, and I arrived at* Rhodes, *where, in reſpect to* Poſſidonius's *authority, I often took the ſun's altitude privately in the gardens of the Chriſtians without the walls.*

servavi: inde post sex dies è portu discedens, octo dierum spatio, flantibus leniter Etesiis, Alexandriam perveni; ubi corruptis Judæis, qui vectigalibus ibi præsunt, instrumenta mea astronomica sine periculo exposui. Erant autem diversa, ex ære ut plurimum fabrefacta, & ab egregio artifice summâ cum diligentiâ constructa, quorum maximum quadrans erat totus æneus, radium obtinens septem eorum pedum, qui apud Anglos veteri edicto regio usurpantur. Alexandriæ sex menses continuos hæsi, soli stellisque intentus, quoties per caligines, aut pluvias, licebat, quas illic, mediâ præcipuè hyeme, contra receptam opinionem, & crebras, & violentas, esse sensi. Laboribus, & vigiliis defessus, relaxandi animi gratiâ bis Memphim petii, seu ut rectiùs loquar القاهرة Nam antiquâ Memphi orientalitor est hodierna Elkahira septem ad minimum millibus passuum: inde ad sepulcra veterum Ægyptiorum accessi, & cryptas illas subterraneas subii; post ad pyramides me contuli, earumque justam magnitudinem, idoneis ad eam rem adjutus instrumentis, deprehendi, & multa illic, dum omnia curiosiùs perlustro, nec à priscis scriptoribus, nec à recentioribus, literis mandata, annotavi. Opera sanè stupenda, & ab ipsis antiquis inter orbis miracula meritò judicata, sed a nemine (quòd sciam) pro eorum dignitate satis descripta.

Interiorem cameram, & nonnulla secretiora adyta, temporis injuriâ nondum corrupta, nec unquam, si rectè judico, corrumpenda, mensuris Anglicis diligenter mensus sum, adeò exactè, ut è viginti mille partibus, in quas viginti pedes, lineis transversis, sive potius diagoniis, divisi, ne unam quidem, vel deesse, vel superesse, existimem. Quod ideò tanto accuratiùs præstiti, ut ex istâ comparatione omnium gentium mensuræ, quæ hodie sunt, aut olim fuerunt, è duraturo aliquo monumento posteris signari possint. Quod quidem si à Mathematicis olim præstitum fuisset, selectis aliquibus idoneis locis, temporum injuriæ non obnoxiis, minus hodie incerti essemus in antiquorum mensuris investigandis. Quid de meo consilio censendum sit, eruditorum judicio permitto; me certè, neque propositi, neque laboris, suscepti pœnitet. Te verò (vir clarissime) inter alios præcipuè, oro, & obtestor, ut pondera, & mensuras gallicas, summâ diligentia cum archetypis, collatas, & regio sigillo, ut fieri assolet, munitas ad me transmittas, & si qua numismata, vasa prisca, vel pedes vetusti, ab hæredibus nobilissimi D. viri Perescii recuperari possint, meo ære compares. Multum ille in hâc palæstrâ desudavit, & quantum ex literis

Departing that port after six days, a gentle easterly gale, in eight days, brought me to Alexandria; *where bribing the* Jews, *who have the collecting the customs, I landed my astronomical instruments in safety. I had several of them, most of them of brass, and made by a notable workman, with extraordinary accuracy; the biggest whereof was a brass quadrant, whose radius was seven ancient statute foot of* England. *I continued six whole months at* Alexandria, *observing the sun and stars, as often as fogs and rains would permit; which, contrary to the received opinion, I found to be frequent and violent, especially in the depth of winter. Being spent with labour and watching, I went twice to divert my self to* Memphis, *or to speak more properly,* Elkahira: *for the present* Elkahira (Grand Cairo) *is at least seven miles to the eastward of the ancient* Memphis. *Thence I repaired to the sepulchres of the ancient* Egyptians, *and entered those subterranean cells, or caverns; thence I went to the pyramids, and having fit instruments for that purpose, took their exact dimensions, observing there many things, as I curiously view'd them, which have not been delivered in writing either by the ancient or modern authors. They are indeed amazing structures, and deservedly reckoned by the ancients among the wonders of the world, but not yet described as they ought to be by any one that I know of.*

I carefully took the dimensions of the inner chamber, and some more private places, which time has not yet, nor, if I mistake not, ever will destroy, with English *measures, and that so exactly, that I believe there is not one part over or under of* 20000, *into which twenty foot are divided by cross, or rather diagonal lines. Which I was the more exact in, to the end that the measures of all nations that now are, or formerly were, may be transmitted to posterity from some lasting monument, by comparing them with these. Had this been formerly done by mathematicians, choosing for the purpose some proper places not exposed to the injury of time, we should not at present be so uncertain in the search after the measures of the ancients. I leave it to the learned to determine, what judgment is to be made of this my design; for my part I neither repent my attempt nor my labour. I intreat and conjure you (most worthy sir) to send me the* French *weights and measures, carefully compared with the standards, and sealed by the king's authority, as is usual; and if any coins, old vessels, or ancient feet can be obtained of the heirs of the most noble* Perescius, *that you will buy them upon my account. He laboured much in this affair, and, as may be conjectured by his letters, had he brought forth what he had so long conceived,*

ipſius licet conjicere, ſi peperiſſet, quæ tam diu parturivit, omnium induſtriam, & conatus facilè ſuperaſſet. Ipſe dum peregrè agebam tanquam itineris παρεργον, Arabum, Perſarum, Turcarum, Italorum, Hiſpanorum, Germanorum, varia, & diverſa pondera, & menſuras, meis oculis, manibúſque ſubjeci, & cum Anglicis ſedulò, & fideliter contuli. Idem & de Gallicis in animum induxiſſem, ſi per Pariſios domum redire contigiſſet, ſed, ſpe fruſtratus, iſtam tibi, tuæque diligentiæ provinciam demando. Tu me interea eâdem benevolentiâ proſequeris, quâ ſolebas, & ſi quid, quod mihi adjumento eſſe poſſit, repereris, viro doctiſſimo, meique amantiſſimo, D. Dorrel in ædibus oratoris Angli, committes. Vale.

Londini 18 Kal. Jun. MDCXLI. Tibi addictiſſimus,

JOANNES GRAVIUS.

conceived, he would doubtleſs have out-done all others. I, during my travels, by the by, view'd and handled the ſeveral and ſundry weights and meaſures of the Arabians, Perſians, Turks, Italians, Spaniards, *and* Germans, *and carefully compared them with the* Engliſh. *I ſhould have done the ſame by the* French, *had I returned home by the way of* Paris, *but being diſappointed of it, I commit this affair to your care. Do you continue your wonted good will to me, and if you happen to find any thing that may be a help to me, deliver it to the moſt learned gentleman, and my very good friend, Mr.* Dorrel, *at the* Engliſh *embaſſador's. Farewel.*

London, May 14. 1641. Your moſt affectionate,

JOHN GREAVES.

THE

THE PREFACE.

HOW high an eſtimation the ancients had of the Ægyptian *Pyramids, appears by the ſeveral teſtimonies of* Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, *and* Pliny. *For* [a] Herodotus *acknowledges, that though there were a temple at* Epheſus *very renowned, as alſo at* Samos; *yet the Pyramids were worthier of relation: each of which ſingle, might be compared with many the moſt ſumptuous ſtructures of the the* Grecians. Diodorus Siculus *confirms as much; who, as he prefers the works of the* Ægyptians *for magnificence before thoſe of other nations, ſo he prefers the Pyramids before the reſt of the* Ægyptians: it is confeſſed, [b] *ſaith he*, that theſe works far excel the reſt in *Ægypt*, not only in the maſſineſs of the ſtructures, and in the expences, but alſo in the ſkilfulneſs of the architects. *He farther adds*, The greatneſs of the work, and art of the workmen, ſtrike an admiration into the ſpectators. [c] Strabo *alſo teſtifies*, That three of them are very memorable, two of theſe are accounted amongſt the ſeven miracles of the world. *Laſtly*, [d] Pliny, *though he judges them* to be an idle and vain oſtentation of the wealth of kings, *yet he grants* that three of them have filled the world with their fame. *Which three, by his deſcription, and by ſuch indications as may be collected out of* Diodorus *and* Strabo, *muſt neceſſarily be theſe three, which are now extant, and of which I intend eſpecially to diſcourſe. For* [e] Diodorus *writes*, That they are ſeated on Libya-ſide, an CXX ſtadia (or furlongs) from *Memphis*, and from *Nilus* XLV. *We likewiſe read in* [f] Strabo, XL ſtadia from the city *(Memphis,)* there is a certain brow of a hill in which are many Pyramids; *who preſently after deſcribing more particularly the three greateſt, gives us this character:* Theſe three ſtand near to one another upon the ſame plain. *And if this be not ſufficient to point them out,* [g] Pliny *delivers many evident marks whereby to diſcover them:* Theſe three (*as he informs us,*) are very conſpicuous to thoſe that ſail upon the *Nilus*, they are ſeated on *Africa* ſide, upon a rocky and barren hill between the city *Memphis* and that place which we ſaid is called the *Delta*, from the *Nilus* leſs than IV miles, from *Memphis* VI; there being a village oppoſite to them, which they name *Buſiris*, from whence they uſe to aſcend up to them. *All which characters were, and are applicable to none but only to theſe three.*

Having thus diſcovered their true place, or ſituation, we ſhall next diſcourſe of the authors who have written of them. Amongſt the ancients, there were many who thought it worth their labour to deſcribe them. For Pauſanias, *as it were, complaining that the* Grecians *had been very curious in deſcribing theſe, whilſt they had omitted many remarkable ſtructures of their own, writes thus:* [h] That the *Grecians* admired things of ſtran-

[a] Κάιτοι ἀξιόλογός γε ἡ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νεὼς, ὡς ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ, ἦσαν μὲν νῦν αἱ πυραμίδες λόγῳ μείζονες, ὡς πολλῶν ἑκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγίστων ἀνταξίη. Herod. l. 2.

[b] Ὁμολογεῖται ὃ ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πολὺ προέχειν τὸ καθ' Αἴγυπτον, ὲ μόνον τῷ βάρει τῶ κατασκάσμάτων ὡς ταῖς δαπάναις, ἀλλὰ ὡ τῇ πολυτεχνίᾳ τῶ ἐργασαμένων. Diod. Sic. Biblioth. l. 1. Τῷ ὃ μεγέθει τῶ ἔργων καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην χειρουργία θαυμασὴν τινὰ κατάπληξιν παρέχον τοῖς θεωμένοις, Ibid.

[c] Τρεῖς δ' ἀξιόλογοι, πρὸς ὃ δύο τέτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θεάμασι καταριθμῶνται. Strab. l. 17.

[d] *Regum pecuniæ ocioſa ac ſtulta oſtentatio.— Tres quæ orbem Terrarum implevêre famâ.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

[e] Αὗται ὃ κείνται κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην τ' Μέμφεως ἀπέχυσι σταδίες ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑ'κοσι, τῷ ὃ Νείλῳ πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα. Diod. Sic. l. 1.

[f] Τετταράκοντα δ' ἀπὸ τ πόλεως σταδίες προελθόντι ὀρεινή τις ὀφρύς ἐστιν, ἐφ' ᾗ πολλαὶ μὲ Πυραμίδες εἰσί. Strab. l. 12. Αὗται μὲ ἐν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιπέδῳ. Idem ibid.

[g] *Reliquæ tres*] *ſanè conſpiciuæ undique innavigantibus, ſitæ ſunt in parte Africæ, monte ſaxeo ſterilique inter Memphim oppidum, & quòd appellari diximus Delta, à Nilo minus* IV *millia paſſ. à Memphi ſex, vico appoſito, quem vocant Buſirin, in quo ſunt aſſueti ſcandere illas.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

[h] Ἕλληνες δ' ἄρα εἰσὶ δεινοὶ τὰ ὑπερφυα ὐ θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ὁπότε ἀνδρώσιν ἐπιφάνεσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν, πυραμίδας μὲ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, θεσαυρὸν ὃ τ Μινύε καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἐν Τρίωνι ὀρῶ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἄγαγον μνήμης, ὀρθ' ὄντα ἐλάττονα θαύματος. Pauſaniæ Bœotica.

gers more than of their own, ſeeing that ſome hiſtorians of note had moſt accurately deſcribed the Pyramids of *Ægypt*, whereas the treaſury of *Minyas*, and walls of *Tiryns*, (*places in* Bœotia) no leſs to be admired than theſe, had been omitted by them. Pliny *gives us a large catalogue of authors that had purpoſely treated of this argument:* [i] *Thoſe which have writ of them, are,* Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Ariſtagoras, Dionyſius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhiſtor, Butorides, Antiſthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion: *Where we are beholden to him for preſerving the names of ſo many writers, though their works (unleſs thoſe of* Herodotus) *by the injury and calamity of times, have long ſince periſhed. Beſides theſe,* Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, *and* Ammianus Marcellinus, *(the names of modern authors I purpoſely omit,) have given us ſome relations of them. But it may be, if the writings of* Ariſtides *had not periſhed, who in his* Λόγος Αἰγύπτιος *ſpeaks thus of himſelf,* [k] After that I had enter'd into *Æthiopia*, and four times travelled all over *Ægypt*, and had left nothing unhandled, neither the Pyramids, nor labyrinth, nor temples, nor channels, and partly had procured out of their writings ſuch meaſures as might be had, and partly with the prieſts had meaſured ſuch things as were not obvious, yet could I not preſerve them entire for thee, ſeeing the books which thy ſervants, by my appointment, tranſcribed, have periſhed: *Or, if we had* the ſacred commentaries of the *Ægyptians, ſo often cited by* [l] Diodorus, *we might receive better ſatisfaction, and be alſo more content with the loſs of thoſe other writings of the* Grecians. *But ſeeing the viciſſitudes and revolutions of times, have deprived us of theſe, whilſt the Pyramids have been too great to be conſumed, it will be no ſuperfluous labour to imitate the examples of the ancients, and to ſupply the loſs of them, by giving a diſtinct narration of the ſeveral reſpective dimenſions and proportions of theſe pyramids: in which I ſhall tread in as even a path as I can, between truth and the traditions of ſuch of the ancients as are ſtill extant: firſt, putting down thoſe relations which by them have been tranſmitted to us; and next, ſhewing in what manner, upon examination, I found the Pyramids in the years one thouſand ſix hundred thirty eight, and one thouſand ſix hundred thirty nine, or in the thouſand forty and eighth year of the* Hegira. *For I went twice to* Grand Cairo *from* Alexandria, *and from thence into the deſerts, for the greater certainty to view them; carrying with me a* radius *of ten feet moſt accurately divided into ten thouſand parts, beſides ſome other inſtruments, for the fuller diſcovery of the truth. But before I deſcend to a particular deſcription, I ſhall make enquiry by whom, at what time, and to what end theſe monuments were erected.*

[i] *Qui de iis ſcripſerint, ſunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Ariſtagoras, Dionyſius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhiſtor, Butorides, Antiſthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion.* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 12.

[k] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ γὰρ μέχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπικῆς χώρας προελθὼν καὶ αὐτὴν διερευνησάμενος Αἴγυπτον τετράκις τὸ σύμπαν καὶ παρεὶς οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐ πυραμίδας. οὐ λαβύρινθον, οὐκ ἱερὸν, οὐ διώρυχας ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις τὰ μέτρα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκεῖθεν πορισάμενος· ὧν δὲ μὴ ἐξ ἑτοίμου λαβεῖν ἦν ἐκμετρήσας αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν· εἶτ' οὐκ ἐδυνήθην αὐτά σοι διασώσασθαι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων διαφθαρέντων ὰ τοῖς σοῖς παισὶ προσέταξα ποιεῖσθαι, Ariſtid. Λόγ. Αἰγύπτ.

[l] Ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὁρᾶν ἐστὶ κατακεχωρισμένον. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις. Idem. Ibidem.

Of

Of the Authors or Founders of the PYRAMIDS.

IT is the opinion of ſome [a] modern writers, that the *Ægyptian* Pyramids were erected by the *Iſraelites*, during their heavy preſſure under the tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. And this ſeems to be confirmed by [b] *Joſephus*; who relates, that *when as time had extinguiſhed the memory of the benefits of* Joſeph, *the kingdom of* Ægypt *being tranſplanted into another family, they uſed the* Iſraelites *with much ſeverity, waſting them with ſeveral labours; for they were commanded to cut divers channels for the river* (Nilus) *to raiſe walls, and caſt up banks, whereby to hinder the inundation of the ſtream; they oppreſſed alſo our nation with thoſe fabricks of the Pyramids, compelling them to learn many* (mechanical) *arts, and inured them to the ſupporting of labours.* But the ſacred ſcriptures clearly expreſſing the ſlavery of the *Jews*, to have conſiſted in making and burning of brick, (for the original is לבנים *lebénim*, which the [c] *Septuagint* renders by πλίνθος and πλινθεία,) whereas all theſe Pyramids conſiſt of ſtone, I cannot be induced to ſubſcribe to their aſſertion.

Much leſs can I aſſent to that opinion of [d] *Stephanus*, [e] *Nicetas*, [f] *Nonnus*, and *the auther of the Greek* [g] Ἐτυμολογικὸν μέγα, with ſome others, who derive the name of the Pyramids ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρῦ, that is, *from corn*, and not ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, *from the figure of a flame of fire*, which they reſemble; becauſe, ſay moſt of them, theſe were built by the patriarch *Joſeph*, as σιλοδόχα, *receptacles and granaries* of the ſeven plentiful years. For, beſides that this figure is moſt improper for ſuch a purpoſe, (a Pyramid being the leaſt capacious of any regular mathematical body) the ſtreightneſs and fewneſs of the rooms within, (the reſt of the building being one ſolid and entire fabrick of ſtone) do utterly overthrow this conjecture. Wherefore the relations of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and of ſome others, but eſpecially of theſe two, both of them having travelled into *Ægypt*, and converſed with the prieſts, (beſides that, GREAVES the latter made uſe of their *commentaries*, will give us the beſt and cleareſt light in matters of ſo great antiquity.

For *Herodotus* writes thus concerning the firſt of theſe Pyramids, that [h] *until king* Rhampſinitus's *time the* Ægyptians *report the laws to have flouriſhed in* Ægypt: *After whom*, Cheops *ſucceeding in the kingdom, fell into all manner of vice; for, ſhutting up the temples, he forbad the* Ægyptians *to ſacrifice; beſides, he commanded that they ſhould be employed in his works*, (he means this Pyramid of which he diſcourſeth,) *that ſome of them ſhould receive the ſtones dug out of the quarries of the* Arabian *mountain, and that from thence they ſhould carry them to the* Nilus; *theſe being wafted over the river, others were to receive them, and to draw them to the mountain, which is called* Libycus. *There were employed in the work ten* myriads *of men, every three months a* myriad: *the people ſpent ten years in the way in which they drew the ſtones, which ſeems to me no leſs a work than the building of the Pyramid it ſelf.* [i] *Diodorus Siculus* diſcourſing of the ſame argument, gives the erector of this another name, different from that of *Herodotus*, ſtiling him *Chemmis*; but in the time, and perſon, they both agree, each of them affirming him to have ſucceeded *Rhampſinitus*, and to have been the father of *Mycerinus*, and to have reign'd over the *Ægyptians* fifty years. This difference of names between *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the ſame king, may probably be thus reconciled, that *Diodorus* expreſſes the genuine denomination in the *Ægyptian* language, and that *Herodotus* renders the ſignification in the *Greek*; a practice not unuſual with him, and with other approved authors. Thus the patriarch *Iſaac* in the ſcriptures, being denominated from צחק, that is, *laughter*, is by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, as [k] *Euſebius* teſtifies, named Γέλως. Wherefore חם *Cham* in *Hebrew*, (or in the *Greek*

[a] *Henr. Spondanus de cœmeteriis ſacris, lib.* 1. *par.* 1. *cap.* 6. *Brodæus Epigr. Græc.* εἰς ναός.

[b] Joſeph. lib. 2. Antiq. cap. 5. Ὧν τ' ἦσαν ἐξ ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφῳ νεκυχηκότες ἀφ' ὧν χρόνῳ μηκῷ λήθην λαβόντες, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον μετεληλυθυίας δεινῶς ἐνύβριζον τοὺς Ἰσραελίτας, &c.

[c] Exod. cap. v. ſæpè. [d] Ὠνομάσθησαν ὁ Πυραμίδες ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, ἃς ἐκεῖ συναγαγὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔνδειαν ἐποίησε πάσῃ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. Steph. ἐν πόλεων.

[e] Πυραμίδες.] *Id eſt ædificia quædam à Joſeph. ut nonnulli opinantur, ad condenda frumenta ſcitè admodum elaborata,* ἀπὸ τῦ πυρῦ, *id eſt, à frumento nomen conſecuta. Nicetas in* XX *Orat. Nazianzeni.*

[f] *Non à vero, ut inquit Nonnus, abhorret, quin has Pyramides poſt Joſephi tempora, exceſſumque Judæorum ex Ægypto in Regum ſepulchra converterint. Bilius ex Nonno monacho. Ibidem.*

[g] Πυραμίδες ὁ πάλιν λέγον) ἀφεῖσι βασίλικα σιτοδόχα ἃ κατεσκεύασε Ἰωσήφ. Ἐτυμόλ. μέγα.

[h] Herod. lib. 2. Μέχρι μὲν νῦν Ῥαμψινίτε βασιλῆος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν ἐννομίην ἔλεγον, &c.

[i] Diod. Sic. l. 1. [k] Euſeb. l. 6. Evangel. præpar. cap. 19.

flection,

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flection, *Chemmis*,) ſignifying *aduſtion*, which anciently might be the ſame in *Ægyptian*, and χέωψ, or χαίωψ, ſignifying *ſwarthy viſage* or *aduſt*; *Herodotus* might call him *Cheops* in *Greek*, whom in the *Ægyptian* language *Diodorus* ſtiles *Chemmis*. But I go on with *Diodorus*. *This* Chemmis, [l] ſaith he, *erected the greateſt of theſe three Pyramids, which are reputed among the ſeven wonderful fabricks of the world*; where he alſo enlarges the number of the workmen employed by him, to *three hundred and ſixty thouſand*, which *Herodotus* mentions only to have been *an hundred thouſand*; though both of them concur, and [m] *Pliny* with them both, that *twenty years were ſpent in the building of this Pyramid*.

Concerning the ſecond Pyramid, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* aſſign the author of it to have been *Cephren*, brother to the former king. *Diodorus* adds, that by ſome he is alſo called *Chabryis*, and was the ſon of *Chemmis*; a difference which I imagine to have been occaſioned out of the diverſity of pronunciation of *Chabryis* for *Cephren*; there being an eaſy tranſmutation in letters of the ſame organ, as *grammarians* uſe to ſpeak. *Cheops*, as [n] *Herodotus* informs us, *being deceaſed, his brother* Cephren *reigned after him; who imitated him, as in other things, ſo in the making of a Pyramid, the magnitude of which is leſs than that of his brother's.* And [o] *Diodorus* relates, *That* Chemmis *being dead, his brother* Cephren *ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and reigned fifty ſix years: ſome ſay, that not his brother, but his ſon, which was named* Chabryis, *reigned after him. This is affirmed by the conſent of all, that the ſucceſſor of the former king, in imitation of him, built the ſecond Pyramid like to the firſt, in reſpect of the art and workmanſhip, but far inferior to it in reſpect of magnitude.*

The third Pyramid was erected by [p] *Mycerinus*, ſome call him *Mycherinus*, as it is obſerved by *Diodorus*, who makes him the ſon of *Chemmis*, as *Herodotus* doth of *Cheops*; the difference between them being, as we noted before, rather nominal than real. The ſame [q] *Herodotus* alſo writes, That *ſome of the* Grecians *make the third Pyramid the work of* Rhodopis *a curtizan*; *an error in opinion of thoſe who ſeem not to know who this* Rhodopis *might be of which they ſpeak; for neither could ſhe have undertaken ſuch a Pyramid, on which ſo many thouſand talents were to be ſpent; neither lived ſhe in this man's time, but in the time of king* Amaſis. Now this *Amaſis*, as he elſewhere ſhews, lived long after theſe Pyramids were in being. The ſame ſtory is cited both by [r] *Strabo* and *Pliny*, both of them omitting the names of the founders of the former two. *Strabo* gives her a double name; *The third Pyramid is the ſepulchre of a curtizan, made by her lovers, whom* Sappho *the poetreſs calls* Doricha, *miſtreſs to her brother* Charaxus; *others name her* Rhodope. But whether we name her *Doricha*, or *Rhodope*, the relation is altogether improbable, if we conſider either her condition or the infinite vaſtneſs of the expence. For [s] *Diodorus*, though he rightly acknowledges this Pyramid to be much leſs than either of the former two, yet in reſpect of the exquiſite workmanſhip, and richneſs of the materials, he judges it not inferior to either of them. A ſtructure certainly too great and ſumptuous to have been the deſign and undertaking of a curtizan, which could hardly have been performed by a rich and potent monarch. And yet *Diodorus* hath almoſt the ſame relation, only a little altered in the circumſtances: [t] *Some ſay, that this is the ſepulchre of the ſtrumpet* Rhodope; *of whom, ſome of the* Nomarchæ (or prefects of the provinces) *being enamoured, by a common expence to win her favour, they built this monument.* But to paſs by this fable, (for it is no better,) and to return to our enquiry. The ſame author immediately before, ingenuouſly confeſſes, that concerning them all three, there is little agreement either amongſt the natives or amongſt writers: [u] *For they ſay*, Armæus *made the greateſt of theſe*; *the ſecond*, Amaſis; *the third*, Inaron. And [w] *Pliny* informing us, that *theſe three were made in ſeventy eight years and four months*, leaves the founders of them very uncertain: for reciting the names of many authors that had deſcribed them, he

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Χέμμις] κατεσκεύασε ὃ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν τριῶν Πυραμίδων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἔργοις ἐριθμουμένων.

[m] *Pyramis ampliſſima ex Arabicis lapidicinis conſtat. Trecenta* LX *hominum millia annis* XX *eam conſtruxiſſe produntur.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

[n] Herod. lib. 3. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληΐην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ χεφρῆνα, &c.

[o] Diodor. lib. 1. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦτου διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἀδελφὸς χεφρὴν, καὶ ἦρξεν ἔτη ἐξ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα, &c.

[p] Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός. Herodot. lib. 2.

[q] Herodot. lib. 2. Τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο ὀρθῶς λέγοντες, &c.

[r] Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας ταύτης γίγονος ὕστερον τῶν ἱερατῶν. ἡ Σαπφὼ μὲ ἡ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτρια, καλεῖ Δωρίχαν ἐρασθεῖσαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς χαράξου γεγονυῖαν ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδόπην. Strab. lib. 17.

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Ταύτην δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι Ῥοδώπιδος πάρεδρον εἶναι τῆς ἑταίρας, ἧς φασὶ, τῶν Νομάρχων τινὰς ἐρασθεὶς χρυσοῦν, ἀφ' ὧ φιλοτιμίας οἰκοδομήσαντας ἐπιτέλεσας κοινῇ τὸ κατασκεύασμα.

[u] Idem. Ibid. Τὴν μεγίστην ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀρμαῖον τὸν ὃ Δυτέραν Ἀμασίν. [γρ. Ἀμμωσίν.] τὸν ὃ τρίτην Ἰνάρωνα. [γρ. Μάρωνα.]

[w] *Tres verò factæ annis* LXXVIII. *& menſibus* IV. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.

concludes,

concludes, [x] *Inter omnes eos non conſtat à quibus factæ ſint, juſtiſſimo caſu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis authoribus.*

The *Arabians*, whoſe excellencies I judge to have been in the ſpeculative ſciences, and not in the hiſtories and occurrences of ancient times, aſſign other founders of theſe three, different from thoſe mentioned by the *Greeks*. The author of the book intitled, *Morat Alzeman*, writes, *They differ concerning him that built the Pyramids: ſome ſay* Joſeph, *ſome ſay* Nimrod, *ſome* Dalukah *the queen, and ſome that the* Ægyptians *built them before the flood: for they foreſaw that it would be, and they carried thither their treaſures, but it profited them nothing.* In another place he tells us, *That the* Coptites (*or* Ægyptians) *report, that theſe two greater Pyramids, and the leſſer, which is coloured, are ſepulchres. In the eaſt Pyramid is king* Saurid, *in the weſt Pyramid his brother* Hougib, *and in the coloured Pyramid* Fazfarinoun *the ſon of* Hougib: *The* Sabæans *relate, that one of them is the ſepulchre of* Shiit, *(that is,* Seth,*) and the ſecond the ſepulchre of* Hermes, *and the coloured one the ſepulchre of* Sab, *the ſon of* Hermes, *from whom they are called* Sabæans. *They go in pilgrimage thither, and ſacrifice at them a cock, and a black calf, and offer up incenſe. Ibn Abd Alhokm*, another *Arabian*, diſcourſing of this argument, confeſſes, that he could not find amongſt the learned men in *Ægypt*, any certain relation concerning them, (wherefore) *what is more reaſonable* (ſaith he) *than that the Pyramids were built before the flood? For if they had been built after, there would have been ſome memory of them amongſt men.* At laſt he concludes, *The greateſt part of chronologers affirm, that he which built the Pyramids, was* Saurid Ibn Salhouk *the king of* Ægypt, *who was before the flood three hundred years.* And this opinion he confirms out of the books of the *Ægyptians:* To which he adds, *The* Coptites *mention in their books, that upon them there is an inſcription engraven*; the expoſition of it in *Arabick* is this, *I* Saurid *the king, built the Pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years*; *he that comes after me, and ſays he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years*; *and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down than to build*; *and when I had finiſhed them, I covered them with ſatin, and let him cover them with mats.* The ſame relation I find in ſeveral others of them, that this *Saurid* was the founder of theſe three Pyramids, which the admiration of after-times enrolled amongſt the miracles of the world. And theſe are thoſe three, which are ſtill fair and entire, and ſtanding near to one another, formerly not far diſtant from the great and ancient city *Memphis*, built by [y] *Uchoreus*, of which there is now not ſo much as the ruins left,) and leſs diſtant from the river *Nilus*, as *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, rightly deſcribe. GREAVES

Beſides theſe three, we find mentioned in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, the names and authors of ſome others, not much inferior to theſe in magnitude, long ſince ruined and defaced by time. On the contrary, there are many now ſtanding in the *Libyan* deſert, whoſe names and authors, neither *Herodotus* nor *Diodorus*, nor yet any of the ancients, have expreſſed.

After *Mycerinus*, according to [z] *Herodotus*, (for *Diodorus* is here ſilent,) *Aſychis* ſucceeded in the kingdom, [a] *who being deſirous to excel his predeceſſors, left for a monument a Pyramid made of bricks, with theſe words engraven in ſtone, Compare not me with the Pyramids built of ſtone, which I as far excel as* Jupiter *doth the other gods. For ſtriking of the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the dirt which ſtuck to them, they made thence bricks, and formed me in this manner.*

The ſame author relates, that many ages after this *Aſychis*, *Sanacharib* king of the *Arabians* and *Aſſyrians*, who certainly is the ſame which is mentioned in the ſcriptures, having expelled *Sethon* the king of the *Ægyptians*, and the prieſt of *Vulcan*, [b] *the* Ægyptians *recovering their liberty, made choice of twelve kings*, (which is alſo confirmed by *Diodorus*,) *dividing* Ægypt *into ſo many parts*; *for they could at no time live without a king*; *theſe by a common conſent, built a labyrinth above the lake of* Mœris: *At the angle where the labyrinth ends, there is a Pyramid of* XL Orgyiæ, (that is, of CCXL feet,) *in which are ingraven huge reſemblances of beaſts, the paſſage to it is under ground.* And this is that Pyramid, as may evidently be collected out of [c] *Strabo*, in which *Imandes* lies buried, whom we may probably ſuppoſe to have been the builder of it: His words are theſe, *At the end of this building,* (that is, of this labyrinth,) *which contains a furlong in length, there is a certain* [d] *ſepulchre, being a quadrilateral Pyramid,*

[x] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. [y] Οὐχορεὺς ἔκτισε πόλιν Μέμφιν, ἐπὶ φανεςάτην τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον. Diodor. lib. 1.

[z] Herod. lib. 2. [a] Ὑπερβάλεσθαι ὁ βελόμενον τοὺτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους. Αἰγύπτου, μνημόσυνον Πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλείστων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἔτι. Μὴ μὲ κατονοθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας Πυραμίδας, προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· κοντῷ γὰρ κατατύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὅτι προχοῦτο ἐκ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἵρυσαν, καὶ μὲ τρόπῳ τοιουτῷ ἐξεπόιησαν.

[b] Herod. lib. 2. [c] Strab. lib. 17. [d] *Diodorus* relates, that over the ſepulchre there was a circle of gold of three hundred and ſixty five cubits compaſs, and a cubit in thickneſs, in which the days

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mid, each ſide of which is CCCC *feet, and the altitude is the ſame; the name of him that lies buried there is* Imandes, whom the author of the epitome calls *Maindes*, and *Strabo* himſelf not long after *Iſmandes*; *Diodorus* names him *Oſymanduas*. Which of theſe two, whether *Herodotus* or *Strabo*, hath given the trueſt meaſure of it, unleſs the Pyramid were now extant, cannot be decided by us. Though *Pliny* adheres to the dimenſions of *Herodotus*; but whereas *Herodotus* and *Strabo* mention there but one Pyramid, he makes mention of many. And whereas *Strabo* makes this to be quadrilateral, he deſcribes theſe (if I miſtake not his words) to be ſexangular. [e] *Superque Nemeſes* XV. *ædiculis incluſerit Pyramides complures* (that is, above this labyrinth which he places *in Heracleopolite Nomo,*) *quadragenarum ulnarum* VI *radice muros obtinentes.*

Long before theſe four Pyramids of *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Aſychis*, who immediately ſucceeded one another in the kingdom, but after this of *Iſmandes*, *Myris* as he is called by *Diodorus*, (but *Herodotus*, *Strabo* and *Pliny*, name him *Mæris*) another *Ægyptian* king, built two admirable Pyramids; the deſcription of which, tho' in *Herodotus*, it immediately follows that of the twelve kings; yet as it may evidently be collected out of him and *Diodorus*, theſe two of *Mæris* muſt many ages have preceded. [f] For *Herodotus* tells us, that from *Menes* (the firſt king of the *Ægyptians*, whom *Diodorus* names *Menas*,) *the prieſts recited out of their books* CCCXXX *kings, the laſt of which was* Mœris; long after whom reigned *Seſoſtris*, who is call'd by *Manethos*, *Sethoſis*; and by *Diodorus*, *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſooſis*; who more particularly than *Herodotus*, expreſſes *Seſoſtris* to have been [g] ſeven ages after *Mæris*, and to have reigned long before theſe twelve kings. The which *Seſoſtris*, or *Sethoſis*, immediately ſucceeding *Amænophis*, (according to *Manethos* in *Joſephus*, as we ſhall ſhew in the enſuing diſcourſe,) muſt have been before *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Aſychis*; and therefore conſequently, that *Mæris* muſt long have preceded theſe twelve kings. This *Mæris* undertook, and finiſhed that moſt admirable lake denominated after his name, as it is teſtified by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*. A work the moſt uſeful and wonderful, if it be rightly conſidered, that I think was ever by any man attempted; in the midſt of which, he erected two Pyramids, the one in memory of himſelf, the other of his wife, each of them being 100 feet in height; the deſcription of both which, and of his lake, we have in *Herodotus*, the latter we find in *Strabo*, but in none ſo fully as in [h] *Diodorus*, and therefore I ſhall relate his words. *Ten* ſchœnes, (that is, 1000 furlongs; though *Strabo* and *Artemidorus* before him, obſerve a difference of *ſcœnes* in *Ægypt*, *above the city* (Memphis,) Myris *dug a lake of admirable uſe, the greatneſs of which work is incredible. For they relate, that the circumference of it contains* CIↃ CIↃ CIↃ IↃC *furlongs, the depth of it in many places is fifty fathom,* (that is, two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet,) *who therefore may not deſervedly aſk, that ſhall conſider the greatneſs of the work, how many myriads of men, and in how many years they made it? The common benefit of it to thoſe that inhabit* Ægypt, *and the wiſdom of the king, no man can ſufficiently commend. For ſince the riſing of* Nilus *is not always alike, and the country is the more fruitful by the moderateneſs of this, he digged a lake to receive the ſuperfluity of the water, that neither by the greatneſs of the inundation unſeaſonably drowning the country, it ſhould occaſion marſhes or lakes; or flowing leſs than it ſhould do, for want of water, it ſhould corrupt the fruits; he therefore cut a ditch from the river to the lake, eighty furlongs long, and three hundred feet in breadth. By which, ſometimes receiving in, and ſometimes diverting the river, he exhibited a ſeaſonable quantity of water to the huſbandmen, the mouth of it ſometimes being opened, and ſometimes ſhut, not without much art, and great expences. For he that would open the bars* (or ſluices,) *or ſhut them, it was neceſſary that he ſpent at the leaſt fifty talents. The lake in this manner benefiting the* Ægyptians, *hath continued to our times, and from the author of it at this day, is called the lake of* Myris. *The king that digged it, left a place in the midſt, in which he built a ſepulchre and two*

of the year were inſcribed, and divided into a cubit a piece, with a deſcription according to their nature, of the ſetting and riſing of the ſtars, and alſo their operations, after the *Ægyptian* aſtrologers. They ſay, this circle was carried away by *Cambyſes* and the *Perſians*, at what time they conquered *Ægypt*. (*Diod. Sicul. lib.* 1.) He which ſhall ſeriouſly conſider this, and ſeveral other paſſages in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, of the ſtupendious works of the *Ægyptians*, muſt needs aknowledge, that for magnificence, if not for art, they far exceeded the *Grecians* and *Romans*, even when their empires were at the higheſt, and moſt flouriſhing. And therefore, thoſe *admiranda Romæ*, collected by *Lipſius*, are ſcarce to be admired, if compared with ſome of theſe. At this day there is hardly any vaſt column or obelisk remaining in *Rome*, worthy of note, which hath not anciently been brought thither out of *Ægypt*.

[e] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 13. [f] Herod. lib. 2. Μετὰ δ᾽ τοῦτον [Μῆνα] κατέλεγον οἱ ἱερέες ἐκ βίβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίους τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἀνόματα ἔχοντες· αὐτῶν Μοίριος.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. [h] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Ἐπαίνου δ᾽ τὸ πόλεως ἀπὸ δέκα χιλιάδων λίμνην ὄρυξε τῇ μὲ εὐχρηστίᾳ θαυμαστὴν, τῷ δ᾽ μεγέθει τὸ ἔργων ἄπιστον, &c.

Pyramids, each a furlong in height; the one for himſelf, the other for his wife, placing upon them two marble-ſtatues, ſitting on a throne, imagining by theſe works he ſhould propagate to poſterity an immortal memory of his worth. The revenue of the fiſh of this lake, he gave to his wife for her unguents, and other ornaments; the fiſhing being worth to her a talent a day: For they report, there are two and twenty ſorts of fiſhes in it, and that ſuch a multitude is taken, that thoſe who are perpetually imployed in ſalting them, of which there is a very great number, can hardly diſpatch the work. Thus far *Diodorus*. Which deſcription, as it is much more full than that of *Herodotus*, ſo *Herodotus* hath this memorable obſervation omitted by *Diodorus*: [i] *That this lake was made by hand, and hollowed, it is apparent, becauſe almoſt in the midſt of it, there ſtands two Pyramids fifty fathoms above the water, and as many fathoms of the building under-water: Upon the top of each of which, there is a* Coloſſus *of ſtone ſitting upon a throne; ſo that the Pyramids are an hundred fathoms high. Strabo* I know not by what overſight omits theſe two Pyramids, whereas he acknowledges the lake of *Mœris* in which they ſtood, [k] *to be admirable, being like a ſea for greatneſs and for colour.*

Beſides theſe which we have handled, and whoſe founders are upon record in the writings of the antients, there are many others in the *Libyan* deſert where it bounds *Ægypt*, of which there is no particular mention extant, either in the *Greeks*, *Latins*, or *Arabians*; unleſs we ſhall apply theſe words of [l] *Diodorus* to ſome of them. *There are three other Pyramids, each ſide of which contain two hundred feet, the ſtructure of them, excepting the magnitude, is like to the former*, (that is, as he there ſpecifies, to thoſe three Pyramids of *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*,) *theſe three kings before-mentioned, are reported to have erected them for their wives.* The bigneſs of ſome of theſe now extant, doth well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by *Diodorus:* but if theſe three kings built them for their queens, it may be wondered why they ſhould have placed them ſo remote from their own ſepulchres; or why they ſhould ſtand at ſuch large and unequal diſtances of ſeveral miles from one another. I find as little ſatisfaction in [m] *Pliny* where he writes, *Multa circa hoc vanitas illorum hominum fuit, veſtigiaque complurium inchoatarum extant, una eſt in Arſinoite Nomo, duæ in Memphi, non procul labyrintho, de quo & ipſi dicemus.* For not telling us the founders of theſe, he leaves us ſtill in the ſame darkneſs, only we may in general collect out of him, and likewiſe out of that ode in *Horace:* GREAVES

Exegi monumentum ære perennius;
Regalique ſitu Pyramidium altius.
Horat. ode 30. lib. 3.

That they were the works of *Ægyptian* kings; but of which of them, and at what time, we are altogether uncertain. *Regum pecuniæ*, [n] ſaith *Pliny*, *otioſa, ac ſtulta oſtentatio.* Of the ſame opinion is *Leo Africanus*, in his accurate deſcription of *Africa*, after many years travel in thoſe parts. *Hâc per deſertum arenaceum, itur ad Pyramides, nempe ad priſcorum Ægypti regum ſepulchra, quo in loco Memphin olim extitiſſe aſſerunt* [o]. It may be it was the royal prerogative, and that it was prohibited to private men, how wealthy and potent ſoever to be thus intombed; but without ſome farther light from the ancients, it would be too great a preſumption to determine any thing.

[p] *Lucan*, I know not upon what ground, makes as if the *Ptolemies* had imitated the *Ægyptian* kings in this particular:

Cum Ptolemæorum manes ſeriemque pudendam
Pyramides claudant.

Surely if they did, theſe are none of thoſe: For they would have built them at *Alexandria*, which was then the regal ſeat, and not at *Memphis*, the which as [q] *Diodorus* aſſures us, began to decay after the building of *Alexandria*, like as the antient *Thebes* (as the [r] *Grecians* ſtiled it; or *the city of the ſun*, as the *Ægyptians*, according to [s] *Diodorus*, called it; or *Dioſpolis*, as *Diodorus* and [t] *Strabo* alſo name it,) did after the building of *Memphis*. Thoſe which imagine the monument or ſepulchre, mentioned by [v] *Plutarch* at *Alexandria*, into which *Cleopatra* fled for fear of *Auguſtus*, to have been a Pyramid, are much deceived. For in the life of *Mark Antony*, where he informs us, that there were ſepulchres near the temple of *Iſis*, *of exquiſite workmanſhip, and very high*; into which ſhe conveyed the richeſt of her treaſures, he deſcribes one of them, wherein ſhe hid her ſelf, to have

i Herodot. lib. 2. [k] Θαυμαστὴν ὲ κὴ τὴν λίμνὴν ἐχὲ τὴν Μοίριδος καλεμένην περιαίαν τῷ μεγέθὲ, κὴ τῇ χρόᾳ θαλασσιδῆ. Strab. lib. 17.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Εἰσὶ ὲ κὴ ἄλλαι τρεῖς Πυραμίδες, ὧν ἑκάστη μὲ πλάθρῳ διπλέθρον ὑπάρχὲ, τὸ ὲ ὅλον ἔργον ὡσαύτως πλήσιον τῇ κατασκευῇ ταῖς ἄλλαις, πλὴν ὲ μεγέθες· ταύτας ὲ φασὶ τὰς προειρημένας τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις καταασκεύασαι γυναιξίν. [m] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12. [n] Ibid. [o] Leo Afric. lib. 8.
[p] Lucan. lib. 8. [q] Diodor. lib. 1. [r] Plato, & alii. [s] Diodor. lib. 1. [t] Strab. lib. 17.
[v] Plutarch. in Antonio.

had

GREAVES had a window above the entrance, by which she drew up with cords the body of *Antony*, and by which afterwards *Proculeius* entred, and surprized her. This window is not in any of those Pyramids I have seen; neither can I apprehend, if these were of as solid and massive stones, and of the same shape as those at *Memphis*, and the chambers within as remote from the outward superficies, of what use it could be, either in respect of light or ornament; and therefore I conjecture these monuments of the *Ptolemies* to have been of a different structure from those of the Pyramids.

In all other classical authors, I find no mention of the founders of the rest in the *Libyan* desert; and after such a distance of time, we must be content to be silent with them.

Of the Time in which the PYRAMIDS *were built.*

TO define the precise time in which these Pyramids were erected, as it is an inquiry of much difficulty, so of much importance, in regulating the various and uncertain traditions of the antients concerning the *Ægyptian* chronology. For if we shall peruse those fragments of *Manethos*, an *Ægyptian* priest, preserved by [a] *Josephus*; or those relations of [b] *Herodotus*, of CCCXXX kings to *Mæris*, from *Menes* the first that reigned in *Ægypt*, (who probably is [c] *Mizraim*, the second son of *Cham*, and [d] *father of the* Ægyptians;) or that computation of [e] *Diodorus*, borrowed from their sacred commentaries, that to the CLXXX *Olympiad*, or to the time in which he travelled thither, there had been a succession in the royal throne for XV CIↃ years; or that calculation of [f] *Pomponius Mela*, of CCCXXX *kings to the time of* Amasis, *continued above* XIII CIↃ *years*; or lastly, those *Dynasties* mentioned by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, but pretermitted by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; the first of which [g] *Joseph Scaliger* places in the VII CIↃ and IX year of that *Julian* period, which by him is called *periodus Juliana postulatitia*, and the time *tempus prolepticum*, preceding the creation by CIↃ CCC XXXVI years, we shall find our selves intangled in a labyrinth, and maze of times, out of which we cannot, without much perplexity, unwind our selves. And if we farther consider, that amongst those many names delivered by *Manethos*, and preserved by *Josephus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, how few there are that concur with those of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, or with those in *Plato*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Censorinus*, and some others: And that which is of greater consequence, how difficult is it to reconcile these names and times to the *Ægyptian* kings recorded in the scriptures, we shall find our selves beset, and as it were invironed on every side with great inextricable doubts. What therefore in inquiries of this nature, is approved as the most solid and rational foundation, that is, to find out some common and received *Epocha*, in which either all or most agree, that shall be our guide in matters of so great antiquity. Now of all the ancient *epocha's* which may conduce to our purpose, that is none that we may safer rely upon than there of *the migration of the* Israelites *out of* Ægypt; which had the same hand faithfully to pen it, that was the most active and miraculous instrument of their departure. And though prophane historians differ much in the manner of this action, either as they were tainted with malice against the *Hebrews*, or misled with the calumnies and false reports of their enemies, the *Ægyptians*; of whom, [h] *Josephus* may seem to have given a true censure, *That all the* Ægyptians *in general are ill affected to the* Jews; yet all agree in this, that *Moses* was the chief author, and conductor of this expedition. If therefore we shall discover the time in which *Moses* flourished, and in which this great enterprize was performed by him, it will follow by way of consequence, that knowing what *Pharaoh*, or king in *Ægypt*, was coetaneous and concurrent with him, we may by *synchronism*, comparing sacred and prophane authors, and following the line of their successions, as it is delivered by good authority, at length fall upon the age in which *Cheops*, and those other kings reigned in *Ægypt*, whom we assigned out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, to have been the founders of these Pyramids.

And here, for our inquiry, what *Ægyptian* king was concurrent with *Moses*, we must have recourse to the relations, not only of the scriptures, but also of other approved authors amongst the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; in which last though we often find more than an *Ægyptian* darkness, yet sometimes through this we may discover some glimmerings of light. By the scriptures alone, it is impossible to infer, what king of

[a] Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apionem. [b] Herodot. lib. 2. [c] Gen. x. 6. [d] Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. cap. 7.
[e] Diodor. lib. 1. [f] *Trecentos & triginta Reges ante Amasim, & supra tredecim millium annorum ætates, certis annalibus referunt.* Pomp. Mela, l. 1. c. 9. [g] Scal. in Eusebii chronic.
[h] Φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένως διατιθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες, Αἰγύπτιοι. Jos. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

Ægypt

Ægypt was coetaneous with *Moſes*; ſeeing the name, which is there given him, of *Pharaoh*, is a common denomination applicable to all of them; much like *Cæſar* or *Auguſtus* with the *Roman* emperors; or ſome time *Coſroe* with the *Perſians*, and no diſtinctive appellation. Yet in *Herodotus* we find one king, the ſucceſſor of *Seſoſtris*, to have been called [i] *Pheron*, which I ſuppoſe is *Pharaoh*, and his proper and peculiar name. But who this *Pharaoh* ſhould be, whoſe heart GOD hardened, and upon whom *Moſes* wrought ſo many wonders, is worth our diſquiſition. *Joſephus* in his firſt book *contra Apionem*, out of *Manethos* contends, that *Tethmoſis* (who is termed alſo *Amoſis* by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*,) reigned then in *Ægypt*. The whole force of his argument lies in this, that *Manethos* mentions the expulſion of the nation of ſhepherds to have been by *Tethmoſis*: but the *Hebrews* were a nation of ſhepherds: therefore the *Hebrews* were expelled out of *Ægypt*, or in the ſcripture-phraſe, departed out of *Ægypt* under *Tethmoſis*; and conſequently, that *Moſes*, who was their conductor, was coetaneous with him. That the *Hebrews* were a nation of ſhepherds, and ſo accounted of themſelves, and were eſteemed by others, is very perſpicuous. [k] *And* Joſeph *ſaid unto his brethren, and unto his father's houſe, I will go up and ſhew* Pharaoh, *and ſay unto him, My brethren and my father's houſe which were in the land of* Canaan, *are come unto me: and the men are ſhepherds, for their trade hath been to feed cattel, and they have brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have. And it ſhall come to paſs, when* Pharaoh *ſhall call you, and ſhall ſay, What is your occupation? that ye ſhall ſay, thy ſervants trade hath been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and alſo our fathers; that ye may dwell in the land of* Goſhen. *For every ſhepherd is an abomination to the* Ægyptians. But before we ſhall diſprove this aſſertion of *Joſephus*, which carries much ſpecioufneſs with it, and therefore is approved and followed by [l] *Tatianus*, by [m] *Juſtin Martyr*, and by [n] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we ſhall put down the words of *Manethos* himſelf, as they are reported by [o] *Joſephus* in his firſt book *contra Apionem*. Timanus *by name being our king, under him I know not how* GOD *was diſpleaſed, and beyond expectation, out of the eaſtern countries, men of obſcure birth encamped themſelves in the country, and eaſily, and without battle, took it by force, binding the princes, and beſides, cruelly burning the cities, and overthrowing the temples of the gods. Laſt of all, they made one of themſelves a king, who was named* Salatis; *he reigning nineteen years, died. After him, another, named* Bæon, *reigned forty four years; next to him* Apachnas; *another, thirty ſix years, ſeven months; then* Apophis, *ſixty one*; Janias, *fifty, and one month*; *after all,* Aſſis, *forty nine years and two months. And theſe were the firſt ſix kings of them always conquering, and deſiring to extirpate* Ægypt. *Their nation was called* Hycſos, *that is, kingly ſhepherds. For* hyc *in the ſacred tongue, ſignifies a king; and* ſos *a ſhepherd, or ſhepherds in the common dialect, and thence* hycſos *is compounded. But ſome ſay, that theſe were* Arabians. [*In other copies I have found, that by the denomination* hyc, *kings are not ſignified, but on the contrary, captive ſhepherds. For* hyc *in the* Ægyptian *language, when it is pronounced with a broad ſound, plainly ſignifies captives; and this ſeems more probable to me, and better agreeing to the ancient hiſtory.*] *Thoſe kings therefore, which we before mentioned, and thoſe which were called* Paſtores, *and thoſe which deſcended of them, ruled* Ægypt *five hundred and eleven years. After this, he mentions that by the kings of* Thebes, *and of the reſt of* Ægypt, *there was an invaſion made againſt theſe ſhepherds, and a very great and laſting war. The which, he ſays, were conquered by a king, whoſe name was* Aliſfragmuthoſis, *whereby they loſt all* Ægypt, *being ſhut up into a place containing in circuit ten thouſand acres. This ſpace* Manethos *ſays, the ſhepherds encompaſſed with a great and ſtrong wall, that they might ſecure all their ſubſtance and their ſpoils in a defenſible place. But* Themoſis, *the ſon of* Aliſfragmuthoſis *endeavouring to take them with four hundred thouſand armed men, beleaguer'd the walls, who deſpairing to take them by ſiege, made conditions with them that they ſhould leave* Ægypt, *and go without any damage whither they would: they upon this agreement, no leſs than two hundred and forty thouſand, with all their ſubſtance, went out of* Ægypt *by the deſart into* Syria, *and fearing the power of the* Aſſyrians, (*who then ruled* Aſia,) *in that country, which is now called* Judæa, *they built a city capable to receive ſo many myriads of men, naming it* Hieruſalem.

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[These are the words of *Joſephus*, and not of *Manethos*.]

By way of anſwer to *Joſephus*, we ſay, that though the *Iſraelites* might properly be called ſhepherds, yet it cannot hence be inferr'd out of *Manethos*, that theſe ſhepherds were *Iſraelites*. Nay, if we compare this relation of *Manethos*, with that in *Exodus*, which [p] *Joſephus* being a *Jew*,

[i] Σεσώστριος ὃς τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τῶν βασιλέων τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φέρωνα. Herodot. l. 2.
[k] Gen. xlvi. 31, 32, &c.
[l] In oratione contra Græcos.
[m] In paræneticо ad eoſdem.
[n] Lib. 1. Stromatum.
[o] Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apion. Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν Τίμαος ἄνομα, &c.
[p] Exod. i.

GREAVES cannot but approve of, we ſhall find the contrary. For there they live under a heavy ſlavery and perſecution, whereas here they are the perſecutors and afflictors; there they groan under their taſk-maſters the *Ægyptians*, here they make all *Ægypt* to groan under them: *Laſtly*, whereas there they are employed in the loweſt offices, [q] *in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field:* Here, after the deſtruction of many cities, and men, and infinite outrages committed upon the *Ægyptians*, they make one of themſelves a king, and for ſix deſcents keep themſelves in poſſeſſion of the royal throne, of which, after a long and bloody war, they are deprived. Their building likewiſe of a city in *Judæa*, and naming it *Jeruſalem*, according to *Manethos*, is a ſtrong argument againſt *Joſephus*, that theſe ſhepherds could not have been the *Iſraelites*. For before the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, we find that *Jeruſalem was a fort of the* Jebuſites *upon mount* Sion, *unconquered by* Joſhua [r]. *As for the* Jebuſites *the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *the children of* Iſrael *could not drive them out.* But they were long after ſubdued by *David*. *And* [f] David *and all* Iſrael *went to* Jeruſalem, *which is* Jebus, *where the* Jebuſites *were the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of* Jebus *ſaid to* David, *Thou ſhalt not come hither*; *nevertheleſs*, David *took the caſtle of* Zion, *which is the city of* David. Beſides all this, the hiſtory and chronology of thoſe ancient times, if we compare ſacred and prophane authors, will in no ſort admit that theſe ſhepherds muſt have been the *Iſraelites*. For if theſe that departed out of *Ægypt* in the reign of *Tethmoſis*, king of *Thebais*, or of the upper part of *Ægypt*, were the children of *Iſrael*, then muſt *Moſes* their conductor have been as ancient as *Tethmoſis*, or *Amoſis*, that is, as ancient as *Inachus*, the firſt king of the *Argives*. For *Apion*, in his fourth book of the hiſtories of *Ægypt*, ſhews out of *Ptolemæus Mendeſius*, an *Ægyptian* prieſt, that this *Amoſis* lived in the time of *Inachus*, as it is recorded by [t] *Tatianus*, [u] *Juſtin Martyr*, [x] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others. *Euſebius*, tho' he doth not approve of it, for he places *Moſes* in the time of [y] *Cecrops*, yet he aſſures us, that it was a received opinion among many learned men, [z] *Moiſen Inachi fuiſſe temporibus eruditiſſimi viri tradiderunt ex noſtris Clemens, & Africanus; ex Judæis, Joſephus, & Juſtus, veteris hiſtoriæ monimenta replicantes.* Now *Inachus* according to [a] *Caſtor* an ancient chronographer, with whom *Euſebius* alſo concurs, began to reign a thouſand and eighty years before the firſt *olympiad*, that is, CIↃ CCLXVIII before the deſtruction of the temple under *Zedekiah*, and before Chriſt's nativity, after the *Dionyſian* or common account, CIↃIↃCCCLVI. That of the *olympiads* is ſo aſſured an *epocha*, and ſo ſtrongly and clearly proved by eclipſes of the ſun and moon, which are the beſt demonſtrations in chronology, theſe being expreſſed by ſome of the ancients to have happen'd in ſuch a year of ſuch an *olympiad*, as by [b] *Ptolemy*; others in ſuch a year of the *epocha* of *Nabonaſſar*, that we cannot err in our calculations an hour, much leſs an intire day. By this therefore we ſhall fix the time of *Zedekiah*, and the deſtruction of the temple: And conſequently, if, by our continuation of the years mentioned in the ſacred ſtory, it ſhall appear, that from the time of *Moſes*, either to the firſt *olympiad*, or to *Zedekiah* and the deſtruction of the temple, there cannot be ſo great a diſtance as theſe ſuppoſe, we may ſafely then conclude, that *Moſes* lived not in the time of this *Tethmoſis*, and is not ſo ancient as *Joſephus* makes him; and that theſe ſhepherds were not the *Iſraelites*, but very probably *Arabians*, as *Manethos* here alſo reports. *Some ſay that theſe were* Arabians; who to this day, for the greateſt part, like the *Nomades*, wander up and down, feeding their cattle, and often make incurſions upon the *Ægyptians* and *Syrians*. Which occaſioned *Seſoſtris* the great (as we find it in [c] *Diodorus*,) *to make a wall on the eaſt-ſide of* Ægypt, *a thouſand and fifty furlongs in length, from* Peluſium *by the deſert to* Heliopolis, *againſt the inrodes of the* Syrians *and* Arabians: As at this day the *Chineſe* have done againſt the irruptions of the *Tartars* on the north and weſt parts of *China*, for many hundred miles, the which appears by a large map of mine of that country, made and printed in *China*. On the contrary, if the ſucceſſion of times from *Moſes*, recorded in the holy writ, better agrees with the age of *Amenophis*, the father of *Rameſſes*, whoſe ſtory [d] *Joſephus* hath preſerved out of *Manethos*, and whoſe time and rank in the *Dynaſties*, *Africanus* and *Euſebius* deliver out of the ſame *Manethos*, we may with more probability affirm, that the migration of the *Iſraelites* and time of *Moſes*, was when *Amenophis* was *Pharaoh*, or king of *Ægygt*, than that it was when *Tethmoſis* reigned, as *Joſephus* and others contend, out of a deſire to make *Moſes* ancienter than in truth he is.

[q] Exod. i. 14. [r] Joſh. xv. 63. [f] 2 Chron. xi. 4, 5. [t] In oratione contra Græcos. [u] In parænetico ad Græcos. [x] Lib. 1. Strom. [y] *And ſo doth St.* Auguſtin, eduxit Moſes ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis, Athenienſium regis. L. 18. c. 11. de Civ. Dei. [z] Euſeb. Chron. [a] Ibid. [b] Ptolemæus ἐν μεσάλῃ συνθέσει. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. [d] Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

And

And tho' this argument from the ſeries and ſucceſſions of time is ſo demonſtrative and concluſive, that nothing can be oppoſed againſt it, and therefore might be ſufficient to evince our purpoſe: yet if we conſiderately examine another relation of *Manethos*, (which is ſlighted and depreſſed by *Joſephus*, becauſe it made not for his purpoſe,) it muſt neceſſarily be that thoſe ſhepherds he meant not the *Iſraelites*, but rather by the *Iſraelites* the leprous people, which in his computation are three hundred thirty years and ſix months after the *Dynaſty* of the ſhepherds. And therefore we may oppoſe the authority of [c] *Manethos* againſt himſelf, or rather againſt *Joſephus*. The ſum of whoſe diſcourſe is this, That *Amenophis*, who was a great worſhipper of the gods, as *Orus* one of the former kings had been, being deſirous to ſee the gods, *one of the prieſts of the ſame name with him, told him he might, if he cleanſed the country of leprous and polluted people.* This leprous people choſe for their captain one of the prieſts of *Heliopolis*, named *Oſarſiphus*, who changing his name, was called *Moſes*; he cauſing *Amenophis* for fear to fly into *Æthiopia*, was afterwards by him, and by his ſon *Sethon*, who was alſo called *Rameſſes*, by the name of his father overthrown in battle, and the leprous people were purſued by them unto the confines of *Syria*. Thus far out of *Manethos*. Here, which is very remarkable, we have expreſly the name of *Moſes*; whereas in the former relation of *Manethos* there is no mention of him, but of ſix other kings, with their peculiar names. Whereas it is not probable he would have omitted the name of *Moſes* if he had lived in that age, being a name ſo famous and ſo well known to them; and by [f] *Joſephus* acknowledged, *that the* Ægyptians *accounted him to be an admirable and divine man.* The purſuing of them unto the confines of *Syria*, doth very well intimate the following of the *Iſraelites* by *Pharaoh* and his hoſt. For his terming them a leprous and polluted people, we muſt conſider him to have been an *Ægyptian*, and therefore not unlikely to throw as many aſperſions as he could upon the *Iſraelites*, whom they deadly hated, it may be out of memory of their former plagues.

However it were, *Chæremon* hath almoſt the ſame hiſtory, as [g] *Joſephus* confeſſes. *Chæremon* profeſſing to write the hiſtory of *Ægypt*, ſays, *That under* Amenophis *and his ſon* Rameſſes, *Two hundred and fifty thouſand leprous and polluted men were caſt out of* Ægypt. *Their leaders were* Moſes *the ſcribe, and* Joſephus, *who was alſo a ſacred ſcribe. The* Ægyptian *name of* Moſes *was* Tiſithen, *of* Joſeph Peteſeph. *Theſe coming to* Peluſium, *and finding there three hundred and eighty thouſand men left by* Amenophis, *which he would not admit into* Ægypt, *making a league with them, they undertook an expedition againſt* Ægypt. Upon this *Amenophis* flies into *Æthiopia*, and his ſon *Meſſenes* drives out the *Jews* into *Syria*, in number about two hundred thouſand, and receives his father *Amenophis* out of *Æthiopia*. I know [h] *Lyſimachus* aſſigns another king, and another time, in which *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, and that was *when* Bocchoris *reigned in* Ægypt, *the nation of the* Jews *being infected with leproſies, and ſcabs, and other diſeaſes, betook themſelves to the temple to beg their living, many being tainted with the diſeaſe, there happened a death in* Ægypt. Whereupon *Bocchoris* conſulting with the oracle of *Ammon*, received anſwer, *That the leprous people were to be drowned in the ſea in ſheets of lead, the ſcabbed were to be carried into the wilderneſs*; who chooſing *Moſes* for their leader, conquered that country which is now called *Judæa*. Out of which relation of *Lyſimachus*, and ſome others of like credit, [i] *Tacitus* may have borrowed his in the fifth book of his hiſtories. *Moſt authors agree, that there ariſing a contagion in* Ægypt *which defiled their bodies, king* Bocchoris *conſulting the oracle of* Hammon *for remedy, was bid to purge his kingdom, and to carry that ſort of men, as hated of the gods, into other countries. Thence the vulgar ſort being enquired after, and collected together, after they had been left in the deſarts, the reſt being heavy with tears,* Moſes, *one of the baniſhed men, admoniſhed them, not to expect the help either of gods or men, being deſerted by both, but that they ſhould truſt to him as their captain ſent from heaven, to whoſe aſſiſtance by their giving credit at the firſt, they had overcome*

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[c] Manethos apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

[f] Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι. Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

[g] Lib. 1. contra Apionem. Χαιρήμων] καὶ γὰρ ἔτος Αἰγυπτιακὴν φάσκων ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν καὶ προσθεὶς ταυτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ ὁ Μανεθὼς, Ἀμένωφιν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Ῥαμέσσην, &c.

[h] Lyſimachus apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem. Ἐπὶ Βοκχόρεως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λεπρους ὄντας καὶ ψωρους, καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματα τινα ἔχοντας, εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφυγόντας μεταιτεῖν τροφήν, &c.

[i] Tacit. l. 5. Hiſt. *Plurimi auctores conſentiunt, ortâ per Egyptum tabe quæ corpora fædaret: regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis oracula, remedium petentem, purgare regnum, & id genus hominum ut inviſum deis alias in terras avehere juſſum. Sic conquiſitum collectumque vulgus, poſtquam vaſtis locis relictum ſit, cæteris per lachrymas torpentibus, Moſen unum exulum monuiſſe, ne quam deorum hominumvè opem expectarent ab utriſque deſerti, ſed ſibimet ut duci cœleſti crederent, primò cujus auxilio credentes præſentes miſerias pepuliſſent. Aſſenſere atque omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt.*

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their preſent calamities. They aſſented unto him, and being ignorant of all, they begin their journey as fortune ſhould lead them. Thus much and more hath *Tacitus* of *Moſes* and the *Jews*. But to paſs by his and *Lyſimachus*'s calumnies, we can no more aſſent to theſe teſtimonies of theirs, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Bocchoris*, than we did to *Joſephus* that he was coetaneous with *Tethmoſis*. For we find *Bocchoris* to be placed by *Africanus* and [k] *Euſebius*, both following *Manethos* in the twenty fourth *dynaſty*, and by [l] *Diodorus* long after *Seſoſtris* the great, or *Rameſſes*; which *Rameſſes*, or *Sethoſis*, or *Sethon*, (that is, *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſooſis* in *Diodorus*,) both in *Manethos* and *Chæremon*, is the ſon of *Amenophis*, who is the laſt king of the eighteenth *dynaſty*, according to *Africanus* and *Euſebius*. I purpoſely omit the opinion of [m] *Apion*, that *Moſes* (whom he makes to be of *Heliopolis*,) *departed with theſe lepers, and blind, and lame, in the firſt year of the ſeventh* olympiad, *in which year*, ſaith he, *the* Phœnicians *built* Carthage; and that other of [n] *Porphyrius* in his fourth book againſt the Chriſtians, that *Moſes* was before *Semiramis*. Where he places him as much too high, as *Apion* doth too low.

Laying therefore aſide theſe vain and uncertain traditions, we have no more aſſured way exactly to fix the time of *Moſes*, and by *Moſes* the time in which the Pyramids were built, than to have recourſe to the ſacred ſcriptures, and ſometimes to compare ſuch authors of the Gentiles with theſe, againſt whom we have no juſt exceptions. For by thoſe, and theſe conjointly, we may continue his time to the firſt olympiad, and thence to the deſtruction of the temple, by *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*: That of the olympiads being a moſt certain and known epocha with the *Greeks*, as that of the deſtruction of the temple with the *Jews*. From *Moſes* then, or the migration of the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, to the building of *Solomon*'s temple, are CCCCLXXX years current, or four hundred ſeventy nine complete; and ſo alſo [o] *Euſebius* computes them. The words of the text plainly conclude this ſum: [p] *And it came to paſs in the four hundred and fourth-ſcore year, after the children of* Iſrael *were come out of the land of* Ægypt, *in the fourth year of* Solomon's *reign over* Iſrael, *in the month* Zif, *which is the ſecond month, that he began to build the houſe of the* LORD. From the building of the temple to the deſtruction of it in the reign of *Zedekias*, by the calculation and confeſſion of the beſt chronologers, are betwixt four hundred and twenty and four hundred and thirty years. Which is thus deduced: After the firſt foundation of the temple, *Solomon* reigned [q] thirty ſeven years, [r] *Rehoboam* with [s] *Abia* twenty; in whoſe time we are to place *Shiſhak*, or *Seſochoſis*, the king of *Ægypt*. [t] *And it came to paſs in the fifth year of king* Rehoboam, *that* Shiſhak *king of* Ægypt, *came up againſt* Jeruſalem; *and he took away the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and the treaſures of the king's houſe, he even took away all; and he took away all the ſhields of gold which* Solomon *had made.* This *Shiſhak* is named by the *Septuagint* Σουσακιμ, by St *Hierom Seſac*, and is the ſame whom [u] *Joſephus* calls Σέσωστρις, which he imagines to have been *Seſoſtris* the great, whoſe victories and conqueſts are deſcrib'd at large by [w] *Herodotus*. But this *Seſoſtris*, or [x] *Seſooſis*, as *Diodorus* alſo terms him, muſt long have preceded *Rehoboam*'s time, as in the ſequel of this diſcourſe it will appear. Therefore the more probable opinion is that of *Scaliger*, that by *Shiſhak* is meant *Seſochoſis*, whom *Manethos* calls Σέσογχις, and the *ſcoliaſt* of *Apollonius* Σεσόγχωσις, the time of the twenty ſecond *dynaſty*, in which we find him placed by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, doth well agree with it, and the radical letters in *Shiſhak*, *Seſac*, and Σέσογχις, being the ſame, do very much ſtrengthen our aſſertion. After *Rehoboam* and *Abiah*'s reign, [y] *Aſah* and [z] *Jehoſaphat* reigned LXVI years, [a] *Joram* and [b] *Ahazia* IX, [c] *Athalia* and [d] *Joas* XLVI, [e] *Amaſias* XXIX, [f] *Uzziah* LII, [g] *Jotham* XVI, [h] *Ahaz*

[k] Ex Edit. Joſ. Scaligeri. [l] Diod. lib. 1. [m] Apud Joſ. lib. 2. contra Apionem.

[n] *Ex Ethnicis verò impius ille Porphyrius in quarto operis ſui libro, quòd adverſum nos caſſo labore contexuit, poſt Moyſen Semiramim fuiſſe affirmat.* Euſeb. chron. [o] Ibid. [p] 1 Kings vi. 1.

[q] For 1 *Kings* vi. 1. *In the fourth year of his reign, and in the ſecond month he began to build the houſe of the Lord.* And in 1 *Kings* xi. 42. *The time that Solomon reigned in Jeruſalem over Iſrael was forty years.* Out of which, if we ſubduct three complete years that preceded the foundation of the temple, there remains thirty ſeven years. [r] 1 *Kings* xiv. 21. *He reigned ſeventeen years in Jeruſalem.*

[s] 1 *Kings* xv. 2. *Three years reigned he in Jeruſalem.* [t] 1 *Kings* xiv. 25. 26. [u] Joſeph Antiq. l. 8. c. 4. [w] Herod. lib. 2. [x] *Diodorus* in the printed copies, always names him *Seſooſis*, but in one of the *MSS.* as *Henr. Stephanus* obſerves, he is ſometimes called *Seſoſtris*, and ſometimes *Seſooſis*. *Vid. edit. Diod. ab Henr. Stephan.* [y] 1 Kings xv. 10. *Forty one years reigned he in Jeruſalem.*

[z] 1 Kings xxii. 42. *He reigned twenty five years in Jeruſalem.* [a] 2 Kings viii. 17. *He reigned eight years in Jeruſalem,* [b] 2 Kings viii. 26. *He reigned one year in Jeruſalem.*

[c] 2 Kings xi. 3. *And he was with her hid in the houſe of the Lord ſix years; and Athaliah did reign over the land.* [d] 2 Kings xii. 1. *Forty years reigned he in Jeruſalem.*

[e] 2 Kings xiv. 2. *He reigned twenty nine years in Jeruſalem.* [f] 2 Kings xv. 2. *He reigned fifty two years in Jeruſalem.* [g] 2 Kings xv. 33. *He reigned ſixteen years in Jeruſalem.* [h] 2 Kings xvi. 2. *He reigned ſixteen years in Jeruſalem.*

XVI, being contemporary with *Hoſhea* the laſt king of *Iſrael*, in whoſe time we find *So* to reign in *Ægypt*, (2 *Kings* xvii. 4.) After *Ahaz* ſucceeded, *Hezekiah* reigning [i] XXIX years.

Now [k] *in the fourteenth year of king* Hezekiah, *did* Sennacharib *king of* Aſſyria, *come up againſt all the fenced cities of* Judah, *and took them.* But afterwards, when he came to beſiege *Jeruſalem* — [l] *It came to paſs that night, that the angel of the* LORD *went out and ſmote in the camp of the* Aſſyrians *an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand; and when they aroſe early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpſes. So* Sennacharib *king of* Aſſyria *departed, and went, and returned and dwelt at* Nineveh. In the time of this *Sennacharib*, *Sethon* ſucceeding *Anyſis* reigned in *Ægypt*, according to [m] *Herodotus*, who in his *Euterpe* hath plainly the name of *Sanacharib*, ſtiling him king of the *Arabians* and *Aſſyrians*, and making him to have received a miraculous defeat, which it may be was that of *Hezekiah*, though he applies it to *Sethon* king of the *Ægyptians*. His ſtory is well worth our obſervation, which runs thus: [n] *After this* (Anyſis) *the prieſt of* Vulcan, *by name* Sethon, *reigned, who abuſing the men of war of the* Ægyptians, *and contemning them as not uſeful to him, beſides other ignominies he deprived them of their lands, which had been given to every company of twelve by the former kings. Whence it happened, that when afterwards* Sanacharib, *the king of the* Arabians *and* aſſyrians, *invaded* Ægypt, *the* Ægyptian *ſoldiers refuſed to aſſiſt him. Then the prieſt deſtitute of counſel, ſhut himſelf up, lamenting before the image how much he was in danger to ſuffer; in the midſt of his mourning falling aſleep, a God appeared to him, incouraging him that he ſhould ſuffer no diſtreſs, if he would march againſt the armies of the* Arabians; *for he would ſend him ſuccour. He therefore giving credit to this dream, taking with him ſuch volunteers of the* Ægyptians *as followed him, pitched his army at* Peluſium; *for there* Ægypt *is eaſieſt invaded: Neither did any of the ſoldiers follow him, but trades-men, and artificers, and merchants. Coming thither by night, an infinite number of mice entring upon his enemies, gnawed their quivers and bows, and the leathers of their ſhields, ſo that the next day the enemies deſtitute of arms, fled, many of them being ſlain. And therefore now this king ſtands in the temple of* Vulcan, *in a ſtatue of marble, holding in his hand a mouſe with this inſcription. He that looks upon me let him be religious.* After *Hezekiah*, [o] *Manaſſes* reigned LV years, [p] *Amon* II, [q] *Joſiah* XXXI. [r] *In his days* Pharaoh Nechoh *king of* Ægypt, *went up againſt the king of* Aſſyria *to the river* Euphrates, *and king* Joſiah *went againſt him, and he ſlew him at* Megiddo *when he had ſeen him.* The ſame relation we read in *Heredotus*, if we pardon him the miſtake of *Magdolo* for *Megiddo*, who writes, that [s] *Necus* (the king of *Ægypt*) *fighting a battle on land with the* Syrians *in* Magdolo, *obtained the victory, and after the fight he took* Cadytus, *a great city in* Syria.

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Next to *Joſiah* ſucceeded [t] *Joachaz*, [u] *Jehoiakim*, and [w] *Jechoniah* or *Jehoiakin*, reigning eleven years and ſix months. And in the eleventh year of [x] *Zedekiah*, the next king after *Jechoniah*, was the temple burnt by *Nebuzaradan, in the* [y] *nineteenth year of* Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon, *or the ſecond of* Vaphres *king of* Ægypt, *in the computation of* Clemens Alexandrinus. *This* Zedekiah, *ſaith* [z] Joſephus, *having been a confederate of the* Babylonians *for eight years, broke his faith with them, and joining league with the* Ægyptians, *hoped to overthrow the* Babylonians. This league we find intimated in [a] *Ezekiel*; and we read in [b] *Jeremiah* and [c] *Joſephus* of ſuccours

[i] 2 Kings xviii. 2. *He reigned twenty nine years in Jeruſalem.* [k] 2 Kings xviii. 13, 16.

[l] 2 Kings xix. 35, 36. [m] Herod. lib. 2. Σανεχάριβος, [n] Herod. lib. 2. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι Σεθών, &c. [o] 2 Kings xxi. 1. *He reigned fifty five years in Jeruſalem.* [p] 2 Kings xxii. 19. *He reigned two years in Jeruſalem.* [q] 2 Kings xxii. 1. *He reigned thirty one years in Jeruſalem.* [r] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. *Necho* king of *Egypt*, came up to fight againſt *Carchemiſh* by *Euphrates*, and *Joſiah* went out againſt him.

[s] Καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε μάχῃ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην κράδυτιν πολίν τῆς Συρίης ἑλὼν μεγάλην εἷλε. Herod. lib. 2. [t] 2 Kings xxiii. 31. *He reigned three months in Jeruſalem.*

[u] 2 Kings xxiii. 36. *He reigned eleven years in Jeruſalem.* [w] 2 Kings xxiv. 8. *He reigned in Jeruſalem three months.*

[x] *And the city was beſieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. And on the ninth day of the fourth month the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land: and the city was broken up, and all the men of war fled by night.*

[y] *And in the fifth month on the ſeventh day of the month (which is the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,) came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, a ſervant of the king of Babylon, unto Jeruſalem. And he burnt the houſe of the Lord, and the king's houſe, and all the houſes of Jeruſalem, and every great man's houſe burnt he with fire,* 2 Kings xxv. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9. The ſame relation we find in *Jeremiah*, chap. lii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 12, 13. almoſt word for word, which is remarkable.

[z] Joſeph. antiquit. lib. 10. cap. 10. Τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπὶ ἔτη ὀκτὼ κατασχὼν, διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεις, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσίθετο, καταλύσειν τὸς Βαβυλωνίους ἠλπίσας.

[a] Ezek. xvii. 15. [b] Jer. xxxvii. 5.

[c] Joſ. ant. l. 10. c. 10. Ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ Σεδεκίας ἀναλαβὼν πολλὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν.

GREAVES and assistance sent by the king of *Ægypt*, when *Zedekiah* and *Jerusalem* were first distressed by the *Chaldeans*, or forces of the king of *Babylon*. [d] *Then* Pharaohs' *army was come forth out of* Ægypt, *and when the* Chaldeans *that besieged* Jerusalem, *heard tidings of them, they departed from* Jerusalem. The same is reiterated by him: *Behold* Pharaoh's *army which is come forth to help you, shall return to* Ægypt *to their own land. And the* Chaldeans *shall come again, and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire.* All which we see was perform'd by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*; and a judgment also denounced against the king of *Ægypt*. [e] *Thus saith the* LORD, *Behold, I will give* Pharaoh Hophra *king of* Ægypt, *into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave* Zedekiah *king of* Judah, *into the hand of* Nebuchadrezzar *king of* Babylon, *his enemy, and that sought his life.* The same is often threatned by the prophet [f] *Ezekiel*, who lived in the time of *Hezekiah*, as *Jeremiah* did: *I am against* Pharaoh *king of* Ægypt, *and I will scatter the* Ægyptians *among the nations, and will disperse them throughout the countries: And I will strengthen the arms of the king of* Babylon, *and put my sword in his hand, but I will break* Pharaoh's *arms.* Which prophecies we may discover most manifestly to have been fulfilled in the reign of *Apries*, as [g] *Herodotus* names him, or *Apries*, as [h] *Diodorus* calls him, or *Vaphres*, as the *Septuagint* and *Eusebius* render the name of that king, which here in *Jeremiah* is called *Pharaoh Hophra. Who*, saith [i] *Herodotus*, *next to* Psammiticus *his grandfather, was the most fortunate of all the former kings for twenty five years of his reign*; which might occasion *Zedekiah* to fly to him for succour: But the *Ægyptians* rebelling against him, he was overthrown in battle, taken prisoner, and afterward strangled by his own servant *Amasis*, whom they had made their king. The whole story and manner is at large in [k] *Herodotus*, neither did divine vengeance long forbear to pursue the traitor. For *Cambyses* the king of the *Persians* and of *Babylon*, coming with an army against him, possessed himself of *Ægypt*, as the prophets had foretold. Nor could the *Ægyptians* ever to this day recover the monarchy. For after the *Persians* succeeded the *Macedonians*, after them the *Romans*, then the *Arabians*, next the *Mamalukes* or *Circassians*, and last of all the *Turks* or *Sythians*. So that we may conclude from the occurrences then happening, (the relations of *Herodotus* exactly agreeing with the threatenings of the prophets,) as also from the computation of times, and from the affinity and analogy of names, that *Hophra*, and *Apries*, or *Vaphres*, must have been the very same *Ægyptian* king coetaneous and concurrent with *Zedekiah*.

To reassume then what hath been demonstrated by us: From the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, under the conduct of *Moses* to the building of *Solomon*'s temple, are four hundred seventy nine years complete; and from the building of the temple to the destruction of it, are four hundred and thirty years and six months. But because it is not probable, that amongst so many kings, all of them should have reigned completely so many years as are express'd in the text; it being the usual stile of kings to reckon the years current of their reign as complete, I shall limit this uncertainty between cccccxx and cccccxxx years, which is a sufficient latitude. If any one should desire a more exact calculation, he may compute them by comparing other places of the scriptures with these, to be but cccccxxv years current, *according to the opinion of the most reverend and judicious primate of* Ireland, to which I willingly subscribe; though either computation be sufficient for my purpose.

This destruction of the temple, by our best chronographers, is placed *in the first year of the forty eight olympiad*, and *in the hundred and sixtieth of the* epocha *of* Nabonassar, *and in the nineteenth* (as the scripture often makes mention) *of* Nebuchodonosor *the son of* Nabolassar, (as [l] *Berosus* in *Josephus* names him,) which *Nabolassar* must necessarily be the same with him that is called *Nabopolassar* in *Ptolemy*, (the XIV king of the *Babylonians* after *Nabonassar*,) whom *Nabocolassar* (or [m] *Nabuchodonozor*, or [n] *Nebuchadrezzar*, or [o] *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the scripture also terms him,) in his *Canon Regnorum* succeeds. The nearness of the names, and agreement of the times from *Cyrus*, in whom the sacred scriptures and prophane authors equally concur, do strongly prove them to be the same. Wherefore we may conclude, that from the time of *Moses*, or the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, or from the end of the *Amenophis*, (coetaneous with *Moses*,) the last king of the eighteenth *Dynasty*, (as *Eusebius* out of *Manethos* ranks him,) to the

[d] Jer. xxxvii. 6, 8. [e] Jer. xliv. 30. [f] Ezek. xxx. 22, 23. [g] Herod. l. 2.
[h] Diodor. lib. 1. [i] Ὃς μὲν Ψαμμιτιχὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας. Herod. l. 2. [k] Herodot. lib. 2.
[l] Ναβοχοδονόσορον] ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ναβολάσσαρος. Berosus apud Joseph. l. 1. contra Apionem.
[m] So *Josephus*, and the *Vetus vulgata*, always name him. [n] Jer. lii. 12, 28, 29.
[o] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Ezra i. 7. ii. 1.

reign

reign of *Apries*, or *Vaphres*, or *Hophra*, the eighth king of the twenty ſixth *Dynaſty*, (according to the ſame *Euſebius* following *Manethos*,) being coetaneous with *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, are IↃCCCCIV years, and from *Moſes* to the firſt olympiad IↃCCXV and not CIↃLXXX as they who make *Moſes* as ancient as *Inachus* affirm. In which ſpace we may with much certainty, if we give credit to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, place the kings the founders of the three greateſt and faireſt Pyramids; which is the principal intention of this diſcourſe. For [p] both of them deſcribe theſe to have reigned many ages before *Apries*, and long after *Seſoſtris* the great. Which *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſooſis*, as *Diodorus* alſo ſtiles him, muſt have been the ſame king whom *Manethos* in *Joſephus* calls *Sethoſis*, and *Rameſſes*, and [q] *Ægyptus*, ſon to *Amenophis* before-mentioned, and brother to *Armais*, or *Danaus*; and *Euſebius* of *Scaliger*'s edition in *Greek* names *Sethos*, the *Latin* tranſlations of St. *Hierom*, both *MSS.* and printed copies *Sethus*, and by all of them is the firſt king of the XIX *Dynaſty*. The great acts and conqueſts aſſigned by *Herodotus* to *Seſoſtris*, and as great attributed by *Manethos* to *Sethoſis*, or *Rameſſes*, which cannot well be applied to any other precedent or ſubſequent kings; together with the relation of them both, that while he was in purſuit of his victories abroad, his brother, whom *Manethos* names *Armais*, and [r] *Danaus* (in *Herodotus* his name is omitted,) rebelled againſt him at home, and the nearneſs of the time, which may be collected out of both, do very much confirm the probability of this aſſertion. *Seſoſtris* then, and *Sethoſis*, being one and the ſame, is by *Manethos* in *Joſephus* ranked immediately after *Amenophis*, (coetaneous with *Moſes*, as we have prov'd,) and is the ſame *Manethos* in the tradition of *Euſebius* after *Menophis* that is *Amenophis*, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* copies. Wherefore the founders of theſe Pyramids having lived after *Seſoſtris*, muſt likewiſe have been after *Amenophis*. If we will come to a greater preciſeneſs yet of time, (for this latitude of nine hundred and four years, which we aſſigned from *Moſes* to the deſtruction of the firſt temple, in the time of *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and *Apries* king of *Ægypt*, is ſo great that we may loſe our ſelves in it,) we have no other poſſible means left, after the revolution of ſo many ages, and the loſs of ſo many of the commentaries and monuments of the *Ægyptians*, but by having recourſe to thoſe *Dynaſties* of *Manethos*, as they are preſerved by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*. And yet in neither of theſe ſhall we find the names of *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, or *Cephren* or *Chabryis*; or of *Mycerinus*, the authors of the greater Pyramids, mentioned by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; or of *Aſychis*, the builder of a fourth, according to *Herodotus*. Wherefore what their writings have not ſupplied us with, that reaſon muſt. For ſince theſe *Ægyptian* kings, as we have proved, lived between *Amenophis* and *Apries*, and by [s] *Euſebius* out of *Africanus*, *Amenophis* is the laſt of the XVIII *Dynaſty*, and *Apries* or *Vaphres*, the VIII of the XXVI *Dinaſty*, we muſt neceſſarily place them in one of the intermediate *Dynaſties*. But ſeeing all the intermediate *Dynaſties* have their peculiar kings, unleſs it be the XX, we have no reaſon to exclude them, and to bring theſe in their places as uſurpers: But rather with great probability, (for I muſt ſay here with [t] *Livy*, *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?*) we may aſſign to them the XX *Dynaſty*. In which we find not the name of any one king, but yet the ſpace left vacant of CLXXVIII years, according to *Euſebius*.

Here therefore we ſhall place,

Firſt, *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, the founder of the firſt Pyramid, who began his reign in the CIↃ CIↃ CIↃ CCCC XLVIII year of the *Julian* period, that is CCCCLXXX years before the firſt olympiad, and IↃ CLXXVII before the firſt deſtruction of the temple, and CIↃ CCLXVI before the beginning of the years of our LORD. He reigned fifty years, ſaith *Herodotus*, and built this Pyramid, as *Diodorus* obſerves, a thouſand years before his time, or the CLXXX olympiad, whereas he might have ſaid a thouſand two hundred and ſeven.

[p] Herodot. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

[q] Λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθωσις ἐκράλειτο Αἰγυπτῶν, Ἄρμαϊς ὃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός. Manethos apud Joſ. l. 1. contra Apionem. Where in the ſame place *Manethos* calls this Σέθωσις, alſo Ῥαμψισσῆς, and ſon of *Amenophis*: and therefore *Scaliger* rightly obſerves, that *Rameſſes* with *Manethos* is *Trinominis*. *Scal. in Euſeb. Chron.*

[r] This *Danaus* (for his rebellion, being expelled by his brother out of *Ægypt*,) ſailed into *Greece*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Argos*, as it is teſtified by *Joſephus*, (*lib.* 1. *contra Apionem*,) by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, (*vid. Euſeb. chron.*) by *Pauſanias*, and ſeveral others. From whom deſcended the *Danaidæ*, one of the races of the kings at *Argos*; of all which there is frequent mention in the *Greek* hiſtorians and chronographers: Wherefore we cannot be ignorant either of *Danaus* or of his brother's time. I ſhall only add, for farther illuſtration, what I find in *Africanus*, Ἄρμαϊς ὁ ⊖ Δαναὸς φεύγων τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥαμψισσῆν τὸν κ̄ Αἴγυπτον ἐκπίπτει τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, εἰς Ἑλλάδα τε ἀφικνεῖται. Ῥαμψισσῆς ὃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Αἰγυπτῶν καλούμενος ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ξ̄η. Μετανόμασεν τὴν χώραν Αἴγυπτον τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, ἣ τις πρότερον Μεσραΐα παρ' Ἕλλησι δὲ Ἀερὶ ἀνελέγετο Δαναὸς δὲ ὁ κ̄ Ἄρμαϊς κρατήσας τοῦ Ἄργους, ⊖ ἐκβαλὼν Σθένελον τὸν Κρεσταιποῦ Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσεν, κ̄ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν Δαναΐδαι καλέμενοι, ἐπ' Εὐρυσθέα τὸν Σθενέλου τοῦ Περσέως, μεθ' οὓς οἱ Πελόπιδαι. Afr. apud Euſeb. chron.

[s] Euſeb. chron.

[t] Liv. l. 1.

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Secondly, *Cephren* or *Chabryis*, the builder of the second, who reigned fifty [u] six years.

Thirdly, *Mycerinus*, the erector of the third, seven years.

Fourthly, *Asychis* the author of the fourth.

Fifthly, *Anysis* the blind.

How long these two reigned is no where expressed.

Sixthly, *Sabachus* the *Ethiopian*. He conquered *Ægypt*, and reigned [x] fifty years.

The sum is CLXIII years, this being subducted out of CLXXVIII years, (the whole time allowed by *Eusebius* to this *Dynasty*,) the remainder is XV years; which space we may without any inconvenience, divide between *Asychis* and *Anysis*.

If any shall question why the names of these kings are omitted by *Manethos*, an *Ægyptian* priest, in the XX *Dynasty*, I can give no other reason than what we read in *Herodotus*: [y] *These kings* (speaking of *Cheops* and *Cephren*,) *the* Ægyptians *out of hatred will not so much as name, but they call them the Pyramids of* Philition *a shepherd, who in those times, at that place, fed his cattel.* The which hatred, occasioned by their oppressions, as [z] *Diodorus* also mentions, might cause him to omit the rest, especially *Sabachus*, an *Æthiopian*, and an usurper.

Following this computation of *Eusebius* of CLXXVIII years for the XX *Dynasty*, and not that of *Africanus*, who assigns only an CXXV, of whom [a] *Joseph Scaliger* hath this censure, *In istis Dynastis, aliquid turbasse videtur Africanus, ut consuleret rationibus suis*; it will follow by way of consequence, as the *most reverend and learned primate of* Ireland, in his *Chronologiâ Sacrâ* hath singularly well observed.

First, That the XVIII *Dynasty* ends with the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, and with the death of *Amenophis*; which is clearly signified by *Manethos*, and the times of *Belus* and *Danaus*, noted by the *Greek* chronographers, do evidently confirm it. I mean the Ægyptian *Belus* or *Amenophis*, the father of *Ægyptus*, or *Sethosis* and *Danaus*, not the *Babylonian Belus* the father of *Ninus*, whom *Mythologists* confound with this, feigning him to have transported colonies out of *Ægypt* to *Babylon*. The time allotted by [b] *Thallus*, an antient chronographer, to *Belus* of CCC XX years before the *Trojan* war, doth exactly agree with this Ægyptian *Belus* or *Amenophis*.

Secondly, That the XX *Dynasty* will receive those six kings, which out of *Herodotus* we have placed there; the number of whose years exceed the time limited by *Africanus*.

Thirdly, That the XXII *Dynasty* will fall upon the latter time of king *Solomon*, whereby *Sesonchis* the first king of it, may be the same with *Sesac*, or *Shishac*, who in the [c] fifth year of *Rehoboam*, the son of *Solomon*, invaded *Judæa*; which was the only reason that moved [d] *Scaliger* to suspect, that something had been altered by *Africanus* in these *Dynasties*.

By the same series and deduction of times, we may conclude, that the *labyrinth* adjoining to the Pyramid of *Osymanduas*, raised by a common expence of the XII kings, who [e] succeeded *Sethon* to have been CIↃ CIↃ CCCXXIV years since, IↃ CLXXX before Christ. For *Sethon* living in the time of *Sennacharib*, and these immediately following *Sethon* in the government of the kingdom, they must have reigned either in the same age the scripture assigns to *Sennacharib*, or not long after.

Those other Pyramids, the one of *Osymanduas* in [f] *Diodorus*, or *Ismandes*, in [g] *Strabo*; and those two of *Mæris*, or *Myris*, in [h] *Herodotus*, and [i] *Diodorus*, it is evident they preceded *Sesostris* the great, and must therefore have been above three thousand years since, but by how many kings or how many ages, is hard to be defined.

[u] Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. lib. 1. [x] Ibid. [y] Τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος ἐν καρτασθέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι πόιμενος φιλιτίωνος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα ταχωρία. Herodot. lib. 2. [z] Diodor. lib. 1. [a] Scalig. in Euseb. chron: [b] Thallus apud Euseb. [c] 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. [d] Scalig. in Euseb. chron. [e] Herodot. lib. 2. [f] Diodor. lib. 1. [g] Strabo, lib. 17. [h] Herodot. lib. 2. [i] Diodor. lib. 1.

Of

Of the end or intention of the PYRAMIDS, *that they were for ſepulchres; where, by the way is expreſſed, the manner of imbalming uſed by the* ÆGYPTIANS.

THAT theſe Pyramids were intended for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead is the conſtant opinion of moſt authors, which have writ of this argument. [a] *Diodorus* expreſly tells us, that *Chemmis* and *Cephren*, *although they deſigned* (theſe two greater) *for their ſepulchres, yet it happened that neither of them were buried in them.* [b] *Strabo* judges all thoſe near *Memphis* to have been the ſepulchres of kings. *Forty ſtadia from the city* (Memphis,) *there is a certain brow of an hill in which are many Pyramids, the ſepulchres of kings.* And in particular he calls another near the lake of *Mœris*, *the* [c] *ſepulchre of Imandes.* To which alſo the writings of the *Arabians* are conſonant, who make the three greater the monuments of *Saurid*, *Hougib*, and *Fazfarinoun.* And the *Sabæans* the firſt of them, the ſepulchre of *Seth*, the ſecond of *Hermes*, the third of *Sab*, from whom they ſuppoſe themſelves denominated *Sabæans*, as we formerly mentioned. And if none of theſe authorities were extant, yet the tomb found in the greateſt Pyramid to this day of *Cheops*, as *Herodotus* names him, or *Chemmis*, according to *Diodorus*, puts it out of controverſy. Which may farther be confirmed by the teſtimony of *Ibn Abd Alhokm* an *Arabian*, where he diſcourſes of the wonders of *Ægypt*, who relates that after *Almamon* the calif of *Babylon*, had cauſed this Pyramid to be open'd [about eight hundred years ſince,] [d] *they found in it towards the top a chamber, with an hollow ſtone, in which there was a ſtatue like a man, and within it a man, upon whom was a breaſt-plate of gold ſet with jewels, upon this breaſt-plate was a ſword of ineſtimable price, and at his head a carbuncle of the bigneſs of an egg, ſhining like the light of the day, and upon him were characters writ with a pen, which no man underſtood.*

Note, *In Mr.* Greaves's *edition of this work, printed at* London, Anno 1646. *the* Arabick *is cited at large, to which the curious reader may have recourſe.*

But why the Ægyptian kings ſhould have been at ſo vaſt an expence in the building of theſe Pyramids, is an enquiry of an higher nature. [e] *Ariſtotle* judges them to have been the works of tyranny: And *Pliny* conjectures, that they built them, partly out of oſtentation, and partly out of ſtate-policy, by keeping the people in employment, to divert them from mutinies and rebellions. [f] *Regum pecuniæ otioſa, ac ſtulta oſtentatio. Quippe cum faciendi eas cauſa a pleriſque tradatur, ne pecuniam ſucceſſoribus, aut æmulis inſidiantibus præberent, aut ne plebs eſſet otioſa.* GREAVES

But the true reaſon depends upon higher and more weighty conſiderations; though I acknowledge theſe alledged by *Pliny* might be ſecondary motives. And this ſprang from the theology of the *Ægyptians*, who, as *Servius* ſhews in his comment upon theſe words of [g] *Virgil*, deſcribing the funeral of *Polydorus*,

——*Animamque ſepulchro*
Condimus.——

believed, that *as long as the body endured, ſo long the ſoul continued with it*, which alſo was the opinion of the [h] Stoicks. [i] *Hence the* Ægyptians *ſkilful in wiſdom, do keep their dead imbalmed ſo much the longer, to the end that the ſoul may for a long while continue, and be obnoxious to the body, leſt it ſhould quickly paſs to another. The Romans did the contrary, burning their dead, that the ſoul might ſuddenly return into the generality, that is, into its own nature.* Wherefore that the body might not, either by putrefaction be reduced to duſt, out of which it was firſt formed, or by fire be converted into aſhes, (as the manner of the *Græcians* and *Romans* was) they invented curious compoſitions, beſides the intombing them in ſtately reconditories, hereby endeavouring to preſerve them from rottenneſs, and to make them eternal. [k] *Nec cremare, aut fodere fas putant, verùm arte medicatos intra penetralia collocant*, ſaith *Pomponius Mela:* And *Herodotus* gives the reaſon why they did neither burn nor bury. For diſcourſing, in his third book, of the cruelty of *Cambyſes*, and of his commanding that the body of

[a] Τῶν ϗ βασιλέων τῶν κατασκευασάντων αὐτὰς ἑαυτοῖς τάφους συνίβη μηδέτερον ἐυτῶν ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐνταφιασθῆναι. Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

[b] Τεσσαράκοντα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους προελθόντι ὀρεινή τις ὀφρύς ἐστιν, ἐφ ᾗ πολλαὶ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων. Strab. lib. 17.

[c] Ἰμανδῆς δ' ὄνομα ὁ ταφεὶς. Ibid.

[d] G. Almec. Hiſt. Arab. ex Edit. Erp. [e] Ariſt. l. 3. Polit. [f] Plin. l. 26. c. 12.

[g] Æneid. lib. 3. [h] *Stoici medium ſequentes, tam diu animam durare dicunt, quam diu durat & corpus.* Serv. Com. in lib. 3. Æneid. [i] *Unde Ægypti periti ſapientiæ condita diutius reſervant cadavera, ſcilicet ut anima multo tempore perduret, & corpori ſit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud tranſeat. Romani contra faciebant comburentes cadavera, ut ſtatim anima in generalitatem, id eſt, in ſuam naturam rediret.* Serv. Com. in lib. 3. Æneid. [k] Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

GREAVES *Amaſis*, an Ægyptian king, ſhould be taken out of his ſepulchre, whipt, and uſed with all contumely, he reports, that after all he bid it to be burnt, [m] *commanding that which was not holy. For the Perſians imagine the fire to be a god, and neither of them are accuſtomed to burn the dead body. The Perſians for the reaſon before alledged, becauſe they conceive it unfitting for a god to devour the carcaſs of a man; and the Ægyptians, becauſe they are perſuaded the fire is a living creature, devouring all things that it receives, and after it is ſatisfied with food, dies with that which it hath devoured. Nor is it their cuſtom of giving the dead body* [n] *to beaſts, but of imbalming* (or ſalting) *it, not only for this reaſon, but that it may not be conſumed with worms.* The term uſed by *Herodotus* ταριχεύειν, *of ſalting or imbalming* the dead, is alſo uſed by [o] *Baruch* and by [p] *Plato*, and by [q] *Lucian* in his diſcourſe *de luctu*, treating of the ſeveral ſorts of burial practiſed by ſeveral nations. [r] *The Grecian doth burn* [the dead] *the Perſian bury, the Indian doth anoint with the fat of ſwine, the Scythian eats, and the Ægyptian* ταριχεύει, *embalms*, (or powders.) Which manner alſo is alluded to by *Antoninus* under the word τάριχος, [s] *that which the other day was excrementitious matter, within few days ſhall either be* τάριχος, *an imbalmed body, or meer aſhes:* In the one expreſſing the cuſtom of the *Ægyptians*, in the other of the *Romans*; where doctor [t] *Caſaubone*, the learned ſon of a learned father, hath rightly corrected the errors of thoſe who render τάριχος *to be a certain ſort of fiſh.* By this means then ſalting the body, and imbalming it, (the manner of both we ſhall deſcribe out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*,) the ſoul was obliged (according to the belief of the *Ægyptians*) to abide with the body, and the body came to be as durable as marble. Inſomuch as *Plato*, who lived in *Ægypt* with *Eudoxus* no leſs than XIII years, as [u] *Strabo* witneſſeth, brings it for an argument in his *Phædon* to prove the immortality of the ſoul, by the long duration of theſe bodies. Which ſurely would have been more concluſive with him, could he have imagined that to theſe times, that is, till CIↃ CIↃ years after him, they ſhould have continued ſo ſolid and intire, as to this day we find many of them. Wherefore [x] St. *Auguſtin* truly affirms, that the *Ægyptians alone believe the reſurrection, becauſe they carefully preſerve their dead corpſes. For they have a cuſtom of drying up the bodies, and rendering them as durable as braſs; theſe* [in their language] *they call Gabbares.* Whence the gloſs of *Iſidore*, *Gabbares mortuorum*, in *Vulcanius*, his edition; or as [y] *Spondanus* reads *Gabbares mortuorum condita corpora.*

The manner how the *Ægyptians* prepared and imbalmed theſe bodies, is very copiouſly, and by what I obſerved, very faithfully deſcribed by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and therefore I ſhall put down their own words: *Their mourning*, ſaith, [z] *Herodotus, and manner of burial are in this kind: When any man of quality of the family is dead, all the women beſmear their heads and faces with dirt, then leaving the body with their kindred, they go lamenting up and down the city with their kinſfolks, their apparel being girt about them, and their breaſts naked. On the other ſide, the men having likewiſe their cloaths girt about them, beat themſelves. Theſe things being done, they carry it to be* [a] *imbalmed. For this there are ſome appointed, that profeſs the art; theſe, when the body is brought to*

[m] Herodot. lib. 3. Ἐντελλόμενος ἐκ ὁσίου. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, &c.

[n] This barbarous cuſtom is ſtill practiſed in the *Eaſt-Indies*, as Teixeira (who from his own travels, and the writings of *Emir Cond*, a *Perſian*, hath given us the beſt light of thoſe countries) truly informs us. Wherefore, we may give credit to that of *Tully: Magorum mos eſt non humare corpora ſuorum, niſi à feris ſint antea laniata. In Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optimates domeſticos, (Nobile autem genus canum illud ſcimus eſſe,) ſed pro ſua quiſque facultate parat, à quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi eſſe cenſent ſepulturam.* Tuſc. q. l. 1. [o] Baruch. vi. 71. [p] Plat. Phædon. [q] Lucian de Luct.

[r] Ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκαυσεν ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ὑάλῳ περιχρίει· ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κεφεσθίει, ταριχεύει δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.

[s] M. Aurel. Anton. lib. 4. Ἐχθὲς μὲν μυξάριον, αὔριον δὲ τάριχος ἢ πέφρα. [t] Caſaub. ann. in lib. 4. M. Aurel. Anton. [u] Strabo, lib. 17. [x] *Ægyptii verò ſoli credunt reſurrectionem, quia diligenter curant cadavera mortuorum, morem enim habent ſiccare corpora, & quaſi ænea reddere, Gabbaras ea vocant.* Aug. Serm. 120. De diverſis. [y] Spondanus de Cœmet. ſacris, lib. 1. par. in c. 5.

[z] Herodotus, lib. 2. Θρῆνος δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων εἰσὶ αἵδε, &c.

[a] Amongſt theſe imbalmed bodies are found *Ægyptian* idols, *Omni-genumque Deûm monſtra, & latrator Anubis*, to uſe *Virgil*'s expreſſion, (*Æn.* 8.) Some of theſe are in great, ſome in little portraictures, formed either with potters earth baked, or elſe of ſtone, or metal, or wood, or the like; in all which kinds I have bought ſome. One of them for the rarity of the matter, and for the illuſtration of the ſcriptures deſerves to be here mentioned; being cut out of a *magnes*, in the form and bigneſs of the κάνθαρος, or *ſcarabæus*; which as * *Plutarch* teſtifies, was worſhipped by the *Ægyptians*, and was by military men ingraven as an emblem on their ſeals. To which ſort of idols, it may be *Moſes* alluded, when ſpeaking of the gods of *Ægypt* he terms גלולים *gillulim, ſtercoreos deos*, † as the original is rendred by *Junius*, and *Tremellius*; for ſuch places are the unſavoury dwellings of the *ſcarabæus*. That which is remarkable of it in nature is this, that the ſtone, though probably two thouſand years ſince taken out of its natural bed, the rock, yet ſtill retains its attractive and magnetical virtue.

* De Iſ. & Oſir. τοῖς δὲ μαμμαχίμοις κάνθαρος ἦν γλυφὴ σφραγῖδος. † Deut. xxix. 17. *Vidiſtis abominandos & ſtercoreos deos illorum.*

them,

them, ſhew to the bringers of it certain patterns of dead bodies in wood, like it in painting. One of theſe they ſay is accurately made, (which I think it not lawful to name,) they ſhew a ſecond inferior to it, and of an eaſier price, and a third cheaper than the former. Which being ſeen, they aſk of them according to what pattern they will have the dead body prepared? When they have agreed upon the price, they depart thence; thoſe that remain, carefully imbalm the body in this manner: Firſt of all they draw out the brain with a crooked iron by the noſtrils, which being taken out, they infuſe [b] *medicaments. Then with a ſharp Æthiopick ſtone they cut it about the bowels, and take out all the guts: theſe purged and waſhed with wine made of palms, they again waſh with ſweet odours beaten; next filling up the* [c] *belly with pure mirrhe beaten, and caſſia, and other odours, except frankincenſe, they ſew it up again; having done this, they ſalt it with nitre, hiding it ſeventy days, (for longer it is not lawful to ſalt it;) ſeventy days being ended, after they have waſhed the body, binding it with fillets,* GREAVES *(or* [d] *ribbands,) and wrapping it in a ſhrowd of ſilk linen, they ſmear it with gum, which the Ægyptians often uſe inſtead of glue. The kindred receiving it thence, make* [e] *a coffin of wood, in the ſimilitude of a man, in which they put the dead body; and being thus incloſed, they place it in a reconditory in the houſe, ſetting it upright againſt the wall. In this manner with great expences they prepare the funerals of their dead. But thoſe who avoiding too great expences deſire a mediocrity, prepare them in this manner. They take a clyſter with the juice of cedar, with which they fill the belly by the fundament, neither cutting it, nor taking it out, and ſalt it ſo many days, as we mentioned before. In the laſt of which they take out that* (clyſter) *of cedar out of the belly, which before they injected. This hath ſuch efficacy, that it carries out with it the whole paunch and entrails corrupted. The nitre conſumes the fleſh, and there is only left the ſkin and bones of the dead body. When they have done this, they reſtore*

[b] Having cauſed the head of one of the richer ſort of theſe imbalmed bodies to be opened, in the hollow of the skull I found the quantity of two pounds of theſe medicaments; which had the conſiſtence, blackneſs, and ſmell of a kind of *bitumen*, or pitch, and by the heat of the ſun waxed ſoft. This infuſion could not well have been made any other way, than as *Herodotus* here intimates, by the noſtrils. The tongue of this imbalmed body being weighed by me, was leſs than ſeven grains *Engliſh*. So light was that member, which St. *James* calls *a world of miſchief*, James iii. 6.

[c] *Plutarch* writes, that they firſt expoſed the belly, being opened, to the ſun, caſting the bowels into the river (*Nilus*,) *tanquam inquinamentum corporis*: this being done, they filled up the belly, and the hollow of the breaſt with unguents and odours, as it is manifeſt by thoſe which I have ſeen.

[d] Theſe ribbands, by what I obſerved, were of linen, which was alſo the habit of the *Ægyptian* prieſts. For *Herodotus*, *lib.* 2. writes, that it was prophane for the *Ægyptians* either to be buried in woollen garments, or to uſe them in their temples: and *Plutarch de Iſide & Oſiride* expreſly tells us, that *the prieſts of* Iſis *uſed linen veſtments, and were ſhaved*; *Suetonius in Orthone*, (*lib.* 7.) *ſacra etiam Iſidis ſæpe lineâ religioſâque veſte propalam celebravit.* And therefore the goddeſs *Iſis* is called in *Ovid* (2 *Amor. Elen.* 2.) Linigera.

Nec tu Linigeram fieri quid poſſit ad Iſim,
Quæſieris.

Of theſe Ribbands I have ſeen ſome ſo ſtrong and perfect, as if they had been newly made. With theſe they bound and ſwathed the dead body, beginning with the head, and ending with the feet: Over theſe again, they wound others ſo often upon one another, that there could not be much leſs than a thouſand ells upon one body.

[e] Theſe coffins are faſhioned in the ſimilitude of a man, or rather reſembling one of thoſe imbalmed bodies, which, as we deſcribed before, are bound with ribbands, and wrapped in a ſhroud of linen. For as in thoſe there is the ſhape of a head, with a kind of painted vizard, or face faſtened to it, but no appearance without of the arms and legs: ſo it is with theſe coffins; the top of them hath the ſhape of the head of a man, with a face painted on it reſembling a woman, the reſidue being one continued trunk: at the end of this trunk is a *pedeſtal*, ſomewhat broad; upon which it ſtood upright in the reconditory, as *Herodotus* here mentions. Some of theſe coffins are handſomely painted without, with ſeveral hieroglyphicks. Opening two of them, I found within, over the body, divers ſcroles faſtened to the linen ſhrowd. Theſe were painted with ſacred characters, for the colours very lively, and freſh; amongſt which, were in a larger ſize the pictures of men or women, ſome headed like hawks, ſome like dogs, and ſometimes dogs in ſhards ſtanding alone. Theſe ſcroles either ran down the belly and ſides, or elſe were placed upon the knees and legs. On the feet was a linen cover, (and ſo were all the ſcroles before-mentioned of *linen*,) painted with hieroglyphicks, and faſhioned like to a high ſlipper. The breaſt had a kind of breaſt-plate covering it, made with folds of linen cut ſcolop-wiſe, richly painted and gilt. In the midſt of the bend at the top of it, was the face of a woman with her arms expanded; on each ſide of them, at the two outmoſt ends, the head of an hawk fairly gilt, by which they repreſented the Divine Nature, according to *Plutarch* (in his book *de Iſide & Oſiride*,) as by a ſerpent with the tail in his mouth, the revolution of the year was reſembled; in which kind alſo I have ſeen fair ſculptures in gemms, found at *Alexandria*: and as by the ſign of the croſs they did denote *vitam æternam*, in *Ruffinus*'s expreſſion. Of theſe croſſes I have ſeen ſeveral amongſt their hieroglyphicks; ſome painted, and ſome engraven in this manner ✠, and ſome others amongſt their mummies formed of ſtone (or baked earth) in this figure. ┼

At *Rome*, on the ſtatue of *Oſiris*, it is engraven thus: T which may ſerve for confirmation of what *Socrates* and *Sozomen* relate; that at *Alexandria*, the temple of *Serapis* or *Oſiris* (for † *Plutarch* judges *Serapis* and *Oſiris* to be one and the ſame,) being by the command of *Theodoſius* demoliſhed, they found characters reſembling *croſſes* cut in ſtone; *theſe, in the interpretation of the wiſe men of Ægypt, ſignified, ζωὴν ἐπερχομένην, vitam venturam*: which diſcovery, as the ſame authors report, occaſioned the converſion to Chriſtianity of ſome of the *Gentiles*. *Socr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib.* 5. *cap.* 17. *Sozomen. hiſt. eccleſ. lib.* 7. *cap.* 15.

† Ἀμφὼ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς ἐκ μιᾶς δυνάμεως ἠγέρθη. Plut de Iſ. & Oſir.

the

GREAVES *the body to the kindred, doing nothing more. The third manner of preparing the dead, is of them which are of meaner fortune: With lotions they wash the belly, and dry it with salt seventy days, then they deliver it to be carried away.*

Diodorus Siculus[f], as his manner is, more distinctly and clearly with some remarkable circumstances, expresseth the same thing. *If any one die amongst the Ægyptians, all his kindred and friends casting dirt upon their heads, go lamenting about the city, till such time as the body is buried. In the mean time, they abstain from baths and wine, and all delicate meat, neither do they wear costly apparel: The manner of their burial is three-fold. The one is very costly, the second less, the third very mean. In the first, they say there is spent a talent of silver, in the second twenty* minæ, *in the last there is very little expence. Those who take care to dress the body are artizans receiving this skill from their ancestors. These shewing a bill to the kindred of the dead, of the expences upon each kind of burial, ask them in what manner they will have the body to be prepared. When they have agreed upon it, they deliver the body to such as are usually appointed to this office. First, he which is called the scribe, laying it upon the ground, describes about the bowels on the left side, how much is to be cut away. Then he which is called the cutter, taking an Æthiopick stone, and cutting away as much of the flesh as the law commands, presently flies away as fast as he can; they which are present, running after him, and casting stones at him, and cursing him,* (hereby) *turning all the execration upon him. For whosoever doth offer violence, or wound, or do any kind of injury to a body of the same nature with himself, they think him worthy of hatred. But those which are called the imbalmers, they esteem them worthy of honour and respect. For they are familiar with their priests, and they go into the temples, as holy men without any prohibition. As soon as they meet about the dressing of the dissected body, one thrusting his hand by the wound of the dead body into his entrails, takes out all the bowels within, besides the heart and kidneys; another cleanses all the entrails washing them with wine made of palms, and with odours. Lastly, the whole body being carefully anointed with the juice of cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and afterwards with myrrhe and cinnamon, and such other things, which have power not only to keep it for a long time, but also to give a sweet smell, they deliver it to the kindred. This being thus finished, every member of the body is kept so intire, that upon the brows and* [g] *eye-lids, the hairs remain, and the whole shape of the body* (continues) *unchanged, the image of the countenance may be known. Hence many of the Ægyptians keeping the bodies of their ancestors in magnificent houses, do see so expresly the faces of them dead many ages before they were born, that beholding the bigness of each of them, and the dimensions of their bodies, and the lineaments of their faces, it affords them wonderful content of mind, no otherwise than as if they were now living with them.* Thus far *Diodorus*. By which description of his, and that of *Herodotus*, we see the truth of what [h] *Tully* writes: *The Ægyptians imbalm their dead, and keep them at home: Amongst themselves above ground,* saith *Sextus Empericus*; And [i] *intra penetralia* in *Pomponius Mela*'s expression: And in *lectulis*, according to *Athanasius* in the life of *Antony*. *Lucian* adds farther in his tract *de luctu*. [k] *They bring the dried body (I speak what I have seen,) as a guest to their feasts, and invitations, and oftentimes one necessitous of money is supplied, by giving his brother or his father in pledge.* The former custom is intimated by *Silius* [l] *Italicus*, speaking of the several manners of burial practised in divers nations.

Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus stantia saxo,
Corpora, & à mensis exanguem haud separat umbram.

The latter is confirmed by *Diodorus Siculus*[m]. *They have a custom of depositing for a pledge the bodies of their dead parents. It is the greatest ignominy that may be not to redeem them; and if they do it not, they themselves are deprived of burial.* And therefore says he immediately before, *Such as for any crime or debt, are hindred from being buried, are kept at home without a coffin; whom afterwards their posterity growing rich, discharging their debts, and paying money in compensation of their crimes, honourably bury; for the Ægyptians glory, that their parents and ancestors were buried with honour.*

This manner of the *Ægyptians* imbalming, we find also practised by *Joseph* upon his father *Jacob* in *Ægypt:* And if we will

[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. [g] I find in the travels of monsieur *de Breves*, embassador at *Constantinople*, that at his being in *Ægypt* about forty years since, they saw some of these imbalmed bodies, with hairs remaining on their heads, and with beards; which I easily believe. *Nous en vismes aucuns la teste & les pieds descouverts (à cause que les dites bandes estorent pourries,) qui avoient encore les chevaux, la barbe & les ongles.* Les voyages de M. de Breves. [h] *Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, & eos domi servant.* Tuscul. qu. lib. 1.

[i] Lib. 1. cap. 9. [k] Οὗτος μέντοι ἡ (λέγω δὲ ἰδὼν) ξηράνας τὸν νεκρὸν, σύνδειπνον καὶ συμπότην ἐποιήσατο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δεομένῳ χρημάτων ἀνδρὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐνέχυρον ἢ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὁ πατὴρ γενόμενος ἐν καιρῷ. Luc. an. περὶ πενθοῦς. [l] Lib. 3. Punicorum. [m] Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

believe

believe *Tacitus*, [n] *the Hebrews* (in general) *learned from the Ægyptians rather to bury their dead than to burn them.* Where [o] *Spondanus* inſtead of *condere cadavera*, reads *condire*, as if it had been their cuſtom of powdering or imbalming their dead. Waſh them and anoint them we know they did, by what was done to our *Saviour* and to the *widow Dorcas*; and long before it was in uſe amongſt the Gentiles, as well as Jews, as appears by the funeral of *Patroclus* in [p] *Homer*, and of *Miſſenus* the *Trojan* in [q] *Virgil.*

Corpuſque lavant frigentis, & ungunt.

And of *Tarquinius* the *Roman* in *Ennius:*

Tarquinii corpus bona fœmina lavit, & unxit.

But certainly the *Ægyptian* manner of imbalming, which we have deſcribed out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, was not received by them; or if it were, [r] *Martha* the ſiſter of *Lazarus*, needed not to have fear'd, that after four days the body ſhould have ſtunk. [s] They which infer out of the funeral of *Aſa*, king of *Judah*, that it was the cuſtom of the *Jews* as well as *Ægyptians*, have very little probability for their aſſertion. [t] We read, that *they buried him in his own ſepulchre, which he had made for himſelf in the city of David, and laid him in the bed, which was filled with ſweet odours, and divers kinds of ſpices prepared by the apothecaries art; and they made a very great burning for him.* This very great burning is ſo contrary to the practice of the *Ægyptians*, to whom it was an abomination, as appears by the authorities before cited of *Herodotus* and *Mela*, beſides the little affinity of filling the bed with ſweet odours, and the *Ægyptians* filling the body and the place of the entrails with ſweet odours, according both to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that we ſhall not need to enlarge our ſelves in any other confutation. But as for that of *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, the father and the ſon both living and dying in *Ægypt*, the text is clear, they were imbalmed after the faſhion of the *Ægyptians.* [v] *And Joſeph commanded his ſervants the phyſicians to imbalm his father, and the phyſicians imbalmed Iſrael, and forty days were fulfilled for him (for ſo are fulfilled the days of thoſe which are imbalmed;) and the Ægyptians mourned for him threeſcore and ten days.* In the ſame chapter we read, [u] *So Joſeph died being an hundred and ten years old, and they imbalm'd him, and he was put in a coffin in Ægypt.* Both which places are very conſonant to the traditions of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and *may ſerve to ſhew what neceſſity there is of having oft-times recourſe to the learning of the heathen*, for the illuſtration of the ſcriptures. *Forty days were fulfilled for the imbalming of Jacob:* This [w] *Diodorus* tells us was their cuſtom, *They anointed the dead body with the juice of cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and afterward with myrrhe and cinnamon, and the like*; which might make up the reſidue of the forty days: *And the Ægyptians mourned for him threeſcore and ten days.* This time out of *Herodotus* may be collected to have been from the firſt day of the death of the perſon, till the body was returned by the phyſicians after ſeventy days perfectly imbalmed. The text ſays, *And Joſeph was put in a coffin*; which is very livelily repreſented by [x] *Herodotus. The kindred receiving the dead body from the imbalmers, make a coffin of wood in the ſimilitude of a man, in which they put it.* This coffin then, as it is probable, of *Joſeph*, was of wood, and not *marmorea theca*, as *Cajetan* imagines, the former being the cuſtom of the *Ægyptians.* Beſides, that this was much eaſier and fitter to be carried by the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, marching on foot, and for ought we read deſtitute of waggons and other carriages.

The [y] *tradition of the ancient Hebrews* in their commentaries, is very probable and conſonant to it. *They carried in the deſert two arks, the one of God, the other of Joſeph; that the ark of the covenant, this the ark* (or coffin) *in which they carried Joſeph's bones out of Ægypt.* This coffin (if it be lawful for me to conjecture after the revolution of three thouſand years,) I conceive to have been of ſycomore, (a great tree very plentifully growing in *Ægypt*,) of which ſort there are many found in the mummies, very fair, entire, and free from corruption to this day. Though I know the *Arabians* and *Perſians* have a different tradition, that his coffin was of glaſs. [z] *They put his bleſſed body, after they*

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[n] *Judæos ab Ægyptiis diditiſſe, condere cadavera, potiùs quàm cremare.* Tacit. hiſtor. lib. 5.

[o] Spondan. lib. 1. part 1. cap. 5. *de cœmeteriis ſacris.*

[p] Καὶ τότε δὴ λουσάν τε, καὶ ἠλείψαν λιπ' ἐλαίῳ. Iliad. lib. 19. [q] Æneid. lib. 6. [r] John xi. 39.

[s] *Tranſtulerunt Iſraelitæ hunc ritum ex Ægypto ſecum in Cananæam, quo deinceps in ſepulturis principum & regum uſi dicuntur in hiſtoria Aſiæ.* 2 Paral. vi. & alibi. D. Paræi. Com. in Gen. l. 2. [t] 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

[v] Gen. l. 2, 3. [u] Gen. l. 26.

[w] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Καθόλε ὃ πρὸν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ᾧ πρῶτον κεδρέλαι καὶ τισὶν ἄλλοις ἀρωμασιν ἐξέσσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κινναμώμῳ, &c. [x] Herod. lib. 2..

[y] *Veteres Hebræi commentati ſunt duas fuiſſe arcas, unam incedentes in deſerto, alteram Divinitatis, alteram Joſephi; illam ſcilicet arcam fœderis, hanc verò loculos quibus Joſephi oſſa ex Ægypto aſportabantur in regionem Chanaan.* Perer. Com. in l. cap. Geneſ.

[z] *Note*, In Mr. *Greaves*'s edition of this work, printed at *London*, *anno* 1646, the *Arabick* is cited at large, to which the curious reader may have recourſe.

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That phrase of *Joseph*, where he takes an oath of the children of *Israel*, [a] *Ye shall carry up my bones from hence*, surely is a *synecdoche*, or figurative speech. And so is that in *Exodus: And* [b] *Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying,* GOD *will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you:* for his body being boweled, and then imbalmed, after the manner of the *Ægyptians*, not only the bones, but the skin, the flesh, and all besides the entrails, (which according to [c] *Plutarch*, were thrown into the river,) would have continued perfect and intire, a much longer space than from his death to their migration out of *Ægypt.*

Having thus by art found out ways to make the body durable, whereby the soul might continue with it, as we shewed before, which else would have been at liberty to have passed *into some other body*, [d] this also being the opinion of the *Ægyptians*, *from whom Pythagoras borrowed his* μεϵμψύχωσις, or transanimation, (the which made him to forbid his disciples the eating of flesh, *Ne forte bubulam quis de aliquo proavo suo obsonaret*, as *Tertullian* wittily speaks;) the next care of the *Ægyptians* was to provide conditories, which might be as lasting as the body, and in which it might continue safe from the injury of time and men. That occasioned the ancient kings of *Thebes* in *Ægypt* to build those, which [e] *Diodorus* thus describes: *There are, they say, the wonderful sepulchres of the ancient kings, which in magnificence exceeds the imitation of posterity. Of these in the sacred commentaries, forty seven are mentioned; but in the time of Ptolemæus Lagi, there remained but* XVII. *Many of them at our being in Ægypt, in the hundred and eightieth olympiad, were decayed; neither are these things alone reported by the Ægyptians, out of the sacred books, but by many also of the Græcians, who in the time of Ptolemæus Lagi went to Thebes, and having compiled histories, (amongst whom is Hecatæus,) agree with our relations.* And this might occasion also those others recorded by *Strabo*, which he calls ἑρμαία, or *mercuriales tumulos*, seen by him near *Siene*, in the upper parts of *Ægypt*, very strange and memorable, [f] *Passing in a chariot from Siene to Philæ, over a very even plain, about an hundred stadia, all the way almost, of both sides, we saw in many places mercurial tombs; a great stone, smooth, and almost spherical, of that black and hard marble out of which mortars are made, placed upon a greater stone, and on the top of this another, some of them lying by themselves; the greatest of them was no less than twelve feet diameter, all of them greater than the half of this.* Many ages after, when the regal throne was removed from *Thebes* to *Memphis*, the same religion and opinion continuing amongst the Ægypians, *that so long as the body indured, so long the soul continued with it*, not as quickning and animating it, but as an attendant or guardian, and as it were unwilling to leave her former habitation. It is not to be doubted, this incited the kings there, together with their private ambition, and thirst after glory, to be at so vast expences in the building of these *Pyramids*; and the *Ægyptians* of lower quality, to spare for no cost, in cutting those *hypogæa*, those caves or dormitories in the *Lybian* deserts, which by the Christians now adays are called the *mummies*. *Diodorus Siculus* excellently expresses their opinion and belief in this particular, together with their extreme cost of building sepulchres, in these words: [g] *The Ægyptians make small account of the time of this life being limited, but that which after death is joined with a glorious memory of virtue they highly value: They call the houses of the living, inns, because for a short space we inhabit these: But the sepulchres of the dead they name eternal mansions, because they continue with the gods for an infinite space. Wherefore in the structures of their houses they are little solicitous, but in exquisitely adorning their sepulchres they think no cost sufficient.*

Now why the *Ægyptians* did build their sepulchres often in the form of Pyramids, (for they were not always of this figure, as appears by those ἑρμαῖα, or *mercuriales tumuli*, before cited out of *Strabo*, which were spherical; and by those *hypogæa*, or caves still extant in the rocks of the desart,) *Pierius* in his hieroglyphicks, or rather the *Anonymous Author* at the end of him, gives several philosophical reasons: [h] *By a Pyramid*, saith he, *the antient Ægyptians*

[a] Gen. l. 25. [b] Exod. xiii. 19.

[c] Plutar. 7. sapient. convivio. [d] Πρῶτοι ὧν ϗ τῶν λόγων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπε ψυχὴ ἀθάνατο· ἐσὶ δ' σώματο· ὃ καταφθίνοντο·, εἰς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον εἰς δύϛ. Herod. lib. 2.

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Εἶναι δ φασὶ ϗ πάφυς ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων θαυμασὰς, &c.

[f] Strabo. lib. 17. Ἡλθομὲν δ' εἰς Φιλὰς ἐκ Συήνης ἀπήνῃ δι' ὁμολὸ σφόδρα πεδίε ϛαδίὰς ὁμῶ τι ἑκατόν. Πὰρ ὅλην δ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν ἰδεῖν ἑκατέρωθεν πολλαχοῦ ὥσπερ ἑρμᾶια, &c.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Οἱ μὲν ἐγχώριοι τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ζῆν χρόνον εὐτελῆ πάντε ὡς εἶναι νομίζουσι, τὸν δ μὴ τὴν τελϛὴν δι' ἀρετὴν μνημονευθησόμενον, πολὺ πλείϛε ποιῦνται. Καὶ τὰς μὲ τῶ ζώντων οἰ κήϛεις καταλῦσεις ὀνομάζουσιν, &c.

[h] Ex eruditi cujusd. l. 2. sub finem Hierogl. Pierii. *Per pyramidem veteres* (*Ægyptii*) *rerum naturam, & substantiam illam informem formas recipientem significare voluerunt, quòd ut pyramis à puncto, & summo fastigio*

tians expreſſed the nature of things, and that informed ſubſtance receiving all forms. Becauſe as a Pyramid having its beginning from a point at the top, is by degrees dilated on all parts; ſo the nature of all things proceeding from one fountain and beginning, which is indiviſible, namely from God, the chief workmaſter; afterwards receives ſeveral forms, and is diffuſed into various kinds and ſpecies, all which it conjoins to that beginning and point, from whence every thing iſſues and flows. There may alſo be given another reaſon for this, taken from aſtronomy: For the Ægyptians were excellent aſtronomers, yea, the firſt inventors of it; theſe [dividing the Zodiack, and all things under it, into twelve ſigns,] *will have each ſign to be a kind of Pyramid, the baſis of which ſhall be in the heaven; (for the heaven is the foundation of aſtronomy,) and the point of it ſhall be in the centre of the earth; ſeeing therefore in theſe Pyramids all things are made, and that the coming of the ſun, which is as it were a point in reſpect of thoſe ſigns, is the cauſe of the production of natural things, and its departure the cauſe of their corruption, it ſeems very fitly that by a Pyramid, nature the parent of all things, may be expreſſed. Alſo the ſame Ægyptians under the form of a Pyramid, ſhadowed out the ſoul of man, making under huge Pyramids the magnificent ſepulchres of their kings and heroes, to teſtifie that the ſoul was ſtill exiſtent, notwithſtanding the body were diſſolved and corrupted, the which ſhould generate and produce another body for it ſelf, when it ſhould ſeem good to the firſt agent, (that is, the circle of thirty ſix thouſand years being tranſacted:) Like as a Pyramid (as it is known to geometricians,) the top of it ſtanding fixed, and the baſe being moved about, deſcribes a circle, and the whole body of it a cone; ſo that the circle expreſſes that ſpace of years, and the cone that body which in that ſpace is produced. For it was the opinion of the Ægyptians, that in the revolution of thirty ſix thouſand years, all things ſhould be reſtored to their former ſtate; Plato witneſſeth, that he received it from them; who ſeems alſo to me in his Timæus, to atteſt this thing, that is, that our ſoul hath the form of a Pyramid, which (ſoul) according to the ſame Plato, is of a fiery nature, and adhereth to the body as a Pyramid doth to the baſis, or as fire doth to the fuel.* Thus far the *Anonymous Author* in *Pierius:* Moſt of which reaſons of his are but pretty fancies, without any ſolid proof from good authors. For he might as well ſay, that the *Ægyptians* were excellent geometricians, as well as aſtronomers, (as they were very ſkillful in both,) and that they made theſe *Pyramids*, to expreſs the firſt and moſt ſimple of mathematical bodies; or elſe being excellent arithmeticians, to repreſent the myſteries of pyramidal numbers; or being well ſeen in opticks, to ſhadow out the manner of viſion, and the emiſſion of rays from luminous bodies, as alſo the *effluvium* of the *ſpecies intentionales* from the object, all which are ſuppoſed to be pyramidal. But this were to play with truth, and to indulge too much to fancy. Wherefore I conceive the reaſon why they made theſe ſepulchres in the figure of a Pyramid, was, either as apprehending this to be the moſt permanent form of ſtructure, as in truth it is; (for by reaſon of the contracting and leſſening of it at the top, it is neither overpreſſed with its own weight; nor his ſo ſubject to the ſinking in of rain as other buildings:) or hereby they intended to repreſent ſome of their gods. For anciently the Gentiles expreſſed them, either by columns faſhioned like cones, or elſe by quadrilateral obeliſks, the *Ægyptian* manner; in which latter kind, I have ſeen many ſtanding very intire, ſome of them plain, and ſome with hieroglyphicks inſcribed. Now ſuch obeliſks are but leſſer models of the Pyramids, as the Pyramids are but greater kinds of obeliſks. The firſt inſtitution of them, as [i] *Pliny* informs us, was by *Mitres* an *Ægyptian* king, whom [k] *Iſidore* terms *Meſphres*; both of them affirming him to have conſecrated them *ſolis numini*, to the deity of the ſun. Which deity [l] *Diodorus* relates the *Ægyptians* to have worſhipped under the name of *Oſiris*, as they did the moon by the goddeſs *Iſis*, whom the *Libyans* bordering on the *Ægyptians*, termed *Urania*, and the *Phœnicians Aſtroarches*, according to [m] *Herodian:* (And therefore as *Iſis Cornigera*, in which portraicture I have obſerved her ſtatue at *Alexandria* to be formed,) did repreſent the horns of the moon,

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tigio incipiens, paulatim in omnes partes dilatatur, ſic rerum omnium natura ab unico principio & fonte, qui dividi non poteſt, nempè à Deo ſummo opifice profecta, varias deinde formas ſuſcipit, & in varia genera atque ſpecies diffunditur, omniaque apici illi & puncto conjungit, à quo omnia manant & fluunt. Verùm & alia hujus rei ratio nempè aſtronomia reddi poteſt, &c.

[i] *Trabes ex eo fecere reges quodam certamine, obeliſcos vocantes ſolis numini ſacratos. Radiorum ejus argumentum in effigie eſt; & ita ſignificabatur nomine Ægyptio. Primus omnium id inſtituit Mitres, qui in ſolis urbe regnabat, ſomnio juſſus.* Plin. lib. 36. cap. 8.

[k] *Obeliſcum Meſphres rex Ægypti primus feciſſe fertur —— qui poſt cæcitatem viſo recepto, duos obeliſcos ſoli conſecravit.* Iſid. lib. 18. cap. 31.

[l] Ἱπολαβεῖν εἶναι δύο θεὰς ἀϊδίους τε καὶ πρώτας, τόν τε ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ὀνομάσαι. Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

[m] Λίβυες μὲν ἐν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δ' Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι δόξαντες. Herodian. lib. 5.

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or *luna falcata*; ſo theſe quadrilatteral Pyramids, or obeliſks, might not unfitly reſemble the rays of the ſun, or their god *Oſiris*: A god denominated, as [n] *Plutarch* teſtifies, from *Os*, ſignifying in the *Ægyptian* language, *many*, and *Iri eyes*. For which reaſon, both [o] *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, term *Oſyris* in *Greek* πολυόφθαλμον, *many eyes*, or *many rays*; the which emitted, as the opticks demonſtrate, in pyramidal or conical forms, might not unaptly by the Gentiles be repreſented in either figure. Hence the *Phœnicians*, next neighbours to the *Ægyptians*, and probably firſt imitators of this their idolatry, worſhipped the ſun, whom they named *Elæagabalus*, or as the ancient coins render him, *Alegabalus*, and ſome inſcriptions *Heliogabalus*, an idol, in the ſimilitude of a cone. [p] *Herodian (l. 5.) The Phœnicians worſhip the ſun, calling him in their language Elæagabalus; to whom there is erected a very ſpacious temple, adorned with gold, plenty of ſilver, and precious ſtones. It is not only worſhipped by the natives, but likewiſe the great men, and kings of the Barbarians every year, with a kind of emulation, ſend honourable preſents to the god. There is no ſtatue, as among the Greeks and Romans, which poliſhed by hand, may expreſs the image of the god. But there is a certain great ſtone circular below, and ending with a ſharpneſs above, in the figure of a cone, of black colour. They report it to have fallen from heaven, and to be the image of the ſun.* This idolatry by commerce with the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians*, came afterward to be communicated to the *Grecians*, and other nations; and from theſe, what at the firſt inſtitution was proper to the ſun, came by ſuperſtition to be apply'd to their other gods. Thus [q] *Tacitus* (*lib.* II. *hiſt.*) at *Cyprus* in the temple of *Venus*, at *Paphos*, *The image of the goddeſs is not of human ſhape, but a figure riſing continually round, from a larger bottom to a ſmall top in conical faſhion; the reaſon thereof is not known.* Though what *Tacitus* rendreth *metæ modo exurgens*, or conical, *Maximus Tyrius* termeth pyramidal. [r] *In Paphos, Venus hath the chiefeſt honour; howbeit, her image you can liken to nothing ſo well as to a white Pyramid.* In like manner we find in [s] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that *Calithoe* the prieſteſs of *Juno*, decked *the column of the goddeſs* with crowns and garlands; that is, ſaith [t] *Joſeph Scaliger, the image of the goddeſs with crowns and garlands; for at that time the ſtatues of the gods were* κίονες πυραμοειδεῖς, *pyramidal columns*, or obeliſks. And Ἀπόλλων ἀΐσσευς, was nothing elſe with the *Grecians* but κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων, *a column ending in a point*, as [v] *Suidas* witneſſeth: *which kind of columns ſome make proper to Apollo, others to Bacchus, and others to them both.* In *Pauſanias* alſo we read, that in the city *Corinth*, *Jupiter*, *Melichius*, and *Diana ſirnamed Patroa, were made with little or no art: Melichius being repreſented by a Pyramid, and Diana by a column.* Whence not improbably the ſame [x] *Pauſanias*, in his *Corinthiacis*, conjectures, this manner of repreſentation of the gods, to have been the firſt and moſt ancient among the *Grecians*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*, deriving the beginning of it much higher, imagines it to have been the firſt kind of idolatry in the world, (and therefore well agreeing with the antiquity of the *Ægyptians*:) [y] *Before the exact art of making ſtatues was found out, the ancients erecting columns*, [pyramidal or conical columns,] *worſhipped theſe as the images of God.*

This practice of the *Ægyptians*, I mean of erecting Pyramids for ſepulchres, was but rarely imitated by other nations; tho' *Servius* ſeems to make it frequent in his comment upon theſe verſes of *Virgil*:

——*Fuit ingens monte ſub alto*
Regis Dercenni, terreno exaggere buſtum
Antiqui Laurentis, opacaque ilice tectum.

[z] *With the ancients* (ſaith *Servius*) *noble men were buried, either under mountains, or*

[n] Τὸν μὲν βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὀσίριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν· Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τέγομα διερμηνεύσει πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τὸ μὲν Ὀς τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δὲ Ἶρι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Αἰγυπτίᾳ γλώττῃ φράζοντες. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.

[o] Εἶναι τὸν μὲν Ὀσίριν πολυόφθαλμον, εἰκότως, πάντη μὲν ἐπιβάλλοντα τὰς ἀκτῖνας, ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς πολλοῖς βλέπειν ἅπασαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. Diod. lib. 1.

[p] Τιμᾶται [τὸν ἥλιον] οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ φοινίκων φωνῇ Ἐλαιαγάβαλον καλοῦντες, νεὼς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος, &c. Λίθος δέ τις ἐστὶ μέγιστος, κάτωθεν εὐφυὴς, λήγων εἰς ὀξύτητα κανόνειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἡ χρόα, &c. Herodian. lib. 5.

[q] *Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humanâ, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metæ modo exurgens: & ratio in obſcuro.* Tacit. lib. 2. hiſtor.

[r] Παφίοις μὲν Ἀφροδίτη τὰς τιμὰς ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἄλλῳ τῷ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ. Max. Tyr. διαλέξει λή.

[s] Clem. Alexandr. lib. 1. Stromatum ex Phoronidis auctore. [t] Scaliger in Euſebii chronicon.

[v] Ἀπόλλων] Ἀγύιευς δὲ ἐστι κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων. Ὃν ἱστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἰδίους δὲ φασιν αὐτὸς εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, οἱ δὲ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν. Suidas.

[x] Ἐστὶ δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος, καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη πατρῴα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένη ἀδημία· Πυραμὶς δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονι ἐοικυῖα εἰκασμένη. Pauſan. Corinthiaca.

[y] Πρὶν γὰρ ἐν ἀκριβωθῆναι τὰ ἀγάλματων σχήσεις κίονας ἱστάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ἵσεβον τούτους, ὡς ἀφιδρύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Clem. Alex. lib. 1. Stromatum.

[z] *Apud majores, nobiles aut ſub montibus, aut in montibus ſepeliebantur; unde natum eſt, ut ſupra cadavera, aut Pyramides fierent, aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ.* Serv. in Virgil.

in mountains; *whence the cuſtom came, that over the dead, either Pyramids were made or huge columns erected.* In imitation of the latter cuſtom, it may be [a] *Abſalom* erected his pillar; and *Pauſanias* deſcribing the manner of burial amongſt the ancient nation of the *Sicyonians*, tells us, [b] *that they covered the body with earth, and raiſed pillars over it.* But for the former of the Pyramids, I find none out of *Ægypt* accounted miraculous,, unleſs it be the ſepulchre of *Porſena* king of *Hetruria*, (with which I ſhall conclude, deſcribed by *Pliny* out of *Varro*; being more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the Pyramids, than for any exceſſive magnitude. [c] *We ſhall uſe M.* Varro's *own words in the deſcription of it.*

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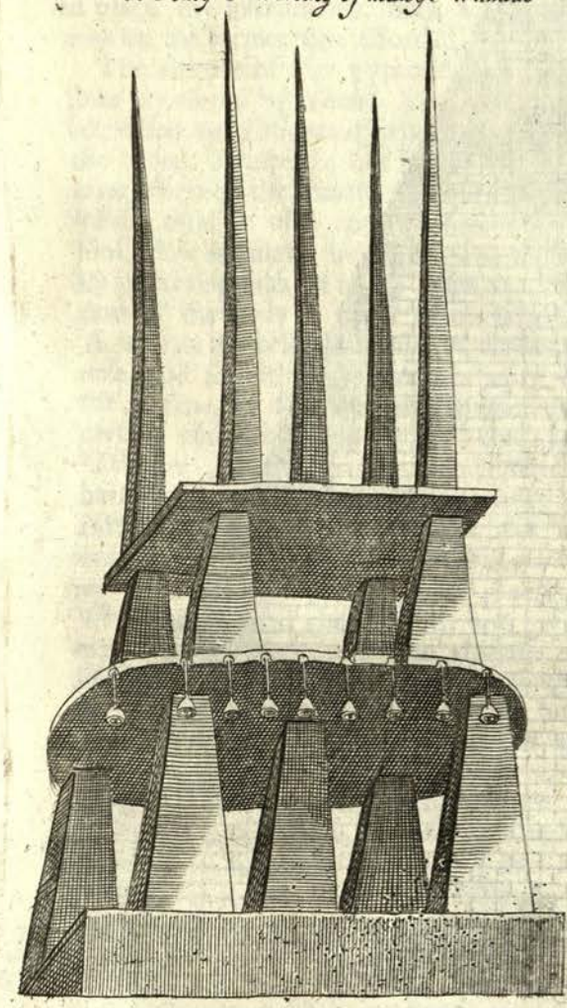
He was buried, ſaith he, *without the city Cluſium, in which place he left a monument of ſquare ſtone. Each ſide of it is three hundred feet broad, and fifty feet high. Within the ſquare baſis there is an inextricable labyrinth, whither whoſo adventures without a clue can find no paſſage out. Upon this ſquare there ſtand five Pyramids, four in the angles, and one in the middle; in the bottom they are broad ſeventy five feet, and high an hundred and fifty. They are pointed in ſuch a manner, that at the top there is one braſs circle, and covering for them all, from which there hangs bells faſtened to chains: Theſe being moved by the wind, give a ſound afar off, as at Dodona it has formerly been. Upon this circle there are four other Pyramids, each of them an hundred feet high. Above which, upon one plain, there are five Pyramids, the altitude of which* Varro *was aſhamed to add. The Hetruſcan fables report that it was as much as that of the whole work. With ſo vain a madneſs he ſought glory by an expence uſeful to no man; waſting beſides the wealth of his kingdom, that in the end the commendation of the artificer ſhould be the greateſt.*

Porſena's Tomb at Clusium in Italy Consisting of many Piramids



[a] 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

[b] Pauſaniæ Corinth. ſive lib. 2. Αὐτοὶ δ᾽ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐοικότι τρόπῳ θάπτουσι· τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσιν· λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κηπῖδα, κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι.

[c] Plin. l. 36. c. 13. *Utemur ipſius M. Varronis in expoſitione ejus verbis. Sepultus eſt, inquit, ſub urbe Cluſio, in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato, ſingula latera pedum lata tricenûm, alta quinquagenûm: inque baſi quadratâ intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo ſiquis improperet ſine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum Pyramides ſtant quinque, quatuor in angulis, & in medio una; in imo latæ pedum ſeptuagenûm quinûm, aliæ centum quinquagenûm: ita faſtigiatæ, ut in ſummo orbis æneus, & petaſus unus omnibus ſit impoſitus, ex quo pendeant excepta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata longè ſonitus referant, ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor Pyramides inſuper ſingulæ extant altæ pedum centenûm. Supra quas uno ſolo quinque Pyramides, quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adjicere. Fabulæ Hetruſcæ tradunt eandem fuiſſe quàm totius operis: adeò veſana dementia quæſiſſe gloriam, impendio nulli profuturo. Præterea fatigâſſe regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificio eſſet.* Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

A Deſcription of the PYRAMIDS *in* ÆGYPT, *as I found them in the* CIↃ XL VIII *Year of the* Hegira, *or in the Years* CIↃ IↃ CXXXVIII, *and* CIↃ IↃ CXXXIX *of our* LORD, *after the* Dionyſian *Account.*

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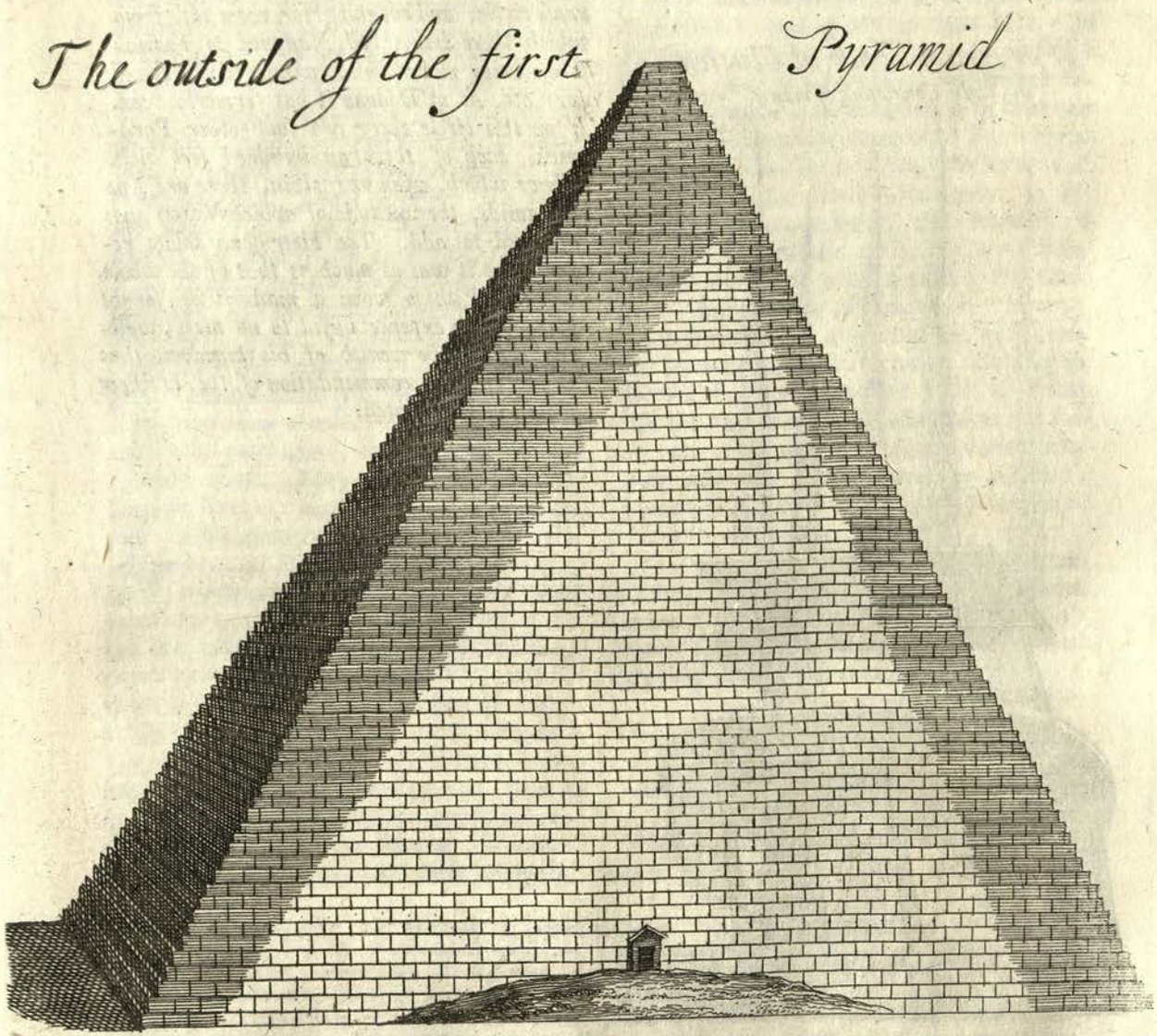
A Deſcription of the firſt and faireſt PYRAMID.



THE firſt and faireſt of the three greater Pyramids, is ſituated on the top of a rocky hill in the ſandy deſert of *Libya*, about a quarter of a mile diſtant to the weſt, from the plains of *Ægypt*: above which the rock riſeth an hundred feet or better, with a gentle and eaſy aſcent. Upon this advantageous riſe, and upon this ſolid foundation the Pyramid is erected; the height of the ſituation adding to the beauty of the work, and the ſolidity of the rock giving the ſuperſtructure a permanent and ſtable ſupport. Each ſide of the Pyramid, computing it according to [d]*Herodotus*, contains in length IↃ CCC *Grecian* feet; and in [e] *Diodorus Siculus*'s ac-

[d] Herodot. lib. 2. πλεύρων ἑκάστῳ ἔχει πλέθρων ἕττα.

[e] Diod. l. 1. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγίστη τετράπλευρον ἔσχε τὸ σχῆμα, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆ βάσεως

count

count 10 cc: [f] *Strabo* reckons it leſs than a furlong, that is, leſs than 10c *Grecian* feeet, or ſix hundred twenty five *Roman*; and [g] *Pliny* equals it to 10 ccc LXXXIII. That of *Diodorus Siculus* in my judgment comes neareſt to the truth[h], and may ſerve in ſome kind to confirm thoſe proportions, which in another diſcourſe I have aſſigned to the *Grecian* meaſures. For meaſuring the north-ſide of it, at the *baſis*, by an exquiſite *radius* of ten feet in length, taking two ſeveral ſtations, as mathematicians uſe to do, when any obſtacle hinders their approach, I found it to be ſix hundred ninety three feet, according to the *Engliſh* ſtandard; which quantity is ſomewhat leſs than that of *Diodorus*. The reſt of the ſides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient diſtance to place my inſtruments, both which the *area* on the former ſide afforded.

The altitude of this pyramid was long ſince meaſured by *Thales Mileſius*, who, according to [i] *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, lived about the fiftieth olympiad: but his obſervation is no where by the antients expreſſed. Only [k] *Pliny* tells us of a courſe propoſed by him, how it might be found, and that is by obſerving ſuch an hour, when the ſhadow of the body is equal to its height: A way at the beſt, by reaſon of the faintneſs, and ſcattering of the extremity of the ſhadow, in ſo great an altitude, uncertain and ſubject to error. And yet [l] *Diogenes Laertius* in the life of *Thales*, hath the ſame ſtory from the authority of *Hieronymus*. *Hieronymus* reports, *that he meaſured the Pyramids by their ſhadow, marking when they are of an equal quantity.* Wherefore I ſhall paſs by his, and give my own obſervations. The altitude is ſomething defective of the latitude; though in [m] *Strabo*'s computation it exceeds; but [n] *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be leſs; which, if we meaſure by its perpendicular, is four hundred ninety nine feet; but if we take it as the Pyramid aſcends inclining (as all ſuch figures do,) then is it equal, in reſpect of the lines ſubtending the ſeveral angles, to the latitude of the *baſis*, that is, to ſix hundred ninety three feet. With reference to this great altitude [o] *Statius* calls them, GREAVES

——— *audacia ſaxa*
Pyramidum ———

And [p] *Tacitus*, *Inſtar montium eductæ Pyramides.*

[q] *Julius Solinus* goes farther yet: *The Pyramids are ſharp pointed towers in Ægypt, exceeding all height which may be made by hand.* [r] *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his expreſſion aſcends as high: *The Pyramids are towers erected alltogether, exceeding the height which may be made by man; in the bottom they are broadeſt, ending in ſharp points atop; which figure is therefore by geometricians called pyramidal, becauſe in the ſimilitude of fire it is ſharpened into a cone, as we ſpeak.* [s] *Propertius* with the liberty of a poet, in an hyperbole, flies higher yet:

Pyramidum ſumptus ad ſidera ducti.

And the [t] *Greek Epigrammatiſt* in a tranſcendent expreſſion, is no way ſhort of him.

Πυραμίδες δ' ἔτι νῦν Νειλωΐδες ἄχρα μέτωπα
Κυροῦσι χρυσείς ἄχρασι πωλιάδων.

What exceſſive heights theſe fancied to themſelves, or borrowed from the relations of others, I ſhall not now examine: This I am certain of, that the ſhaft or ſpire of *Paul*'s in *London*, before it was caſually burnt, being as much, or ſomewhat more than the altitude of the tower now ſtanding, did exceed the height of this Pyramid. For [u] *Camden* deſcribes it in his *Elizabetha*, to be in a perpendicular five hundred and twenty feet from the ground: And in his [w] *Britannia*, to have been ſomewhat more, 10 XXXIV feet; whereof the tower CCLX, and the Pyramid on the top CCLXXIV. See *Godw. de præſul.* 229.

If we imagine upon the ſides of the *baſis*, which is perfectly ſquare, four equila-

[f] Strabo, l. 17. [g] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Ampliſſima octo jugera obtinent ſoli, quatuor angulorum paribus intervallis, per octingentos octoginta tres pedes, ſingulorum laterum.*

[h] For the exact dimenſions of this Pyramid, ſee miſcellaneous obſervations upon authors antient and modern. Pag. 119, *&c. ſeq.* [i] Tatiani Orat. contra Græcos.

[k] Plin. 36. c. 12. *Menſuram altitudinis earum, omniumque ſimilium deprehendere invenit Thales Mileſius, umbram metiendo, quâ horâ par eſſe corpori ſolet.*

[l] Diog. Laert. in vitâ Thaletis, l. 1. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος, καὶ ἐπιμετρῆσαι, φησὶν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας, ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς τῇ παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῖν ἰσομεγέθεις εἰσί.

[m] Strabo, lib. 17. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τρέδια οὐ τὸ ὕψος. Whereas the breadth he reckons leſs than a ſtadium.

[n] Diodor. lib. 1. Τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτὰ πλείω τῶν ἓξ πλέθρων. But to the breadth he aſſigns ſeven plethra.

[o] Stat. l. 5. Sylv. 3. [p] Tacit. Annal. l. 2. [q] *Pyramides ſunt turres in Ægypto, faſtigiatæ ultrà excelſitatem omnem, quæ manu fieri poteſt.* Jul. Solin. Polyh. c. 45. [r] Ammian. Marcell. l. 21.

[s] Propertius, l. 3. Eleg. 1. [t] Græc. Epigram. l. 4. Francofurti 1600. cum Annot. Brodæi.

[u] *Pyramis pulcherrima cathedralis eccleſiæ S. Pauli, quæ ſingulari urbis ornamento in ſuſpiciendam edita altitudinem* DXX *ſcilicet pedes à ſolo & CCLX à turre quadratâ, cui impoſita erat è materiâ ligneâ plumbo veſtita, de cœlo propè faſtigium tacta deflagravit.* Camdeni Elizabetha. [w] Camd. Brit. *in* Middleſex.

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teral triangles mutually inclining, till they all meet on high as it were in a point, (for ſo the top ſeems to them which ſtand below,) then ſhall we have a true notion, of the juſt dimenſion and figure of this Pyramid; the perimeter of each triangle comprehending two thouſand ſeventy nine feet, (beſides the latitude of a little plain or flat on the top,) and the perimeter of the baſis two thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy two feet. Whereby the whole area of the baſis (to proportion it to our meaſures,) contains four hundred eighty thouſand two hundred forty nine ſquare feet, or eleven Engliſh acres of ground, and 1089 of 43560 parts of an acre. A proportion ſo monſtrous, that if the ancients did not atteſt as much, and ſome of them deſcribe it to be more, this age would hardly be induced to give credit to it. But *Herodotus* deſcribing each ſide to contain eight hundred feet, the *area* muſt of neceſſity be greater than that by me aſſigned, the ſum amounting to ſix hundred and forty thouſand; or computing it as *Diodorus Siculus* doth, the *area* will comprehend four hundred and ninety thouſand feet: And in the calculation of *Pliny*, if we ſhall ſquare eight hundred eighty three, (which is the number allotted by him to the meaſure of each ſide,) the product ſeven hundred ſeventy nine thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, will much exceed both that of *Herodotus* and this of *Diodorus*. Tho' certainly, *Pliny* is much miſtaken in aſſigning the meaſure of the ſide to be eight hundred eighty three feet, and the baſis of the Pyramid to be but eight *jugera*, or Roman acres. For if we take the Roman *jugerum* to contain in length two hundred and forty feet, and in breadth one hundred and twenty, as may be evidently proved out of [x] *Varro*, and is expreſly affirmed by [y] *Quintilian*, then will the ſuperficies or whole extenſion of the *jugerum* be equal to twenty eight thouſand eight hundred Roman feet; with which, if we divide ſeven hundred ſeventy nine thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, the reſult will be twenty ſeven Roman *jugera*, and 2089 of 28800 parts of an acre. Wherefore, if we take thoſe numbers eight hundred eighty three of *Pliny* to be true, then I ſuppoſe he writ twenty eight *jugera* inſtead of eight, or elſe in his proportion of the ſide to the area of the baſis, he hath err'd.

The aſcent to the top of the Pyramid is contrived in this manner: from all the ſides without we aſcend by degrees; the lowermoſt degree is near four feet in height, and three in breadth; this runs about the Pyramid in a level; and at the firſt, when the ſtones were intire, which are now ſomewhat decayed, made on every ſide of it a long but narrow walk. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, each ſtone amounting to almoſt four feet in height, and three in breadth; it retires inward from the firſt near three feet, and thus runs about the Pyramid in a level, as the former. In the ſame manner is the third row placed upon the ſecond, and ſo in order the reſt, like ſo many ſtairs riſing one above another to the top. Which ends not in a point, as mathematical Pyramids do, but in a little flat or ſquare. Of this, *Herodotus* hath no where left us the dimenſions: But [z] *Henricus Stephanus*, an able and deſerving man, in his comment hath ſupplied it for him. For he makes it to be eight *orgyiæ*. Where if we take the *orgyia* as both [a] *Heſychius* and [b] *Suidas* do, for the diſtance between the hands extended at length, that is, for the fathom or ſix feet, then ſhould it be forty eight feet in breadth at the top. But the truth is, *Stephanus* in this particular, whilſt he corrects the errors of *Valla*'s interpretation, is to be corrected himſelf. For that latitude which *Herodotus* aſſigns to the admirable bridge below, (of which there is nothing now remaining,) he hath carried up, by a miſtake to the top of the Pyramid. [c] *Diodorus Siculus* comes nearer to the truth, who deſcribes it to be but nine feet. [d] *Pliny* makes the breadth at the top to be twenty five feet. *Altitudo* (I would rather read it *latitudo*,) *à cacumine pedes* XXV. By my meaſure it is XIII feet, and 280 of 1000 parts of the Engliſh foot. Upon this flat, if we aſſent to the opinion of [e] *Proclus*, it may be ſuppoſed that the Ægyptian prieſts made their obſervations in aſtronomy; and that from hence, or near this place, they firſt diſcovered, by the riſing of *Sirius*, their *annus κυνικὸς*, or *canicularis*, as alſo their *periodus Sothiaca*, or *annus magnus κυνικὸς*, *or annus Heliacus*, or *annus Dei*, as it is termed by [f] *Cenſorinus*, conſiſting of 1460 ſidereal years; in which ſpace their *thoth vagum*, and *fixum*, came to have the ſame beginning: That the prieſts might near theſe Pyramids, make their obſervati-

[x] *Jugerum quadratos duos actus habet. Actus quadratus qui & latus eſt pedes* CXX, *& longus totidem. Is modius ac mina appellatur.* Varro de Re R. l. 1. c. 10.

[y] *Jugeri menſuram* CCXL *longitudinis pedes eſſe dimidiique in latitudinem patere non ferè quiſquam eſt qui ignoret.* Quintil. l. 1. c. 10. [z] Hen. Steph. in 2 lib. Herodoti.

[a] *Ὀργυιαὶ ἡ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων χειρῶν ὄκτασις.* Heſych. [b] *Ὀργυιαὶ τέ μι τὰ τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν.* Suid.

[c] Diodor. l. 1. [d] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. [e] Procl. Com. l. 1. in Timæum Platonis.

[f] Cenſorin. de die natali. *Quem Græci κυνικὸν, Latine canicularem vocamus. Hic annus etiam heliacus à quibuſdam dicitur, & ab aliis, ὁ θεοῦ ἐνιαυτός.*

ons I no way queſtion; this riſing of the hill being, in my judgment, as fit a place as any in *Ægypt* for ſuch a deſign; and ſo much the fitter by the vicinity of *Memphis*. But that theſe Pyramids were deſigned for obſervatories, (whereas by the teſtimonies of the ancients I have proved before, that they were intended for ſepulchres,) is no way to be credited upon the ſingle authority of *Proclus*. Neither can I apprehend to what purpoſe the prieſts with ſo much difficulty ſhould aſcend ſo high, when below with more eaſe, and as much certainty, they might from their own lodgings hewn in the rocks, upon which the Pyramids are erected, make the ſame obſervations. For ſeeing all *Ægypt* is but as it were one continued plain, they might from theſe cliffs have, over the plains of *Ægypt*, as free and open a proſpect of the heavens, as from the tops of the Pyramids themſelves. And therefore *Tully* writes more truly: [g] *Ægyptii, aut Babylonii, in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cùm ex terrâ nihil emineret, quod contemplationi cœli officere poſſet, omnem curam in ſiderum cognitione poſuerunt.* The top of this Pyramid is covered not with [h] one or [i] three maſſy ſtones, as ſome have imagined, but with nine, beſides two which are wanting at the angles: The degrees by which we aſcend up, (as I obſerved in meaſuring many of them,) are not all of an equal depth, for ſome are near four feet, others want of three, and theſe the higher we aſcend, do ſo much the more diminiſh: Neither is the breadth of them alike; the difference in this kind, being as far as I could conjecture, proportionable to their depth. And therefore a right line extended from any part of the baſis without to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. Of theſe it was impoſſible for me to take an exact meaſure, ſince in ſuch a revolution of time, if the inner parts of the Pyramid have not loſt any thing of their firſt perfection, as being not expoſed to the injury of the [k] *air and fall of rains*; yet the outward parts, that is, theſe degrees or rows of ſtone, have been much waſted and impaired by both. And therefore they cannot conveniently now be aſcended, but either at the ſouth-ſide, or at the eaſt-angle, on the north: They are well ſtiled by *Herodotus*, Βωμίδες, that is, little altars: For in the form of altars they riſe one above another to the top. And theſe are all made of maſſy and poliſhed ſtones, hewen according to *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, out of the *Arabian* mountains, which bound the upper part of *Ægypt*, or that above the *delta* on the eaſt, as the *Lybian* mountains terminate it on the weſt, being ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every ſtep, is one ſingle and entire ſtone. The relation of [l] *Herodotus*,

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[g] Cicer. de Divin. l. 1. [h] Les voyages de Seign. Villamont. [i] Sand's *travels*.

[k] The air of *Ægypt* is confeſſed by the antients to be often full of vapours. Which appears both by the great dews, that happen after the deluge of *Nilus* for ſeveral months; as alſo in that I have diſcovered at *Alexandria*, in the winter time, ſeveral obſcure ſtars in the conſtellation of *Urſa major*, not viſible in *England*; the which could not be diſcerned, were there not a greater refraction at that place than with us, and conſequently a greater condenſation of the *medium*, or air, as the opticks demonſtrate. But I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the antients, who generally deny the fall of rain in *Ægypt*. *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, ſpeaking of *Ægypt*, where he had lived many years, writes thus: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἔτε τότε ἔτε ἄλλοτε, ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρόσεις ὕδωρ ἐπιῤῥεῖ. *Pomponius Mela* in expreſs terms relates, that *Ægypt* is *terra expers imbrium, mirè tamen fertilis*. Whereas for two months, namely *December* and *January*, I have not known it rain ſo conſtantly and with ſo much violence at *London*, as I found it do at *Alexandria*, the winds continuing north north-weſt; which cauſed me to keep a diary as well of the weather, as I did of my obſervations in aſtronomy: And not only there, but alſo at *Grand Cairo*, my very noble and worthy friend, ſir *William Paſton*, at the ſame time, obſerved, that there fell much rain. And ſo likewiſe about the end of *March* following, being at the *mummies*, ſomewhat beyond the Pyramids, to the ſouth, there fell a gentle rain for almoſt a whole day: But it may be the antients mean the upper parts of *Ægypt* beyond *Thebes*, about *Siene*, and near the *Catadupæ*, or cataracts of *Nilus*, and not the lower parts; where I have been told by the *Ægyptians*, that it ſeldom rains. And therefore *Seneca* (*lib.* 4. *Natur. Quæſt.*) ſeems to have writ true, *In eâ parte quæ in Æthiopiam vergit* (ſpeaking of *Ægypt*) *aut nulli imbres ſunt, aut rari*. But where he after ſays, *Alexandria nives non cadunt*, it is falſe: For at my being there in *January*, at night it ſnowed. However, farther to the ſouth than *Ægypt*, between the tropicks, and near the line, in *Habaſſia*, or *Æthiopia*, every year, for many weeks, there falls ſtore of rain, as the *Habaſſines* themſelves at *Grand Cairo* relate. Which may be confirmed by *Joſephus Acoſta. lib.* 2. *de naturâ orbis novi*, where he obſerves in *Peru*, and ſome other places (lying in the ſame parallel with thoſe of *Æthiopia*) that they have abundance of rains. This then is the true cauſe of the inundation of *Nilus* in the ſummer time, being then higheſt, when other rivers are loweſt; and not thoſe which are alledged by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Ariſtides*, *Heliodorus*, and others: Who are extremely troubled to give a reaſon of the inundation, imputing it either to the peculiar nature of the river, or to the obſtruction of the mouth of it by the *Eteſiæ*; or to the melting of ſnows in *Æthiopia*, (which I believe ſeldom fall in thoſe hot countries, where the natives, by reaſon of the extream heats, are all black; and where, if we credit *Seneca*, *argentum replumbatur, ſilver is melted*, by the ſcorching heats) or to ſome ſuch other reaſons of little weight. In *Diodorus* I find *Agatharchides Cnidius*, to give almoſt the ſame reaſon aſſigned by me: But thoſe times gave little credit to his aſſertion. Yet *Diodorus* ſeems to aſſent to it, (*Diod. lib.* 1.) *Agatharchides Cnidius hath come neareſt to the truth; for he ſaith: Every year in the mountains about* Æthiopia, *there are continual rains from the ſummer ſolſtice, to the autumnal equinox, which cauſe the inundation.* The time of this is accounted generally ſo certain, that I have ſeen the *Ægyptian* aſtronomers to put it down many years before, in their Ephemerides: *That ſuch a day of ſuch a month, the* Nilus *begins to riſe.*

GREAVES and [m] *Pomponius Mela*, is more admirable, who make *the leaſt ſtone in this Pyramid to be thirty feet.* And this I can grant in ſome, yet ſurely it cannot be admitted in all, unleſs we interpret their words, that the leaſt ſtone is thirty ſquare, or to ſpeak more properly, thirty cubical feet; which dimenſion, or a much greater, in the exterior ones, I can without any difficulty admit. The number of theſe ſteps is not mentioned by the ancients, and that cauſed me, and two that were with me, to be the more diligent in computing them, becauſe by modern writers, and ſome of thoſe too of repute, they are deſcribed with much diverſity and contrariety. The degrees, ſaith [n] *Bellonius*, are about two hundred and fifty, each of them ſingle contains in height forty five digits, at the top it is two paces broad. For this I take to be the meaning of what *Cluſius* renders thus: *A baſi autem ad cacumen ipſius ſupputationem facientes, comperimus circiter* CCL *gradus, ſinguli altitudinem habent* V *ſolearum calcei* IX *pollicum longitudines, in faſtigio duos paſſus habet.* Where I conceive his *paſſus* is in the ſame ſenſe to be underſtood here above, as not long before he explains himſelf in deſcribing the *baſis* below, which in his account is CCCXXIV *paſſus paululum extenſis cruribus.* [o] *Albertus Lewenſtainius* reckons the ſteps to be two hundred and ſixty, each of them a foot and a half in depth. *Johannes Helfricus* counts them to be two hundred and thirty. [p] *Sebaſtius Serlius*, upon a relation of *Grimano, the patriarch of* Aquileia, *and afterwards cardinal*, (who in his travels in *Ægypt* meaſured theſe degrees) computes them to be two hundred and ten; and the height of every ſtep to be equally three palms and an half. It would be but loſt labour, to mention the different and repugnant relations of ſeveral others: That which by experience, and by a diligent calculation, I, and two others found, is this, that the number of degrees from the bottom to the top, is two hundred and ſeven; tho' one of them in deſcending reckoned two hundred and eight.

Such as pleaſe, may give credit to thoſe fabulous traditions of [q] ſome, that a *Turkiſh* archer ſtanding at the top, cannot ſhoot beyond the bottom, but that the arrow will neceſſarily fall upon theſe ſteps. If the *Turkiſh* bow (which by thoſe figures that I have ſeen in ancient monuments, is the ſame with that of the *Parthians*, ſo dreadful to the *Romans*) be but as ſwift, and ſtrong, as the *Engliſh*; as ſurely it is much more, if we conſider with what incredible force ſome of them will pierce a plank of ſix inches in thickneſs, (I ſpeak what I have ſeen) it will not ſeem ſtrange, that they ſhould carry twelve ſcore in length; which diſtance is beyond the *baſis* of this Pyramid.

The ſame credit is to be given to thoſe reports of the ancients, that this *Pyramid*, and the reſt, caſt no ſhadows. [r] *Solinus* writes expreſly, *Menſuram umbrarum egreſſæ nullas habent umbras.* And [s] *Auſonius:*

> *——Quadro cui in faſtigia cono*
> *Surgit & ipſa ſuas conſumit Pyramis umbras.*

[t] *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath almoſt the ſame relation, *umbras quoque mechanicâ ratione conſumit.* Laſtly, [u] *Caſſiodorus* confirms the ſame, *Pyramides in Ægypto, quarum in ſuo ſtatu ſe umbra conſumens, ultra conſtructionis ſpatia nullâ parte reſpicitur.* All which in the winter ſeaſon I can in no ſort admit to be true: For at that time I have ſeen them caſt a ſhadow at noon. And if I had not ſeen it, yet reaſon, and the art of meaſuring altitudes by ſhadows, and on the contrary, of knowing the length of ſhadows by altitudes, doth neceſſarily infer as much. Beſides how could *Thales Mileſius*, above two thouſand years ſince, have taken their height by ſhadows, according to *Pliny*, and *Laertius*, as we mentioned before, if ſo be theſe *Pyramids* have no ſhadows at all? To reconcile the difference, we may imagine, *Solinus*, *Auſonius*, *Marcellinus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, mean in the ſummer-time; or which is nearer the truth, that almoſt for three quarters of the year, they have no ſhadows: And this I grant to be true at midnight.

[l] Οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσων. Herod. l. 2. [m] *Pyramides tricenûm pedum lapidibus, exſtructæ.* Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 9. [n] Bellonius, lib. 2. obſerv. c. 42. [o] *Albertus Lewenſtainius gradus ad cacumen numerat* CCLX. *ſingulos ſeſquipedali altitudine, Johannes Helfricus* CCXXX. *Raderus in Martial. Epigr. Barbara Piramidum ſileat miracula Memphis*, &c. [p] *Il numero de pezzidalla baſa ſino alla ſommità ſono da* CCX, *è ſono turtid' una altezza talmente che l' altezza di tutta la maſſa è quanto laſua baſa.* Sebaſt. Serl. lib. 3. delle Antichità.

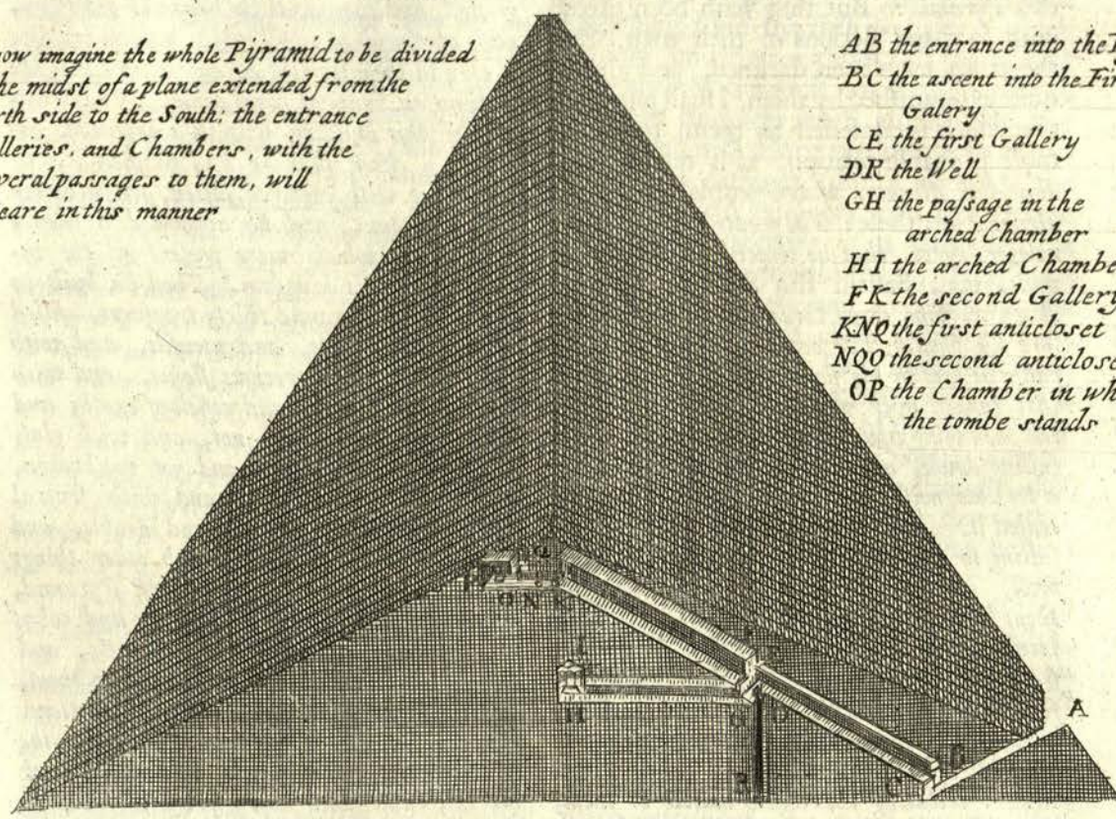
[q] Bellon. Obſerv. lib. 2. cap. 42. & alii. *Peritiſſimus atque validiſſimus ſagittarius in ejus faſtigio exiſtens, atque ſagittam in aerem emittens, tam validè eam ejaculari non poterit, ut extra molis baſim decidat, ſed in ipſos gradus cadet, adeo vaſtæ magnitudinis, uti diximus, eſt hæc moles.* Bellon.

[r] Jul. Solin. Polyh. c. 45. [s] Auſon. Edyllio 3. [t] Ammian. Marcel. lib. 22. [u] Caſſiodor. Var. 7. Formula 15.

A Deſcription of the Inſide of the firſt PYRAMID.

The inside of the first and fairest Pyramid

If you imagine the whole Pyramid to be divided in the midst of a plane extended from the North side to the South: the entrance Galleries, and Chambers, with the Several passages to them, will appeare in this manner



AB the entrance into the Pyramid
BC the ascent into the First Galery
CE the first Gallery
DR the Well
GH the passage in the arched Chamber
HI the arched Chamber
FK the second Gallery
KNQ the first anticloset
NQO the second anticloset
OP the Chamber in which the tombe stands

HAving finiſhed the deſcription of the greater *Pyramid*, with the figure, and dimenſions of it, as they preſent themſelves to the view without: I ſhall now look inwards, and lead the reader into ſeveral ſpaces, and partitions within: of which, if the ancients have been ſilent, we muſt chiefly impute it to a reverend and awful regard, mixed with ſuperſtition, in not preſuming to enter thoſe chambers of death, which religion, and devotion, had conſecrated to the reſt, and quiet of the dead. Wherefore [a] *Herodotus* mentions no more, but only in general, that *ſome ſecret vaults are hewn in the rock under the Pyramid.* *Diodorus Siculus* is ſilent; though both enlarge themſelves in other particulars leſs neceſſary. [b] *Strabo* alſo is very conciſe, whoſe whole deſcription both of this, and of the ſecond *Pyramid*, is included in this ſhort expreſſion: *Forty ſtadia from the city* (Memphis,) *there is a certain brow of an hill, in which are many Pyramids, the ſepulchres of kings: Three of them are memorable. Two of theſe are accounted amongſt the ſeven miracles of the world; each of theſe are a furlong in height: The figure is quadrilateral, the altitude ſomewhat exceeds each ſide, and the one is ſomewhat bigger than the other. On high, as it were, in the midſt between the ſides, there is a ſtone that may be removed, which being taken out, there is an oblique* (or ſhelving) *entrance* (for ſo I render that which by him is termed σύριγξ σκολία) *leading to the tomb,* [c] *Pliny* expreſſes nothing within, but only *a well* (which is ſtill extant) *of eighty ſix cubits in depth*; in which he probably imagines, by ſome ſecret aquæduct, the water of the river *Nilus* to be brought. *Ariſtides*, in his oration, entituled, Αἰγύπτιος, upon a miſinformation of the *Ægyptian* prieſts, makes the foundation of the ſtructure to have deſcended as far below, as the altitude aſcends above. Of which I ſee no neceſſity, ſeeing all of them are founded upon rocks. His words are theſe: [d] *Now as with admiration we behold the tops of the Pyramids, but that which is as much more under ground oppoſite to it, we are ignorant of, (I ſpeak what I have received from*

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[a] Herodot. lib. 2. [b] Strabo, lib. 17. [c] Plin. l. 36. c. 12.
[d] Νῦν δ' ὥσπερ τὰ πυραμίδων τὰς μὲν κορυφὰς ὁρῶντες ἐκπλησσόμεθα τὸ δ' ἀντίπαλον ᾧ ὑπὸ γῆς ἴσμεν τοσοῦτον ὂν ἠγνοηται (λέγω δ' αὐτῶν ἱερέων ἤκουον) &c. Ariſtid. λόγῳ Αἰγύπτιος.

the

GREAVES *the prieſts.*) And this is that which hath been delivered to us by the antients; which I was unwilling to pretermit, more out of reverence of antiquity, than out of any ſpecial ſatisfaction. The *Arabian* writers, eſpecially ſuch as have purpoſely treated of the wonders of *Ægypt*, have given us a more full deſcription of what is within this *Pyramid:* But that hath been mixed with ſo many fictions of their own, that the truth hath been darkned, and almoſt quite extinguiſhed by them. I ſhall put down that which is confeſſed by them, to be the moſt probable relation, as is reported by *Ibn Abd Alhokm*, whoſe words out of the *Arabick* are theſe: *The greateſt part of chronologers agree, that he which built the Pyramids, was,* Saurid Ibn Salhouk, *king of* Ægypt, *who lived three hundred years before the flood. The occaſion of this was, becauſe he ſaw in his ſleep, that the whole earth was turned over with the inhabitants of it, the men lying upon their faces, and the ſtars falling down, and ſtriking one another, with a terrible noiſe; and being troubled, he concealed it. After this he ſaw the fixed ſtars falling to the earth, in the ſimilitude of white fowl, and they ſnatched up men, carrying them between two great mountains; and theſe mountains cloſed upon them, and the ſhining ſtars were made dark. Awaking with great fear, he aſſembled the chief prieſts of all the provinces of* Ægypt, *an hundred and thirty prieſts, the chief of them was called* Aclimum: *Relating the whole matter to them, they took the altitude of the ſtars, and making their prognoſtication, foretold of a deluge. The king ſaid, Will it come to our country? They anſwered, Yea, and will deſtroy it. And there remained a certain number of years for to come, and he commanded in the mean ſpace to build the Pyramids, and a vault to be made, into which the river* Nilus *entring, ſhould run into the countries of the* Weſt, *and into the land* Al-Said; *and he filled them with* [e] teleſmes, *and with ſtrange things, and with riches, and treaſures, and the like. He ingraved in them all things that were told him by wiſe men, as alſo all profound ſciences, the names of* [f] alakakirs, *the uſes and hurts of them. The ſcience of aſtrology, and of arithmetick, and of geometry, and of phyſick. All this may be interpreted by him that knows their characters, and language. After he had given order for this building, they cut out vaſt columns and wonderful ſtones. They fetch maſſy ſtones from the* Æthiopians, *and made with theſe the foundation of the three Pyramids, faſtning them together with lead and iron. They built the gates of them forty cubits under ground, and they made the height of the Pyramids one hundred royal cubits, which are fifty of ours in theſe times; he alſo made each ſide of them an hundred royal cubits. The beginning of this building was in a fortunate horoſcope. After that he had finiſhed it, he covered it with coloured ſatten, from the top to the bottom; and he appointed a ſolemn feſtival, at which were preſent all the inhabitants of his kingdom. Then he built in the weſtern Pyramid thirty treaſures, filled with ſtore of riches, and utenſils, and with ſignatures made of precious ſtones, and with inſtruments of iron, and veſſels of earth, and with arms which ruſt not, and with glaſs which might be bended, and yet not broken, and with ſtrange ſpells, and with ſeveral kinds of* alakakirs, *ſingle and double, and with deadly poiſons, and with other things beſides. He made alſo in the eaſt Pyramid, divers cœleſtial ſpheres and ſtars, and what they ſeverally operate, in their aſpects, and the perfumes which are to be uſed to them, and the books which treat of theſe matters. He alſo put in the coloured Pyramid, the commentaries of the prieſts, in cheſts of black marble, and with every prieſt a book, in which were the wonders of his profeſſion, and of his actions, and of his nature, and what was done in his time, and what is, and what ſhall be, from the beginning of time, to the end of it. He placed in every Pyramid a treaſurer: The treaſurer of the weſterly Pyramid was a ſtatue of marble-ſtone, ſtanding upright with a lance, and upon his head a ſerpent wreathed. He that came near it, and ſtood ſtill, the ſerpent bit him of one ſide, and wreathing round about his throat, and killing him, returned to his place. He made the treaſurer of the eaſt Pyramid, an idol of black agate, his eyes open and ſhining, ſitting upon a throne with a lance; when any looked upon him, he heard of one ſide of him a voice, which took away his ſenſe, ſo that he fell proſtrate upon his face, and ceaſed not till he*

[e] *Teleſmes*] The word uſed by the *Arabians* is derived from the *Greek*, τελέσματα, by an *aphæreſis* of ἀπο. By the like *aphæreſis*, together with an *epentheſis*, the *Arabians* call him *Bochtanaſſar*, whom *Ptolemy* names *Nabonaſſar:* as by an *aphæreſis*, and *ſyncope*, the *Turks* call *Conſtantinople*, *Stanpol*, or *Iſtanbol*; from whence ſome of our writers term it *Stambol*; tho' the *Arabians* more fully expreſs it by *Coſtantiniya*, and *Buzantiya*; that is, *Conſtantinopolis*, and *Byzantium*. The various ſignifications of τελέσματα, and ἀποτελέσματα, ſee in Mr. *Selden*'s learned diſcourſe, *de diis Syris*; and in *Scaliger*'s annotations, *in apoteleſmaticum Manilii*. That which the *Arabians* commonly mean by *teleſmes*, are certain *ſigilla*, or *amuleta*, made under ſuch and ſuch an aſpect, or configuration of the ſtars and planets, with ſeveral characters accordingly inſcribed.

[f] *Alakakir*] Amongſt other ſignifications, is the name of a precious ſtone; and therefore in *Abulfeda* it is joined with *yacut*, a *ruby*. I imagine it here to ſignify ſome magical ſpell, which it may be was engraven in this ſtone.

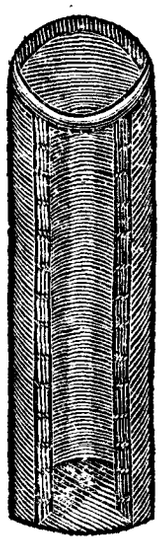
died. He made the treaſurer of the coloured Pyramid a ſtatue of ſtone, (called) Albut, *ſitting: he which looked towards it was drawn by the ſtatue, till he ſtuck to it and could not be ſeparated from it, till ſuch time as he died. The* Coptites *write in their books, that there is an inſcription engraven upon them, the expoſition of which in* Arabick *is this: I king* Saurid *built the Pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years: he that comes after me, and ſays that he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down, than to build up. I alſo covered them, when I had finiſhed them, with ſatten; and let him cover them with mats. After that,* Almamon *the calif entered* Ægypt, *and ſaw the Pyramids: He deſired to know what was within, and therefore would have them opened: They told him, It could not poſſibly be done: He replied, I will have it certainly done. And that hole was opened for him, which ſtands open to this day, with fire and vinegar. Two ſmiths prepared and ſharpened the iron, and engines, which they forced in, and there was a great expence in the opening of it: The thickneſs of the wall was found to be twenty cubits; and when they came to the end of the wall, behind the place they had digged, there was an ewer* (or pot) *of green emerald; in it were a thouſand dinars very weighty, every dinar was an ounce of our ounces: they wondered at it, but knew not the meaning of it. Then* Almamon *ſaid, Caſt up the account, how much hath been ſpent in making the entrance: they caſt it up, and lo it was the ſame ſum which they found, it neither exceeded, nor was defective. Within they found a ſquare well, in the ſquare of it there were doors, every door opened into an houſe* (or vault) *in which there were dead bodies wrapped up in linen. They found towards the top of the Pyramid, a chamber, in which there was an hollow ſtone: in it was a ſtatue of ſtone like a man, and within it a man, upon whom was a breaſt-plate of gold, ſet with jewels, upon his breaſt was a ſword of invaluable price, and at his head a carbuncle of the bigneſs of an egg, ſhining like the light of the day, and upon him were characters written with a pen, no man knows what they ſignify. After* Almamon *had opened it, men entred into it for many years, and deſcended by the ſlippery paſſage, which is in it; and ſome of them came out ſafe, and others died.* Thus far the *Arabians*; which traditions of theirs, are little better than a *romance*; and therefore leaving theſe, I ſhall give a more true and particular deſcription, out of mine own experience, and obſervations.

On the north-ſide aſcending thirty eight feet, upon an artificial bank of earth, there is a ſquare and narrow paſſage leading into the Pyramid, thorough the mouth of which (being equi-diſtant from the two ſides of the Pyramid) we enter, as it were, down the ſteep of an hill declining with an angle of twenty ſix degrees. The breadth of this entrance is exactly three feet, and four hundred ſixty three parts of one thouſand of the *Engliſh* foot: The length of it beginning from the firſt declivity, which is ſome ten palms without, to the utmoſt extremity of the neck, or ſtraight within, where it contracts it ſelf almoſt nine feet continued, with ſcarce half the depth it had at the firſt entrance (tho' it keep ſtill the ſame breadth) is ninety two feet and an half. The ſtructure of it hath been the labour of an exquiſite hand, as appears by the ſmoothneſs and evenneſs of the work, and by the cloſe knitting of the joints. A property long ſince obſerved, and commended by [s] *Diodorus*, to have run thorough the fabrick of the whole body of this Pyramid. Having paſſed with tapers in our hands this narrow ſtraight, tho' with ſome difficulty, (for at the farther end of it we muſt creep upon our bellies) we land in a place ſomewhat larger, and of a pretty height, but lying incompoſed; having been dug away, either by the curioſity, or avarice of ſome, in hopes to diſcover an hidden treaſure; or rather by the command of *Almamon*, the deſervedly renowned calif of *Babylon*. By whomſoever it were, it is not worth the enquiry, nor doth the place merit deſcribing, but that I was unwilling to pretermit any thing: Being only an habitation for bats, and thoſe ſo ugly, and of ſo large a ſize, (exceeding a foot in length) that I have not elſewhere ſeen the like. The length of this obſcure and broken ſpace, containeth eighty nine feet, the breadth and height is various, and not worth conſideration. On the left hand of this, adjoining to that narrow entrance thorough which we paſſed, we climb up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone, eight or nine feet in height, where we immediately enter upon the lower end of the firſt gallery. The pavement of this riſes with a gentle acclivity, conſiſting of ſmooth and poliſhed marble, and were not ſmeared with filth, appearing of a white and alabaſter colour: The ſides and roof, as *Titus Livinius Burretinus*, a *Venetian*, an ingenious young man, who accompanied me thither, obſerv'd, was of impoliſhed ſtone, not ſo hard and compact as that on the pavement, but more ſoft and tender: The breadth almoſt five feet, and about the ſame quantity the height, if he have not miſtaken. He likewiſe diſcovered ſome irregularity in the breadth, it opening a little wider in ſome

Greaves

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 8.

GREAVES places than in others; but this inequality could not be diſcerned by the eye, but only by meaſuring it with a careful hand: By my obſervation with a line, this gallery contained in length an hundred and ten feet. At the end of this begins the ſecond gallery; a very ſtately piece of work, and not inferiour, either in reſpect of the curioſity of art, or richneſs of materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent buildings. It is divided from the former by a wall, through which ſtooping, we paſſed in a ſquare hole, much about the ſame bigneſs, as that by which we entred into the Pyramid, but of no conſiderable length. This narrow paſſage lieth level, not riſing with an acclivity, as doth the pavement below, and roof above, of both theſe galleries. At the end of it, on the right hand, is the well, mentioned by *Pliny*; the which is circular, and not ſquare, as the *Arabian* writers deſcribe: the diameter of it exceeds three feet, the ſides are lin'd with white marble, and the deſcent into it is by faſtning the hands and feet in little open ſpaces cut in the ſides within, oppoſite, and anſwerable to one another in a perpendicular. In the ſame manner are almoſt all the wells and paſſages into the ciſterns at *Alexandria* contrived, without ſtairs or windings, but only with inlets, and ſquare holes on each ſide within; by which uſing the feet and hands, one may with eaſe deſcend. Many of theſe ciſterns are with open and double arches, the lowermoſt arch being ſupported by a row of ſpeckled and *Thebaick* marble pillars, upon the top of which ſtands a ſecond row, bearing the upper and higher arch: The walls within are covered with a ſort of plaiſter, for the colour white; but of ſo durable a ſubſtance, that neither by time, nor by the water, it is yet corrupted and impaired. But I return from the ciſterns and wells there, to this in the Pyramid; *which in* [h] Pliny's *calculation, is eighty ſix cubits in depth*; and it may be was the paſſage to thoſe ſecret vaults mentioned, but not deſcribed by *Herodotus*, that were hewn out of the rock, over which this Pyramid is erected. By my meaſure, ſounding it with a line, it contains twenty feet in depth. The reaſon of the difference between *Pliny*'s obſervation and mine, I ſuppoſe to be this, that ſince his time it hath almoſt been

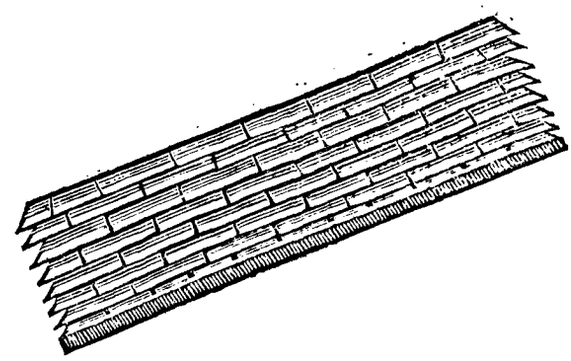


dammed up, and choaked with rubbiſh, which I plainly diſcover'd at the bottom, by throwing down ſome combuſtible matter ſet on fire. Leaving the well, and going on ſtrait upon a level, the diſtance of fifteen feet, we entred another ſquare paſſage, opening againſt the former, and of the ſame bigneſs. The ſtones are very maſſy, and exquiſitely jointed; I know not whether of that gliſtering and ſpeckled marble, I mentioned in the columns of the ciſterns at *Alexandria*. This leadeth (running in length upon a level an hundred and ten feet) into an arched vault, or little chamber; which by reaſon it was of a grave-like ſmell, and half full of rubbiſh, occaſioned my leſſer ſtay. This chamber ſtands eaſt and weſt; the length of it is leſs than twenty feet, the breadth about ſeventeen, and the height leſs than fifteen. The walls are intire, and plaiſtered over with lime, the roof is covered with large ſmooth ſtones, not lying flat but ſhelving, and meeting above in a kind of arch, or rather an angle. On the eaſt-ſide of this room, in the middle of it, there ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place. Whether this way the prieſts went into the hollow of that huge *Sphinx*, as *Strabo* and [i] *Pliny* term it, or *androſphinx*, as *Herodotus* calls ſuch kinds, (being by *Pliny*'s calculation CII feet in compaſs about the head, in height LXII, in length CXLIII: And by my obſervation made of one intire ſtone) which ſtands not far diſtant without the Pyramid, ſouth-eaſt of it, or into any other private retirement, I cannot determine; and it may be too this ſerved for no ſuch purpoſe, but rather as a *Theca* or *Nichio*, as the *Italians* ſpeak, wherein ſome idol might be placed; or elſe for a piece of ornament (for it is made of poliſhed ſtone) in the architecture of thoſe times, which ours may no more underſtand, than they do the reaſon of the reſt of thoſe ſtrange proportions, that appear in the paſſages and inner-rooms of this Pyramid. Returning back the ſame way we came, as ſoon as we are out of this narrow and ſquare paſſage, we climb over it, and going ſtraight on, in the trace of the ſecond gallery, upon a ſhelving pavement (like that of the firſt) riſing with an angle of twenty ſix degrees, we at length came to another partition. The length of the gallery, from the well below to this partition above, is an hundred fifty and four feet; but if we meaſure the pavement of the floor, it is ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity (ſome fifteen feet in length) as we deſcribed before, between the well and the ſquare hole we climbed over. And here to reaſſume ſome part of

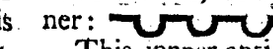
[h] *In Pyramide maximâ eſt intus puteus* LXXXVI *cubitorum, flumen illo admiſſum arbitrantur.* Plin. l. 36. cap. 12. [i] Plin. l. 36. cap. 12.

that

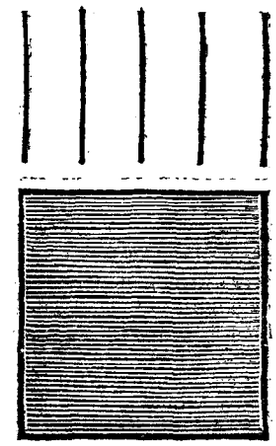
that which hath been ſpoken, if we conſider the narrow entrance at the mouth of the Pyramid by which we deſcend; and the length of the firſt and ſecond galleries by which we aſcend, all of them lying as it were in the ſame continu'd line, and leading to the middle of the Pyramid, we may eaſily apprehend a reaſon of that ſtrange ecchoe within, of four or five voices, mentioned by [k] *Plutarch in his fourth book, De placitis Philoſophorum:* Or rather of a long continued ſound; as I found by experience, diſcharging a muſket at the entrance. For the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe cloſe and ſmooth paſſages, like as in ſo many pipes or trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects upon it ſelf, and cauſes a confuſed noiſe and circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes, as the motion of it ceaſes. This gallery, or *corridore*, (or whatſoever elſe I may call it) is built of white and poliſhed marble, the which is very evenly cut in ſpacious ſquares, or tables. Of ſuch materials as is the pavement, ſuch is the roof, and ſuch are the ſide walls, that flank it: The coagmentation, or knitting of joints, is ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernible to the eye; and that which adds a grace to the whole ſtructure, tho' it makes the paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the aſcent. The height of this gallery is twenty ſix feet, the breadth is ſix feet, and eight hundred ſeventy parts of the foot divided into a thouſand, of which three feet, and four hundred thirty ſix of a thouſand parts of a foot, are to be allowed for the way in the midſt; which is ſet and bounded on both ſides with two banks (like benches) of ſleek and poliſhed ſtone; each of theſe hath one foot ſeven hundred ſeventeen of a thouſand parts of a foot in breadth, and as much in depth. Upon the top of theſe benches near the angle, where they cloſe, and join with the wall, are little ſpaces cut in right angled parallel figures, ſet on each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than ornament. In the caſting and ranging of the marbles in both the ſide-walls, there is one piece of architecture, in my judgment, very graceful; and that is, that all the courſes, or ranges, which are but ſeven (ſo great are thoſe ſtones) do ſet and flag over one another about three inches; the bottom of the uppermoſt courſe overſetting the higher part of the ſecond, and the lower part of this overflagging the top of the third, and ſo in order the reſt, as they deſcend. Which will better be conceived by the repreſentation of it to the eye in this figure, than by any other deſcription. GREAVES



Having paſſed this gallery, we enter another ſquare hole, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, which brings us into two *anticamerette*, as the *Italians* would call them, or *anti-cloſets*, (give me leave in ſo unuſual a ſtructure to frame ſome [l] unuſual terms) lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of *Thebaick* marble. The firſt of theſe hath the dimenſions almoſt equal to the ſecond: The ſecond is thus proportioned, the *area* is level, the figure of it is oblong, the one ſide containing ſeven feet, the other three and an half, the height is ten feet. On the eaſt and weſt ſides, within two feet and half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three cavities, or little ſeats, in this manner:



This inner anti-cloſet is ſeparated from the former, by a ſtone of red ſpeckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a ſluice) between two walls. more than three feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. Out of this cloſet we enter another ſquare hole, over which are five lines cut parallel, and perpendicular in this manner:



Beſides theſe, I have not obſerved any other ſculptures, or engravings, in the whole Pyramid: and therefore it may juſtly be wondered, whence the *Arabians* borrowed thoſe traditions I before related,

[k] Ἐν γοῦν ταῖς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον πυραμίσιν ἔνδον φωνὴ μία βαγυμένη τέτταρας ἢ καὶ πέντε ἢ χους ἀπεργάζεται. Plut. lib. 4. de philoſ. plac. cap. 20.

[l] *Sunt enim rebus novis, nova ponenda nomina.* Cicero, lib. 1. de naturâ deorum.

that

GREAVES *that all ſciences are inſcribed within in hieroglyphicks:* and as juſtly it may be queſtioned, upon what authority *Dio*, or his epitomizer *Xiphilinus*, reports, that *Cornelius Gallus* (whom [m] *Strabo* more truly names *Ælius Gallus*, with whom he travelled into *Ægypt*, as a friend and companion) [n] *engraved in the Pyramids his victories*, unleſs we underſtand ſome other Pyramids not now exiſtent. This ſquare paſſage is of the ſame wideneſs and dimenſions as the reſt, and is in length near nine feet, (being all of *Thebaick* marble, moſt exquiſitely cut) which lands us at the north end of a very ſumptuous and well-proportioned room. The diſtance from the end of the ſecond gallery to this entry, running upon the ſame level, is twenty four feet. This rich and ſpacious chamber, in which art may ſeem to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, ſtands as it were in the heart and centre of the Pyramid, equi-diſtant from all the ſides, and almoſt in the middle between the *baſis* and the top. The floor, the ſides, the roof of it, are all made of vaſt and exquiſite tables of *Thebaick* marble, which if they were not veiled and obſcured by the ſteam of tapers, would appear gliſtering and ſhining. From the top of it deſcending to the bottom, there are but ſix ranges of ſtone, all which being reſpectively ſized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the ſame altitude, run round the room. The ſtones which cover this place, are of a ſtrange and ſtupendious length, like ſo many huge beams lying flat, and traverſing the room, and withal ſupporting that infinite maſs and weight of the Pyramid above. Of theſe there are nine, which cover the roof; two of them are leſs by half in breadth than the reſt; the one at the eaſt end, the other at the weſt. The length of this [o] chamber on the ſouth ſide, moſt accurately taken at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is thirty four *Engliſh* feet, and three hundred and eighty parts of the foot divided into a thouſand (that is, thirty four feet, and three hundred and eighty of a thouſand parts of a foot.) The breadth of the weſt ſide at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is ſeventeen feet, and an hundred and ninety parts of the foot divided into a thouſand (that is, ſeventeen feet, and a hundred and ninety of a thouſand parts of a foot.) The height is nineteen feet and an half.

Within this glorious room (for ſo I may juſtly call it) as within ſome conſecrated oratory, ſtands the monument of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, and uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell. Which I mention not as any rarity, either in nature, or in art (for I have obſerved the like found, in other tombs of [p] marble cut hollow like this) but becauſe I find modern authors to take notice of it as a wonder. Some write, that the body hath been removed hence; whereas [q] *Diodorus* hath left above ſixteen hundred years ſince, a memorable paſſage concerning *Chemmis* the builder of this Pyramid, and *Cephren*, the founder of the next adjoining. *Altho'* (ſaith he) *theſe kings intended theſe for their ſepulchres, yet it happened that neither of them were buried there: For the people being exaſperated againſt them, by reaſon of the toilſomneſs of theſe works, and for their cruelty and oppreſſion, threatned to tear in pieces their dead bodies, and with ignominy to throw them out of their ſepulchres: Wherefore both of them dying, commanded their friends privately to bury them, in an obſcure place.* This monument, in reſpect of the nature and quality of the ſtone, is the ſame with which the whole room is lined; as by breaking a little fragment of it, I plainly diſcovered, being a ſpeckled kind of marble, with black, and white, and red ſpots, as it were equally mixed, which ſome writers call *Thebaick* marble: tho' I conceive it to be that ſort of porphyry which [t] *Pliny* calls *leucoſtictos*, and de-

[m] Strabo, lib. 17. [n] Xiphil. in Cæſ. Aug. Τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποίηκε, ἐς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε.

[o] Theſe proportions of the chamber, and thoſe which follow, of the length and breadth of the hollow part of the tomb, were taken by me with as much exactneſs as it was poſſible to do; which I did ſo much the more diligently, as judging this to be the fitteſt place for the fixing of meaſures for poſterity. A thing which hath been much deſired by learned men, but the manner how it might be exactly done, hath been thought of by none. I am of opinion, that as this Pyramid has ſtood three thouſand years almoſt, and is no whit decayed within, ſo it may continue many thouſand years longer: and therefore that after-times meaſuring theſe places by me aſſigned, may hereby not only find out the juſt dimenſions of the *Engliſh* foot, but alſo the feet of ſeveral nations in theſe times; which in my travels abroad I have taken from the originals, and have compared them at home with the *Engliſh* ſtandard. Had ſome of the antient mathematicians thought of this way, theſe times would not have been ſo much perplexed, in diſcovering *the meaſures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Ægyptians, Greeks, and other nations.* Such parts as the *Engliſh* foot contains a 1000, the *Roman* foot, on *Coſſutius* monument (commonly called by writers, *Pes Colatianus*) contains 967. The *Paris* foot 1068. The *Spaniſh* foot 920. The *Venetian* foot 1062. The *Rhinland* foot, or that of *Snellius*, 1033. The *Bracio* at *Florence* 1913. The *Bracio* at *Naples* 2100. The *Derah* at *Cairo* 1824. The greater *Turkiſh Pike* at *Conſtantinople* 2200.

[p] As appears by a fair and antient monument brought from *Smyrna*, to my very worthy friend *Edward Rolt*, Eſq; which ſtands in his park at *Woolwich*. [q] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν κατὰ σκευασάντων αὐτοῖς τάφους, συμβῆ μιθέτερον αὐτῶν ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐνταφῆναι, &c. [t] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 7.

ſcribes thus: *Rubet porphyrites in eadem Ægypto ex eo candidis intervenientibus punctis leucoſtictos appellatur. Quantiſlibet molibus cædendis ſufficiunt lapidicinæ.* Of this kind of marble there was, and ſtill is, an infinite quantity of columns in *Ægypt*. But a *Venetian*, a man very curious, who accompanied me thither, imagined that this ſort of marble came from mount [f] *Sina*, where he had lived among the rocks; which he affirmed to be ſpeckled with party-colours of black and white, and red, like this: and to confirm his aſſertion, he alledg'd, that he had ſeen a great column, left imperfect amongſt the cliffs, almoſt as big as that huge and *admirable* [t] Corinthian *pillar, ſtanding to the ſouth of* Alexandria; which, by my meaſure, is near four times as big as any of thoſe vaſt *Corinthian* pillars, in the *Porticus* before the *Pantheon* at *Rome*; all which are of the ſame coloured marble with this monument, and ſo are all the obeliſks with hieroglyphicks, both in *Rome* and *Alexandria*. Which opinion of his doth well correſpond with the tradition of *Ariſtides*, who reports, that *in* Arabia *there is a quarry of excellent porphyry*. The figure of this tomb without, is like an altar, or more nearly to expreſs it, like two cubes finely ſet together, and hollowed within, it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture and engraving, or any relevy and emboſſment. The exterior ſuperficies of it contains in length ſeven feet, three inches, and an half. [u] *Bellonius* makes it twelve feet, and [x] monſieur *de Breves* nine; but both of them have exceeded. In depth it is three feet, three inches, and three quarters, and is the ſame in breadth. The hollow part within, is in length on the weſt-ſide, ſix feet, and four hundred and eight parts of the *Engliſh* foot divided into a thouſand parts (that [y] is ſix feet, and four hundred and eighty eight of the thouſand parts of a foot) in breadth, at the north-end, two feet, and two hundred and eighteen parts of the foot divided into a thouſand parts (that [z] is, two feet, and two hundred and eighteen of a thouſand parts of a foot.) The depth is two feet, and eight hundred and ſixty of the thouſand parts of the *Engliſh* foot. A narrow ſpace, yet large enough to contain a moſt potent and dreadful monarch, being dead, to whom living, all *Ægypt* was too ſtreight and narrow a circuit. By theſe dimenſions, and by ſuch other obſervations as have been taken by me from ſeveral embalmed bodies in *Ægypt*, we may conclude, that there is no decay in nature; (*tho' the queſtion is as old as* [a] Homer) but that the men of this age are of the ſame ſtature they were near three thouſand years ago; notwithſtanding St. [b] *Auguſtin*, and others, are of a different opinion. *Quis jam ævo iſto non minor ſuis parentibus naſcitur?* Is the complaint of *Solinus* above fifteen hundred years ſince. And yet in thoſe *cryptæ ſepulchrales*, at *Rome*, of the primitive Chriſtians, reſembling cities under ground: admired anciently by St. *Hierom*, and very faithfully of late deſcribed by *Boſius*, in his *Roma ſubterranea*, (for I took ſo much pains for GREAVES

[f] Which may alſo be confirmed by *Bellonius's* obſervations; who deſcribing the rock, out of which, upon *Moſes* ſtriking it, there guſhed out waters, makes it to be ſuch a ſpeckled kind of Thebaick marble: *Eſt une groſſe pierre maſſive droicte de miſme grain & de la couleur, qu' eſt la pierre Thebaique.*

[t] The compaſs of the *Scapus* of this column at *Alexandria*, near the *Torus*, is XXIV *Engliſh* feet: the compaſs of the *Scapus* of thoſe at *Rome*, is XV *Engliſh* feet, and three inches. By theſe proportions, and by thoſe rules which are expreſſed in *Vetruvius*, and in other books of architecture, the ingenious reader may compute the true dimenſions of thoſe before the *Pantheon*, and of this at *Alexandria*; being, in my calculation, the moſt magnificent column that ever was made, of one entire ſtone.

[u] *Pervenitur in elegans cubiculum quadrangulum ſex paſſus longum, & quatuor latum, quatuor verò vel* VI *orgyiis altum, in quo marmor nigrum ſolidum in ciſtæ formam exciſum invenimus* XII *pedes longum,* V *altum, & totidem latum, ſine operculo.* Bellon. Obſer. lib. 2. cap. 42.

[x] *Les voyages de monſieur de Breves.*

[y] 6 Feet $\frac{488}{1000}$

[z] 2 Feet $\frac{218}{1000}$ In the reiteration of theſe numbers, if any ſhall be offended, either with the novelty or teadiouſneſs of expreſſing them ſo often, I muſt juſtify my ſelf by the example of *Ulug Beg*, nephew to *Tamurlanc* the great, (for ſo is his name, and not *Tamerlane*) and emperor of the *Moguls*, or *Tatars*, (whom we term amiſs the *Tartars*.) For I find in his aſtronomical tables (the moſt accurate of any in the eaſt) made about CC years ſince, the ſame courſe obſerved by him, when he writes of the *Grecian, Arabian, Perſian*, and *Gelalean epocha's*; as alſo of thoſe of *Catæa* and *Turkiſtan*. He expreſſeth the numbers at large, as I have done, then in figures, ſuch as we call *Arabian*, becauſe we firſt learned theſe from them; but the *Arabians* themſelves fetch them higher, acknowledging that they received this uſeful invention from the *Indians*; and therefore, from their authors, they name them *Indian figures*. Laſtly, he renders them again in particular tables, which manner I judge worthy the imitation, in all ſuch numbers as are *radical*, and of more than ordinary uſe. For if they be only twice expreſſed, if any difference ſhall happen by the neglect of ſcribes, or printers, it may often ſo fall out, that we ſhall not know which to make choice of; whereas if they be thrice expreſſed, it will be a rare chance but that two of them will agree; which two we may generally preſume to be the truth.

[a] *Jam verò ante annos propè mille, vates ille Homerus non ceſſavit minora corpora mortalium quam priſca conqueri.* Plin.

Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero.

Terra malos homines nunc educat atque puſillos. Juven. Sat. 15.

[b] Auguſt. de civ. Dei. l. 15. cap. 9.

GREAVES my own ſatisfaction, as to enter thoſe wonderful grots, and compare his deſcriptions) I find the bodies entombed, ſome of them being as ancient as *Solinus* himſelf, no way to exceed the proportions of our times.

It may be juſtly queſtioned how this monument of *Cheops* could be brought hither, ſeeing it is an impoſſibility that by thoſe narrow paſſages, before deſcribed, it ſhould have entered. Wherefore we muſt imagine that by ſome *machina* it was raiſed and conveyed up without, before this oratory or chamber was finiſhed, and the roof cloſed. The poſition of it is thus: it ſtands exactly in the meridian north and ſouth, and is, as it were, equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber, except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt. Under it I found a little hollow ſpace to have been dug away, and a large ſtone in the pavement removed, at the angle next adjoining to it: which [c] *Sands* erroneouſly imagines to be a paſſage into ſome other compartiment: dug away, no doubt, by the avarice of ſome, who might not improbably conjecture an hidden treaſure to be repoſited there. An expenceful prodigality, out of ſuperſtition uſed by the ancients, and with the ſame blind devotion taken up, and *continued to this day in the* Eaſt-Indies. And yet it ſeems by *Joſephus*'s relation, that by the wiſeſt king, in a time as clear and unclouded as any, it was put in practice, who thus deſcribes the funeral of king *David:* [d] *His ſon Solomon buried him magnificently in Hieruſalem, who, beſides the uſual ſolemnities at the funerals of kings, brought into his monument very great riches, the multitude of which we may eaſily collect by that which ſhall be ſpoken. For thirteen hundred years after, Hyrcanus the high-prieſt being beſieged by Antiochus, ſurnamed Pius, the ſon of Demetrius, and being willing to give money to raiſe the ſiege, and to lead away his army, not knowing where to procure it, he opened one of the vaults of the ſepulchre of David, and took thence three thouſand talents; part whereof being given to Antiochus, he freed himſelf from the danger of the ſiege, as we have elſewhere declared. And again, after many years, king Herod opened another vault, took out a great quantity of money; yet neither of them came to the coffins of the kings; for they were with much art hid under ground, that they might not be found by ſuch as entered into the ſepulchre.*

The ingenious reader will excuſe my curioſity, if before I conclude my deſcription of this Pyramid, I pretermit not any thing within, of how light a conſequence ſoever. This made me take notice of two inlets, or ſpaces, in the ſouth and north ſides of this chamber, juſt oppoſite to one another; that on the north was in breadth ſeven hundred of a thouſand parts the *Engliſh* foot, in depth four hundred of a thouſand parts; evenly cut, and running in a ſtraight line ſix feet, and farther, into the thickneſs of the wall. That on the ſouth is larger, and ſomewhat round, not ſo long as the former, by the blackneſs within, it ſeems to have been a receptacle for the burning of lamps. *T. Livius Burretinus*, would gladly have believed, that it had been an hearth for one of thoſe eternal lamps, ſuch as have been found in *Tulliola*'s tomb in *Italy*; and, if [e] *Camden* be not miſinformed, in *England*, in the *cryptoporticus* of *Fl. Valerius Conſtantius*, father to *Conſtantine* the great, dedicated to the urns and aſhes of the dead; but I imagine the invention not to be ſo ancient as this Pyramid. However, certainly a noble invention; and therefore pity it is it ſhould have been ſmothered by the negligence of writers, as with a damp. How much better might *Pliny*, if he knew the compoſition of it, have deſcribed it, than he hath done the *linum aſbeſtinum*, a ſort of linen ſpun out of the veins, as ſome ſuppoſe, of the *Cariſtian*, or *Cyprian* ſtone? (which in my travels I have often ſeen:) tho' *Salmaſius* [f], with more probability, contends the true *aſbeſtinum* to be the *linum vivum*, or *linum Indicum*; in the folds and wreaths of which, they encloſed the dead body of the prince; (for, ſaith [g] *Pliny*, *Regum Indæ funebres tunicæ:* and no wonder, ſeeing not long after he adds, *Æquat pretia excellentium margaritarum*) committing it to the fire and flames till it were conſumed to aſhes: while in the ſame flames this ſhrowd of linen, as if it had only been bathed and waſhed (to allude to his expreſſion) by the fire, became more white and refined. Surely a rare and commendable piece of ſkill, which [h] *Pancirollus* juſtly reckons among the *deperdita*; but infinitely inferior, either in reſpect of art or uſe, unto the former. And thus I have finiſhed my deſcription of all the inner parts of this Pyramid: in which I could neither borrow light to conduct me from the ancients; nor receive any manuduction from the uncertain informations of modern travellers, in thoſe dark and hidden paths. We are now come abroad into the light and ſun, where I found my janizary, and

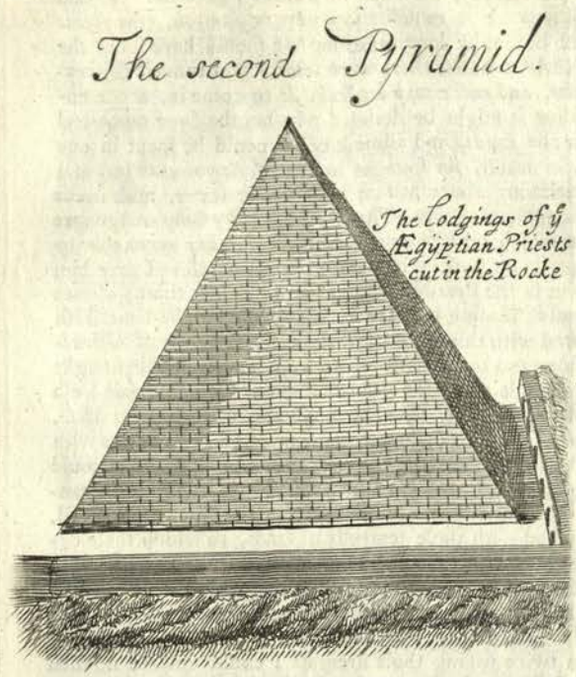
[c] *Sands*'s travels. [d] Joſ. lib. 7. ant. Judaic. cap. 12. Ἔθαψε δ' αὐτὸν, ὁ παῖς Σολομὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς εἰώθει κηδείαν νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἅπασι, καὶ ἄυτῷ πλοῦτον πολὺν καὶ ἄφθονον συνεκήδευσεν, &c.
[e] Camden Brit. ubi agit de Brigantibus. [f] Salmaſii exercit. Plinian.
[g] Plin. lib. 18. cap. 1. [h] Pancirol. Titl. 4. rerum deperditarum.

an *Engliſh* captain, a little impatient to have waited above [i] three hours without, in expectation of my return, who imagined what they underſtood not, to be an *impertinent* and *vain curioſity*. GREAVES

[i] That I and my company ſhould have continued ſo many hours in the Pyramid, and live (whereas we found no inconvenience) was much wondered at by Dr. *Harvey*, his majeſty's learned phyſician: for, ſaid he, ſeeing we never breathe the ſame air twice, but ſtill new air is requiſite to a new reſpiration, (the *ſuccus alibilis* of it being ſpent in every expiration) it could not be but by long breathing we ſhould have ſpent the aliment of that ſmall ſtock of air within, and have been ſtifled: unleſs there were ſome ſecret tunnels conveying it to the top of the Pyramid, whereby it might paſs out, and make way for freſh air to come in, at the entrance below. To which I returned him this anſwer: That it might be doubted whether the ſame numerical air could not be breathed more than once; and whether the *ſuccus*, and aliment of it, could be ſpent in one ſingle reſpiration: Seeing thoſe *urinatores*, or divers under water, for ſpunges in the *Mediterranean* ſea, and thoſe for pearls in the *ſinus Arabicus*, and *Perſicus*, continuing above half an hour under water, muſt needs often breathe in and out the ſame air. He gave me an ingenious anſwer, That they did it by help of ſpunges filled with oil, which ſtill corrected and fed this air; the which oil being once evaporated, they were able to continue no longer, but muſt aſcend up, or die. An experiment moſt certain and true. Wherefore I gave him this ſecond anſwer: That the fuliginous air we breathed out in the Pyramid, might paſs thorough thoſe galleries we came up, and ſo thorough the ſtraight neck, or entrance, leading into the Pyramid, and by the ſame freſh air might enter in, and come up to us. Which I illuſtrated with this ſimilitude: As at the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, the ſea is reported by ſome to enter in on *Europe* ſide, and to paſs out on *Africa* ſide; ſo in this ſtreight paſſage, being not much above three feet broad, on the one ſide air might paſs out, and at the other ſide freſh air might enter in. And this might no more mix with the former air, than the *Rhodanus*, as *Pomponius Mela*, and ſome others report, paſſing through the *lacus Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, doth mix and incorporate with the water of the lake. For as for any *tubuli*, to let out the fuliginous air at the top of the Pyramid, none could be diſcovered within, or without. He replied, They might be ſo ſmall, as that they could not eaſily be diſcerned, and yet might be ſufficient to make way for the air, being a thin and ſubtile body. To which I anſwered, That the leſs they were the ſooner they would be obſtructed with thoſe tempeſts of ſands, to which theſe deſerts are frequently expoſed: and therefore the narrow entrance into the Pyramid, is often ſo choaked up with drifts of ſand, that there is no entrance into it: wherefore we hire *Moors* to remove them, and open the paſſage, before we can enter into the Pyramid, with which he reſted ſatisfied. But I could not ſo eaſily be ſatisfied with that received opinion, That at the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, the ſea enters in at the one ſide, and at the ſame time paſſes out at the other. For beſides that, in twice paſſing thoſe ſtreights I could obſerve no ſuch thing, but only an inlet, without any outlet of the ſea: I enquired of a captain of a ſhip, being captain of one of the ſix that I was then in company with, and an underſtanding man, who had often paſſed that way with the pirates of *Algier*, whether ever he obſerved any outlet of the ſea on *Africa* ſide? He anſwered, No. Being asked, Why then the pirates went out into the *Atlantick* ſea on *Africa* ſide, if it were not, as the opinion is, to make uſe of the current? He anſwered, It was rather to ſecure themſelves from being ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, who had near the mouth of the ſtreights the port of *Gibraltar*, on the other ſide, to harbour in. Wherefore, when I conſider with my ſelf the great draught of waters that enter at this ſtreight, and the ſwift current of waters which paſs out of the *Pontus Euxinus*, by the *Boſphorus Thracius*, into the *Mediterranean* ſea, (both which I have ſeen) beſides the many rivers that fall into it, and have no viſible paſſage out: I cannot conceive, but that the *Mediterranean* ſea, or *Urinal* (as the *Arabians* call it, from its figure) muſt long ſince have been filled up, and ſwelling higher, have drowned the plains of *Ægypt*; which it hath never done. Wherefore I imagine it to be no abſurdity in philoſophy, to ſay that the earth is tubulous, and that there is a large paſſage under ground, from one ſea to another. Which being granted, we may eaſily thence apprehend the reaſon why the *Mediterranean* ſea riſes no higher, notwithſtanding the fall into it of ſo many waters; and alſo know the reaſon why the *Caſpian* ſea, tho' it hath not, in appearance, any commerce with other ſeas, continues ſalt, (*for ſo it is, whatſoever* Policletus, *in* Strabo, *ſays to the contrary*) and ſwells not over its banks, notwithſtanding the fall of the great river *Volga*, and of others, into it. That which gave me occaſion of entring into the ſpeculation was this: In the longitude of eleven degrees, and latitude of forty one degrees, having borrowed the tackling of ſix ſhips, and in a calm day ſounded with a plummet of almoſt twenty pounds weight, carefully ſteering the boat, and keeping the plummet in a juſt perpendicular, at a thouſand forty five *Engliſh* fathoms; that is, at above an *Engliſh* mile and a quarter in depth, I could find no land, or bottom.

A De-

A Deſcription of the Second PYRAMID.



GREAVES FROM the firſt Pyramid we went to the ſecond, being ſcarce diſtant the flight of an arrow. By the way I obſerved, on the weſt-ſide of the firſt, the ruins of a pile of building, all of ſquare and poliſhed ſtone; ſuch as [a] *Pliny* calls *baſaltes*, and deſcribes to be, *ferrei coloris, & duritiæ: of an iron colour and hardneſs:* formerly, it may be, ſome habitation of the prieſts, or ſome monument of the dead. To the right hand of this, tending to the ſouth, ſtands this ſecond Pyramid; of which, beſides the miracle, the ancient and modern writers have delivered little. [b] *Herodotus* relates, that *Cephren*, in imitation of his brother *Cheops*, built this; but that he fell ſhort in reſpect of the magnitude. *For* (ſaith he) *we have meaſured them.* It were to be wiſhed for fuller ſatisfaction of the reader, he had expreſſed the quantity, and alſo the manner how he took his meaſure. He adds, *It hath no ſubterraneous ſtructures, neither is the* Nilus *by a channel derived into it, as in the former.* [c] *Diodorus* ſomewhat more particularly deſcribes it thus: That *for the architecture it is like unto the former, but much inferior to it in reſpect of magnitude; each ſide of the baſis contains a* ſtadium *in length.* The ſame meaſure, by [d] *Strabo*, is aſſigned to the altitude: *Each of theſe,* [diſcourſing of the firſt and ſecond Pyramids] *is a furlong in height.* That is, to comment on their words, of *Grecian* feet ſix hundred, of *Roman* ſix hundred twenty five: So that by the computation of *Diodorus*, each ſide ſhould want an hundred *Grecian* feet of the former Pyramid. [e] *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater, for aſſigning eight hundred eighty three feet to the former, he allows to the ſide of the baſis of this, but ſeven hundred thirty ſeven. By my obſervation, the ſtones are of colour white, nothing ſo great and vaſt as thoſe of the firſt and faireſt Pyramid; the ſides riſe not with degrees like that, but are all of them plain and ſmooth; the whole fabrick (except where it is oppoſed to the ſouth) ſeeming very entire, free from any deformed ruptures or breaches. The height of it, taken by as deliberate a conjecture as I could make (which it was eaſy to do by reaſon of the nearneſs of this, and the former, being both upon the ſame plain) is not inferior to it; and therefore *Strabo* hath rightly judged them to be equal. The ſides alſo of the *baſis* of both are alike; as, beſides the authority of [f] *Strabo*, the *Venetian* doctor aſſured me, who meaſured it with a line. There is no entry leading into it, and therefore what may be within, whether ſuch ſpaces and compartiments, as I obſerved in the former, or whether different, or none, I muſt leave to the conjecture of travellers, and to the diſcovery of after-times.

This Pyramid is bounded on the north and weſt-ſides, with two very ſtately and elaborate pieces; which I do not ſo much admire, as that by all writers they have been pretermitted about thirty feet in depth, and more than a thouſand and four hundred in length, out of the hard rock, theſe buildings have been cut in a perpendicular, and ſquared by the chiſſel, as I ſuppoſe, for lodgings of the prieſts. They run along at a convenient diſtance, parallel to the two ſides we mentioned of this Pyramid, meeting in a right angle, and making a very fair and graceful proſpect. The entrance into them is by ſquare openings, hewn out of the rock, much of the ſame bigneſs with thoſe I deſcribed in the firſt Pyramid. Whether theſe where ſymbolical (as the theology of the *Ægyptians* conſiſted much in myſterious figures) and the depreſſure and lowneſs of theſe, were to teach the prieſts humility; and the ſquareneſs and evenneſs of them, an uniform and re-

[a] Plin. l. 35. cap. 7. [b] Herodot. lib. 2. [c] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. Τῇ μὲ, κατὰ τὴν τέχνην χειρωγία παραπλησίων τῇ προειρημένῃ, τῷ δ μεγέθ πολὺ λειπομένῳ ὡς ἂν τ ἐν τῇ βάσ πλάθρας ἑκάστης ἔστης σταδιαίας.
[d] Εἰσὶ γ σταδιαίαι τὸ ὕψ. Strabo, lib. 17. [e] Plin. l. 36. cap. 12. *Alterius intervalla ſingula per quatuor angulos pares* IↃↃↃ XXXVII [pedes] *comprehendunt.* [f] Strabo, l. 7.

gular

gular deportment in their actions, I leave to such as have written of their hieroglyphicks to determine. The hollow space within, of them all, is somewhat like to a square and well proportioned chamber, covered, and arched above with the natural rock: In most of which (as I remember) there was a passage opening into some other compartiment, which the rubbish and darkness hindred me from viewing. On the north-side without, I observed a line, and only one, engraven with sacred and *Ægyptian* characters, such as are mentioned by [g] *Herodotus*, and [h] *Diodorus*, to have been used by the priests, and were different from the vulgar characters in civil affairs: In which former kind [i] *Justin Martyr* makes *Moses* to have been skilful; as the scripture shews him to have been [k] *learned in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians*. These ran not downwards, as the *Chinese* in our times write, but were continued in a streight line, as we used to write: And are to be read (if any understand those mysterious sculptures) by proceeding from the right hand to the left, and as it were imitating the motion and course of the planets. For so [l] *Herodotus* expresly informs us, That *the* Grecians *write and cast account, going from the left hand to the right; the* Ægyptians *from the right hand to the left*. And this is that which in an obscure expression is also intimated by [m] *Pomponius Mela*: [*Ægyptii*] *suis literis perverse utuntur*. A manner practised by the *Hebrews*, *Chaldæans*, and *Syrians*, to this day: And not unlikely to have been borrowed by them from the *Ægyptians*; to whom the *Chaldæans* also ow'd their first skill in astrology, as the *Grecians* did their knowledge in geometry; the former being attested by [n] *Diodorus*, and the latter confessed by [o] *Proclus*, and other *Grecians*. And surely in imitation of these, or of the *Jews*, the *Arabians* neighbouring upon both, have taken up this manner of writing, and continued it to our times; communicating it also by their conquests, to the *Persians* and *Turks*.

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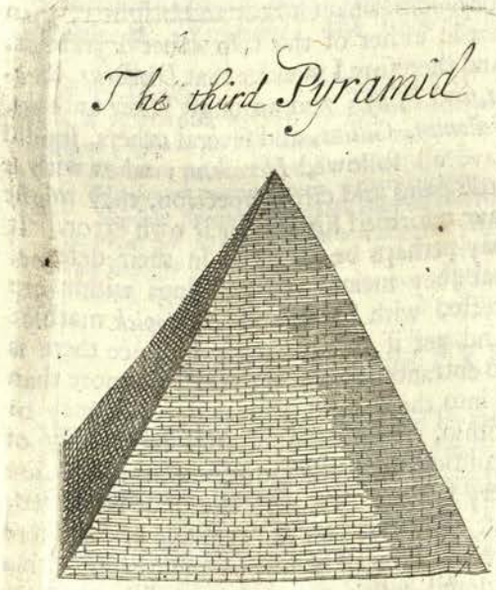
[g] Herodot. lib. 2. [h] Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς οἱ μ̄ ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττά. Τάτε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. Diod. l. 1. [i] Ὧν ὁ προφήτης εἰ καὶ τὴν εἴδησιν ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, &c. Just. Martyr. Quæst. & Resp. ad Orthodoxos. [k] Acts vii. 22.
[l] Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι, Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. Herodot. lib. 2. [m] Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.
[n] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. [o] 2 Lib. commen. Procli, in 1 lib. Eucl.

A Description of the Third PYRAMID.



THE third Pyramid stands distant from the second about a furlong, upon an advantageous height, and rising of the rock, whereby afar off it seems equal to the former; tho' the whole pile is much less, and lower. The time was so much spent with my other observations, that I could not take so exact a view as I desired, and the work deserved; yet I took so much of both, as to be able to confute the errors of others. But before I perform this, I shall relate what the ancients, and some one or two of our best writers, which have travelled thither, have delivered concerning this. [a] *Herodotus* discoursing of it, tells us, that *(Mycerinus) left a Pyramid much less than that of his father, wanting of all sides (for it is quadrangular) twenty feet: it is three hundred feet on every side, being to the middle of it built with* Æthiopick *marble*. [b] *Diodorus Siculus* is somewhat larger and clearer. *Every side of the basis* (Mycerinus) *caused to be made three hundred feet in length, he raised the walls fifteen stories, with black stone, like* Thebaick *marble; the rest of it he finished with such materials as the other Pyramids are built. This work, altho' it is exceeded by the rest in magnitude, yet for the structure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it very far excels them. In the side towards the north,* Mycerinus, *the name of the founder is engraven.* To *Dio-*

[a] Herodot. lib. 2. Πυραμέδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδίουσαν, κῶλον ἕκαστον τρίων πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

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dorus I ſhall adjoin the teſtimony of [c] *Strabo*: *Farther, upon a higher riſe of the hill, is the third (Pyramid) much leſs than the two former, but built with a greater expence: For almoſt from the foundation of it to the middle, it conſiſts of black ſtone, with which they make mortars, brought from the remoteſt mountains of* Æthiopia, *which being hard, and not eaſy to be wrought, hath made the work the more coſtly.* [d] *Pliny* alſo, not as a ſpectator, and eye-witneſs, as the former, but as an hiſtorian writes thus: *The third (Pyramid) is leſs than the former we mentioned, but much more beautiful: it is erected with* Æthiopick *marble, and is three hundred ſixty three feet between the angles.* And this is all that hath been preſerved of the ancients concerning this Pyramid. Amongſt modern writers, none deſerve to be placed before *Bellonius*, or rather *P. Gillius:* For [e] *Thuanus* makes the other to have been a *plagiarius*, and to have publiſhed in his own name the obſervations of *P. Gillius:* a man very curious and inquiſitive after truth, as appears by his *topography of Conſtantinople*, and his *Boſphorus Thracius*, to whom *Bellonius* ſerved as an *amanuenſis*. *The third* [f] *Pyramid is much leſs than the former two, but it is a third part greater than that which is at* Rome, *near the* mons Teſtaceus, *as you paſs to St.* Paul's *in the* Oſtian *way. It is ſtill perfect, and no more corrupted than as if it had been newly built: For it is made of a kind of marble, called* baſaltes, *or* Æthiopick *marble, harder than iron it ſelf.*

It will be in vain to repeat the traditions and deſcriptions of ſeveral others: All which, by a kind of confederacy, agree in the ſame tale for the ſubſtance, only differing in ſome circumſtances. So that I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that *Diodorus* hath borrowed moſt of his relation from *Herodotus*; and *Strabo* and *Pliny* from *Diodorus*, or from them both; and the more learned moderns from them all: For elſe how can it be imagined, they ſhould ſo conſtantly agree in that, which if my eyes, and [g] memory, extreamly fail me not, is moſt evidently falſe? And therefore I have a ſtrong jealouſy, that they never came near this third Pyramid; but that they did, as I have obſerved all travellers, in my time, in *Ægypt* to do, fill themſelves ſo full, and as it were ſo ſurfeit with the ſight of the greater and fairer Pyramid, that they had no appetite to be ſpectators of the reſt; where they ſhould only ſee the ſame miracle (for the Pyramids are all of the ſame figure) the farther they went, decreaſing and preſented in a leſs form: Or if they did view this, it was *quaſi per tranſennam*; very perfunctorily, and ſlightly; and that through a falſe and coloured glaſs; for they have miſtaken both in the quality of the ſtone, and colour of the Pyramid. I begin with [h] *Herodotus*, who by a notable piece of forgetfulneſs, if it be not a σφάλμα in the copies, makes the dimenſions of each of the ſides, in the *baſis* of this, to be three hundred feet, and yet to want but twenty of the firſt Pyramid, to which he aſſigned before eight hundred feet, an impoſſibility in arithmetick: And therefore it will be no preſumption to correct the place, and inſtead of εἴκοσι ποδῶν καλαδέσαι, to write πενήκοσίων ποδῶν καλαδέσαι. I know not how to palliate or excuſe his other error, where he makes this Pyramid to be built as far as to the middle of it, with *Æthiopick* marble. If this ſort of marble be *ferrei coloris*, as it is deſcribed by [i] *Pliny*, and granted by [k] *Diodorus* and [l] *Strabo*, both of theſe expreſſing the colour to be black, and the latter bringing it from the remoteſt mountains of *Æthiopia*, where the marble hath the ſame tincture and colour with the inhabitants; then can this relation of *Herodotus* no way be admitted: For the whole Pyramid ſeems to be of clear and white ſtone, ſomewhat choicer and brighter, than that in either of the two other Pyramids. And therefore I wonder that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*; and amongſt latter authors, *Bellonius*, *Gillius*, and ſeveral others, ſhould have all followed *Herodotus*; when with a little pains and circumſpection, they might have reformed his and their own error. It may perhaps be alledged in their defence, that they mean, the buildings within are erected with black and *Æthiopick* marble: And yet if this be granted, ſince there is no entrance leading into this, no more than is into the ſecond Pyramid, what may be within, depends upon the incertainty of tradition or conjecture, both which are very fallible. Though it cannot be denied, but cloſe by, on the eaſt-ſide of it, there are the ruins of a pile of building, with a ſad and duſky colour, much like that we deſcribed in paſſing to the ſecond Pyramid, which might be the ground and occaſion

[c] Strabo, l. 17. Geog. [d] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Tertia minor prædictis, ſed multò ſpectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus aſſurgit* CCCLXIII *pedibus inter angulos.* [e] Thuan. hiſt. l. 16. [f] Bellon. obſerv. l. 2. c. 44. *Tertia Pyramis duabus ſuperioribus longè minor, tertia eſt autem parte major, ea quæ apud Teſtaceum montem eſt Romæ, qua ad D. Pauli eundum eſt, itinere Oſtienſi. Adhuc integra eſt, necnagis rimis corrupta, quàm ſi jam recens exſtructa eſſet. Marmoris enim genere conſtat, quod Baſaltes nuncupatur, vel lapis Æthiopicus, ipſo ferro duriore.* [g] I have ſince conferred with an *Engliſh* captain, who having been four times at *Alexandria*, and as often at the Pyramids, aſſures me that I am not miſtaken. [h] Herodot. lib. 2. [i] Plin. l. 36. c. 7. [k] Diodor. l. 1. [l] Strabo, l. 7. Geog.

of

of this error. I cannot excuſe the antients, but *Bellonius*, or *Gillius*, (for it is no matter which of them owns the relation, when both of them have erred) are far more inexcuſable: Becauſe it might have been expected from them, what [m] *Livy* ſuppoſes, *Novi ſemper ſcriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos ſe, aut ſcribendi arte rudem vetuſtatem ſuperaturos credunt.* Whereas theſe on the contrary, have depraved what hath been in this particular, with truth delivered by the ancients. For whereas *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, equal the ſide of the *baſis* to three hundred feet, and *Pliny* extends it to three hundred ſixty three, they only make it a third part greater than the Pyramid at *Rome*, of *C. Cæſtius*, near the *mons Teſtaceus:* So that either they have much enlarged that at *Rome*, or ſhrunk and contracted this. For the Pyramid at *Rome*, exactly meaſured on that ſide which ſtands within the city, is compleatly ſeventy eight feet *Engliſh* in breadth; to which if we add a third part of it, the reſult will be an hundred and four; which ſhould be equal to this *Ægyptian* Pyramid, in the notion and acceptation of *Bellonius*. An unpardonable overſight, no leſs than two hundred feet, in a very little more than three hundred. For ſo much, beſides the authority of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, before cited, I take the ſide of this Pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the ſame proportion.

I would gladly have ſeen in this, the name of *Mycerinus*, the founder of it, engraven, as [n] *Diodorus* mentions: Or that other inſcription in the firſt, whereof *Herodotus* procured the interpretation: But both have been defaced by time. His words are theſe: [o] *In the Pyramid there are* Ægyptian *characters inſcribed, which ſhew how much was expended upon the workmen, in radiſhes, onions, and garlick; which an interpreter (as I well remember) ſaid, was the ſum of a thouſand and ſix hundred talents of ſilver; which if it be ſo, how much is it credible was ſpent in iron, and in meat, and in clothes for the labourers?* Hereby I might have known what to determine of the ancient *Ægyptian* letters: I mean not the ſacred ones (for thoſe were all ſymbolical, expreſſing the abſtracteſt notions of the mind, by viſible ſimilitudes of [p] birds and beaſts, or by repreſentations of ſome other familiar objects) but thoſe uſed in civil affairs. By ſuch ſculptures, which I have ſeen in gems found at *Alexandria*, and amongſt the Mummies, I can no way ſubſcribe to the aſſertion of *Kircherus*, tho' an able man, who in his *Prodromus Coptus*, contends, that the preſent *Ægyptian* or *Coptite* character (which certainly is only a corruption and diſtortion of the *Greek*) is the ſame with that of the ancient *Ægyptians*. But ſurely the *Ægyptian* character is of a much higher deſcent: And if we believe [q] *Tacitus* (whoſe opinion is very probable) they were the firſt inventors of letters; tho' ſome aſcribe the honour of this invention to the *Phœnicians*. GREAVES

[m] T. Liv. lib. 1. [n] Diodor. l. 1. [o] Herodot. l. 2. Σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι, ὅσα ἔδε συρμαίης, καὶ κρόμμυα, καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομενοῖσι, καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρέου τετελέσθαι, &c.

[p] *Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi,*
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos.
Noverat, & ſaxis tantùm volucreſque feræque.
Sculptaque ſervabant magicas animalia linguas.
Lucan. lib. 3.

[q] *Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii ſenſus mentis effingebant: Et antiquiſſima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impreſſa ſaxis cernuntur: Et literarum ſemet inventores perhibent. Inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant, intuliſſe Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererunt, quæ acceperant.* Tacit. 2. lib. annal.

Of the reſt of the PYRAMIDS *in the* Lybian *Deſart.*

I Have done with theſe three Pyramids, each of them being very remarkable, and the two firſt reckoned amongſt the miracles of the world. The reſt in the *Libyan* deſart lying ſcattered here and there, are (excepting one of them) but leſſer copies, and as it were models of theſe: And therefore I ſhall neither much trouble my ſelf, nor the reader, with the deſcription of them. Tho' to ſpeak the truth, did not the three firſt ſtanding ſo near together, obſcure the luſtre of the reſt, which lie far ſcattered, ſome of them were very conſiderable. And therefore I cannot but tax the omiſſion of the ancients, and the inadvertency of all modern writers and travellers, who with too much ſupineneſs have neglected the deſcription of one of them; which in my judgment is as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle, as any of thoſe three which I have mentioned. And this ſtands from theſe ſouth and by weſt, at twenty miles diſtance, more within the ſandy deſart, upon a rocky level like theſe, and not far from the village whence we enter the *Mummies*. This, as the *Venetian* doctor aſſured me, and as I could judge by conjecture at a diſtance, hath the ſame dimenſions that the firſt and faireſt of theſe; hath graduations, or aſcents without, and of the ſame colour like that, (but more decay'd, eſpecially at the top) and an entrance

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trance into it on the north-ſide, which is barred up within; and therefore whatſoever is ſpoken of the firſt, in reſpect of the exterior figure, is appliable to this ſection. [a] *Bellonius* extremely exceeds in his computation of the number of them, who thus writes: *Above an hundred others are ſeen diſperſed up and down in that plain.* I could not diſcover twenty. And long ſince, *Ibn Almatoug*, in his book of the miracles of *Ægypt*, reckons them to be but XVIII. *There are in the weſt-ſide no more famous buildings than the Pyramids, the number of them is* XVIII. *Of theſe, there are three in that part which is oppoſite to* Foſtat (*or* [b] Cairo.)

[a] *Pluſquàm centum per eam planiciem hinc indè ſparſæ conſpiciuntur.* Bellon. l. 2. c. 44.

[b] That *Foſtat, Metza,* and *Cahira,* (or as we uſually term it, *Cairo*) are three diſtinct names, as it were of one and the ſame city, appears by the *Geographia Nubienſis,* and *Abulfeda,* in *Arabick*: tho' *Abulfeda* more particularly deſcribes *Alkahira* to be on the north-ſide of *Foſtat,* and *Foſtat* to be ſeated upon the river *Nilus.*

In what manner the PYRAMIDS *were built.*

WE had ended our diſcourſe of the Pyramids, but that I find one ſcruple touched upon by *Herodotus, Diodorus,* and *Pliny*, which is worth the diſcuſſion, as a point of ſome concernment in architecture: And that is, in what manner theſe Pyramids were built, and with what art and contrivance the ſtones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were conveyed up. [a] *Herodotus* who firſt raiſed the doubt, gives this ſolution: *They carried up the reſt of the ſtones with little engines made of wood, raiſing them from the ground upon the firſt row, When the ſtone was lodged upon this row. it was put into another engine, ſtanding upon the firſt ſtep, from thence it was conveyed to the ſecond row by another. For ſo many rows, and orders of ſteps as there were, ſo many engines were there: Or elſe they removed the engine which was one, and eaſy to be carried to every particular row as often as they moved a ſtone. We will relate that which is ſpoken of either part. Therefore thoſe in the Pyramid were firſt made, which were the higheſt, then by degrees the reſt; laſt of all thoſe which are neareſt to the ground, and are the loweſt.* The firſt part of this ſolution of *Herodotus* is full of difficulty. How in erecting and placing of ſo many *machinæ*, charged with ſuch maſſy ſtones, and thoſe continually paſſing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they muſt either unſettle them, or endanger the breaking of ſome portions of them; which mutilations would have been like ſcars, in the face of ſo magnificent a building? His ſecond anſwer is the founder; but I conceive the text to be imperfect. [b] *Diodorus* hath another fancy: *The ſtones* (ſaith he) *at a great diſtance off were prepared in* Arabia: *And they report, that by the help of* aggeres (*engines not being then invented*) *the work was erected. And that which begets the greateſt admiration is, that ſo vaſt a ſtructure was perfected in that place, which is all about repleniſhed with ſand, where there appears not any relicks, either of the* aggeres, *or of the hewing and poliſhing of the ſtones. So that it ſeems not piecemeal by the induſtry of men, but all together, and at once, the whole pile as it were, by ſome god, was erected in the midſt of the ſands. Some of the* Ægyptians *relate wonders of it, and endeavour to obtrude I know not what fables; namely, that theſe* aggeres *conſiſting of ſalt and nitre, were diſſolved by letting in the river, which wholly conſumed them without the labour of hands, leaving this ſtructure* (entire.) *But the truth of the buſineſs is not ſo, but that thoſe multitudes of men, which were employed in raiſing the* aggeres, *carried them away unto their former places. For, as they report, three hundred and ſixty thouſand men were employed in theſe offices, and the whole work was ſcarce finiſhed in the ſpace of twenty years.* *Pliny* partly agrees with him, and partly gives another anſwer. *The queſtion is, by what means the cement was conveyed up to ſuch a height,* (he rather might have queſtioned, how thoſe vaſt ſtones were conveyed up) *ſome ſay, that banks of nitre and ſalt were made up, as the work roſe, which being finiſhed, they were waſhed away*

[a] Ἦεφον τὰς ἐπὶ λοίπους λίθους μηχαναῖσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένησι, &c. Herod. l. 2.

[b] Λέγεῖ ὃ τὰ μὲ λίθον ἐκ τῆ Αραβίας ἀπὸ πολλᾶ ἀφεσήματος κομιδῆναι, τὴν ὃ κατασκδὴν ἀφ' χωμάτων γῆϊνα μήπω τῆ μηχανῶν ἐυρεημένων κατὰ ἐκείνες τὰς χρόνες. Καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, τὸ τηλικᾶτον ἔργον κατασκευασμένον ἐ ἔ τῶν ἐχόντ@ τόπ@ παντὸς ἀμμοδδυς ὄντ@, ὑδὲν ἴχν@ οὔτε ἔ κώματ@, οὔτε τ τῶ λίθων ξεσεργίας κ λαξεύσεως ἀπολείπεται, ὡσε δοκεῖν μὲ κατὰ ὀλίγον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐργασίας ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην κ ὁμοῦ ὥσπερ ὑπό θεᾶ τινὸς τὸ κατασκεύασμα τεθῆναι πᾶν εἰς τῆν τῶν ἐχόντων ἄμμον. Ἐπιχειροῦσι δέ τινες τ Αιγυπτιῶν τερατολογεῖν ἐ μυθόλεδ, ὑπὲρ, τούτων λέγοντες ὡς ἐξ ἅλλατ@, κ νίτρε τῶν χωμάτων γεγονότων, ἐπαφεθεὶς ὁ ποταμὸς ἔπηξεν, κ διέλυσεν, αὐτὰ ἐ παντελῶς ἠφάνισεν, ἄνευ τ χειροποιήτε πραγματείας· ὲ μὴν ἐ ταληθὲς ἔτως ἔχει ἀφ' ὃ τ πολυχειρίας τ τὰ χώματα βαλούσης πάλιν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀπὸ κατεσκάθη πάζιν. Τριάκοντα μ γὰρ ἐ ἐξ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὡς φασὶ, ταῖς τῶν ἔργων λειτουργίαις περοσήρευσαν, τὸ ὃ πᾶν κατασκεύασμα πλ@ μόγις ἐτῶν ἔιχοσι. Diodor. Biblioth. Hiſtor. lib. 1. *Queſtionum ſumma eſt quanam ratione in tantam altitudinem, ſubvecta ſint cementa. Alii enim nitro ac ſale adaggeratis cum creſcente opere ac peracto, fluminis irrigatione dilutis: alii lateribus è luto factis extructoi pontes, peracto opere in privatas domos diſtributos. Nilum enim non putant rigare potuiſſe multò humiliorem.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

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by the river (Nilus.) *Others imagine, that bridges were made with brick: Which, the work being ended, were diſtributed into private houſes. For they conceive, that the* Nilus *being much lower, could not come to waſh them* (away.) If I may aſſume the liberty of a traveller, I imagine, that they were erected, neither as *Herodotus* deſcribes, nor as *Diodorus* reports, nor as *Pliny* relates; but that firſt they made a large and ſpacious [c] tower in the midſt, reaching to the top; to the ſides of this tower, I conceive, the reſt of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like ſo many buttreſſes, or ſupporters, ſtill leſſening in height, till at laſt, they came to the lowermoſt degree. A difficult piece of building, taken in the beſt and eaſieſt projection: And therefore it is no wonder, if it were not often imitated by the ancients, and no where expreſſed or commended, by the great maſter of architecture *Vitruvius*. Yet ſurely, if we judge of things by the events, and if we reflect upon the intention of monuments, which are raiſed by the living to perpetuate the memory of the dead, then is this as commendable a way as any. And therefore we ſee at *Rome*, that tho' by the revolution of ſo many ages, the *Mauſolæum of Auguſtus* be almoſt decayed, and the *Septizonium of Severus* be utterly loſt, both intended for laſting and ſtately ſepulchres; yet *the Pyramid of* C. Cæſtius *ſtands fair, and almoſt entire:* Which is no more to be compared, either for the vaſtneſs of the ſtones, or the whole bulk and fabrick of it, with theſe, than are the limbs and body of a dwarf, to the dimenſions of a giant, or ſome large *Coloſſus*.

I have done with the work, but the artizans deſerve not to be pretermitted; concerning whom, the obſervation of [d] *Diodorus* is as true, as it is boldly delivered by him. *It is confeſſed, that theſe works* (ſpeaking of the Pyramids) *far excel the reſt in* Ægypt, *not only in the maſſineſs of the ſtructures, and in the expences, but alſo in the induſtry (and ſkill) of the artificers. The* Ægyptians *think the architects are more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence: For they by their abilities and ſtudy, theſe by their wealth received by inheritance, and by the labours of others erected them.*

[c] Admitting this ſuppoſition, we may eaſily apprehend, how thoſe huge ſtones might, by engines, be raiſed in a perpendicular, as the work roſe, with leſs difficulty and expence, than either in a ſlope or traverſe line, upon banks of nitre, or bridges of brick, according to the traditions of *Diodorus* and *Pliny*: Both which muſt have been of a ſtupendious and almoſt incredible height. *Suetonius in Auguſto. Spartianus in Severo.*

[d] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. Ὁμολογεῖται ἢ ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πολὺ προέχειν τῶν κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἀ μόνον τῷ βάρει τῶν κατασκευασμάτων καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πολυτεχνίᾳ τῶν ἐργασαμένων. καὶ φασὶ δεῖν θαυμάζειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν ἔργων ἢ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς παραχορηγήσαντας τὰς εἰς τοῦτα χορηγίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἰδίαις ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις, τοὺς δὲ τῷ κληρονομηθέντι πλούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις κεχήναι ἐπὶ τελῶς ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν.

The CONCLUSION.

AND thus much of the *ſciography*, or of the artificial and *architectonical* part: I ſhall ſhut up all with one obſervation in nature, for the recreation of the reader, recited by *Strabo*, in theſe words: [a] *We ought not to omit one of the ſtrange things ſeen by us at the Pyramids: Some heaps of ſtone, being fragments hewn off, lie before the Pyramids; amongſt theſe are found little ſtones, ſome in the ſimilitude and bigneſs of lentils, ſome as of grains of barley, which appear half unſcaled: They report theſe are ſome relicks of the proviſions which were given to the workmen, and have been petrified; which ſeems probable enough.*

Theſe, if there were ever any ſuch, are either conſumed by time, or ſcattered by the winds, or buried with thoſe tempeſts of ſand, to which the deſarts are perpetually expoſed: But *Diodorus*, who not long preceded him, was not ſo curious as to deliver this relation. And were not *Strabo* a writer of much gravity and judgment, I ſhould ſuſpect that theſe petrified grains (tho' I know ſuch petrefactions to be no impoſſibility in nature: For I have ſeen, at *Venice*, the bones and fleſh of a man, and the whole head, except the teeth, entirely tranſmuted into ſtone: And at *Rome*, clear conduit-water, by long ſtanding in aquæducts, hath been turned into perfect alabaſter) are like thoſe loaves of bread, which are reported to be found by the *Red Sea*, converted into ſtone, and by the inhabitants ſuppoſed to be ſome of the bread the *Iſraelites* left behind them, when they paſſed over for fear of *Pharaoh*. They are ſold at *Grand Cairo*, handſomely made up, in the manner of the bread of theſe times; which is enough to diſcover the impoſture. For

[a] Ἓν δέ τι τῶν ὁραθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσι παραδόξων οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. Ἔκ γὰρ τῆς λαθύρης σωροί τινες πρὸ τῶν πυραμίδων κεῖνται, ἐν τούτοις δ' εὑρίσκεται, ψήφματα καὶ τύπῳ καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῆ οἷοις τισὶ, καὶ ὡς ἂν πίσμα σιτῶν ἡμιλεπίστων ὑποδρέχει φασὶ δ' ἀπολιθωθῆναι λείψανα τῆς τῶν ἐργαζομένων τροφῆς οὐκ ἀπίθανα δέ. Strabo. l. 17. Geog.

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the ſcripture makes them to have been unleavened cakes: [b] *They baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Ægypt.* Or elſe *Strabo*'s relation may be like the tradition of the riſing of dead mens bones every [c] year, in *Ægypt:* A thing ſuperſtitiouſly believed by the Chriſtians; and by the prieſts, either out of ignorance, or policy, maintained as an argument of the reſurrection. The poſſibility and truth of it, *Metrophanes, the patriarch of Alexandria,* thought (but very illogically) might be proved out of the prophet Eſay, [d] *And they ſhall go forth, and look upon the carcaſes of the men that have tranſgreſſed againſt me, for their worm ſhall not die, neither ſhall their fire be quenched; and they ſhall be an abhorring unto all fleſh.*

But I have digreſſed too far. The confutation of theſe, and the deſcription of the *Mummies*, or of the reſt of the *Ægyptian* ſepulchres (for from thence comes the matter of this their ſuppoſed reſurrection) and that infinite maſs, and variety of hieroglyphicks, which I have either ſeen there, or bought, or tranſcribed elſewhere, may be the [e] *argument* of another diſcourſe.

[b] Exod. xii. 39. [c] *Sands* in his travels writes, *that they are ſeen to riſe on* Good-Friday. A *Frenchman,* at *Grand Cairo,* who had been preſent at the reſurrection, ſhewed me an arm which he brought from thence; the fleſh ſhrivelled, and dried like that of the Mummies. He obſerved the miracle to have been always behind him; once caſually looking back, he diſcovered ſome bones carried privately by an *Ægyptian,* under his veſt, whereby he underſtood the myſtery.

[d] Eſay lxvi. 24. [e] An argument intended by me, and for which I made a collection of ſeveral antiquities in my travels abroad; but theſe (and would only theſe!) have unfortunately periſhed at home, amidſt the ſad diſtractions of the time.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ROMAN FOOT

AND

DENARIUS:

From whence, as from two Principles, the

MEASURES and WEIGHTS

Uſed by the ANCIENTS, may be deduced.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in the Univerſity of* Oxford.

Σπουδαστέον ὅπως ὁρισθῶσι καλῶς αἱ ἀρχαὶ, μεγάλην γὰρ ἔχουσι ῥοπὴν πρὸς ἑπόμενα.

Una fides, pondus, menſura, moneta ſit una,
Et ſtatus illæſus totius orbis erit.

Budelius de monetis.

To his truly noble and learned FRIEND,

JOHN SELDEN, Esq;

Burgeſs of the Univerſity of OXFORD,

In the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.

SIR,

THAT I ſhould preſent you, who have ſo honourably deſerved of antiquity, and of your country; and, if I may add mine own obligations, in particular of me, with ſo ſmall a retribution as a Roman foot, and denarius, may ſeem more proportionable to mine abilities, than to the eminency of your place and worth. But you, who, to the honour of your profeſſion, have joined the wiſdom of the ancients, and juſtly have merited this elogy,

——— Anglorum gloria gentis
Seldenus.

An elogy long ſince given you by a man, who is deſervedly eſteemed, πολλῶν ἀνδράσι ἄλλων, the learned Hugo Grotius; you are beſt able to judge of what importance theſe two are, in the diſcovery of the weights and meaſures uſed by the ancients.

And firſt, for meaſures, the אמה or cubit of the ſanctuary, in the ſcriptures, Joſephus, and the Rabbins: The Αἰγύπτιος, and Βαβυλώνιος πῆχυς, in Herodotus (the former equal to that of Samos: The latter miſ-rendered by Pliny and Solinus, pes Babylonius:) The Παρασάγγης Περσικὸς, in Herodotus, containing XXX. στάδια, in Strabo, ſometimes LX. ſometimes XL, and ſometimes XXX. (but in Heſychius, ὁ παρασάγγης ἔχει μίλια τέτταρα; and in Abulfeda, three miles: With whom, and with the Perſians, to this day it is called the * farſach) the χοῖνιξ Αἰγύπτιος in Herodotus, Artemidorus, and Strabo: The πῆχυς βασιλικὸς, καὶ φιλεταίρειος, in Hero: The pes Ptolemaicus and Druſianus, in Hyginus: Beſides infinite others depending upon the proportions of ſome of theſe: I ſay, theſe cannot, after the deſtruction of thoſe ancient monarchies and republicks, any other way be reſtored, than from ſuch monuments, as, by divine Providence, have eſcaped the hands of ruin, and continued to theſe later ages. For were it not that the pes Romanus, or monetalis, as Hyginus terms it, were ſtill extant in Rome, on the monuments of Coſſutius, and of Tit. Statilius Vol. Aper (for thoſe two columns, the one with the inſcription ΠΟΔ. Θ. mentioned by Marlianus and Philander: The other with ΠΟΔ. IB. ſeen by the ſame Philander, are both loſt) we might utterly deſpair of knowing the meaſures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Perſians, Ægyptians, Grecians, Romans, and of all others deſcribed in claſſical authors; who could not tranſmit to poſterity the individual meaſures themſelves, but only the proportions they reſpectively had to one another: which proportions being pure habitudes, cannot, as mathematicians obſerve, be reduced to the meaſures of theſe times, unleſs either ſome of the ὑποκείμενα themſelves were exiſtent; or elſe exact copies taken from the originals were derived to us.

In like manner it is for weights, the סבה the בכר the שקל, or σίκλος of the Hebrews, or סלעא of the Chaldeans, which Aruck renders by four זוזים zuzim; that is, four denarii (from whence the Perſian σίγλος, in Xenophon, and Heſychius, may have received its denomination: the τάλαντον Βαβυλώνιον, containing ſeven thouſand Attick drachms; the τάλαντον Αἰγιναῖον ten thouſand; the τάλαντον Σύριον fifteen hundred; the τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν ſix thouſand, all mentioned by Julius Pollux; the talentum Ægyptium, in Varro, containing eighty pondo, or pounds; the talentum Euboicum in Feſtus four thouſand denarii: theſe, with infinite others, both menſuræ and pondera, whether conſidered as medica, or georgica, or veterinaria, cannot in our times be reſtored, but only by ſuch weights of the ancients as are ſtill extant; that is, either by the denarius of the Romans, or δραχμὴ of the Grecians, or by the congius of Veſpatian, or by the libræ, and unciæ Romanæ, and the like, that have been preſerved by antiquaries.

Seeing therefore the denarius is of as great moment for the diſcovery of weights, as the Roman foot for the knowledge of meaſures, I have taken theſe two, as two irrefragable principles, from whence the reſt uſed by the ancients may be deduced. And becauſe the denarius may be conſidered in a double reſpect, either as nummus, or as pondus: The firſt acceptation conducing to the valuation of coins, the ſecond to the certainty of weights: It was

* The *farſach*, with the ancients and moderns, contains three miles. *Abulf. Geog. MS.*

therefore neceſſary that both the weight, and valuation of the denarius, *ſhould be exactly known. To which purpoſe, in* Italy, *I examined with a balance (the ſcale of which the eightieth part of a grain would ſenſibly turn) many hundred fair* denarii, *both* conſulares *and* cæſarei, *as alſo* quinarii, *or* victoriati *in ſilver; ſeveral* aurei *of the former and later emperors; beſides the original ſtandard of the* congius, *placed by* Veſpatian *in the Capitol; and many* unciæ, *and* libræ, *in braſs. From whence I collected the weight of the* denarius, conſularis, *and* cæſareus; *that to be the ſeventh part of the* Roman *ounce, as* Celſus, Scribonius Largus, *and* Pliny, *rightly deſcribe; and this to be ſometimes the eighth part, and ſometimes the ſeventh, but moſt frequently in a middle proportion betwixt eight and ſeven, till* Severus's *and* Gordianus's *times; under whom, and the ſucceeding emperors, it recovered the weight of the* denarius conſularis; *but loſt much of its fineneſs by the mixture of allay.*

With theſe denarii, *for the greater certainty, I compared ſuch* Grecian *coins (eſpecially* Athenian*) as I had either ſeen in choice cabinets, or bought of mine own; and thoſe were* χρυσοῖ, *or* ϛαλῆρες, *abſolutely taken; which, as* Julius Pollux, *and* Heſychius, *out of* Polemarchus *teſtify, weighed two drachms: The* τεσσάρδραχμα, *or* τέτραχμα, *or* ϛαλῆρες ἀργυρέοι, *four drachms: The* δραχμαὶ, *the* τριώβολα, *or as* Pollux *names them, the* ἡμίδραχμα, *with ſeveral others.*

By which compariſon I firſt diſcovered, that howſoever the Romans, *as* Pliny, *and* A. Gellius *expreſly;* Valerius, *and* Suetonius, *by way of conſequence, equal the* denarius *to the* drachma: *And tho' the* Greeks, *as* Strabo, Cleopatra, Plutarch, Galen, Dio, *and many more, equal the* drachma *to the* denarius, *ſpeaking in a popular eſtimation, and as they vulgarly paſſed in way of commerce; yet if we ſhall put on the reſolution of him in the comedy,*

Oculatæ noſtræ ſunt manus, credunt quod vident:

We may evidently diſcern in the ſcale, the drachma Attica *to be heavier than the* denarius: *And therefore all ſuch writers of the ancients, as equal them, if we ſpeak ſtrictly of weight, and not of eſtimation, have been deceived; and conſequently, all modern writers following their traditions, in diſcourſes* de ponderibus, & de re nummariâ *have erred.*

But becauſe it is not probable, that the ancients, both Greeks *and* Romans, *ſhould be deceived in their own coins, and in their own times; it occaſioned me by obſerving the practice abroad of the* κολλυβισταὶ *in exchanges, with whom the ſame ſpecifical coins, in different ſtates, paſs with different eſtimations, to think of ſome means how I might reconcile the traditions of the* Greeks *and* Romans, *concerning the weight and valuation of the* drachma Attica *and* denarius; *notwithſtanding the difference in the ballance, of ſuch as are now found at* Athens, *and at* Rome.

And this drew from me that diſcourſe which I have inſerted at the end of this book: Of ſome directions to be obſerved in comparing the valuations of coins: *Which may ſerve, not only to reconcile the* Greek *and* Roman *writers, but eſpecially the traditions of* Philo, Joſephus, Epiphanius, *St.* Hierom, *and* Heſychius; *who make the* Hebrew שקל *ſhekel, equal to the* Attick *tetradrachm, whereas in the ſcale, which is the beſt judge of this controverſie, I find them manifeſtly unequal; the* Hebrew, *or* Samaritan *ſhekel, being much leſs than the* Attick *tetradrachm.*

But it may be queſtioned, Why after the labours of Portius, Budæus, Alciatus, Agricola, Montanus, Mariana, Budelius, Alcaſar, Villalpandus, Jo. Scaliger, Capellus, Snellius, *and of many other eminent men who have writ, either* deditâ operâ, *or* ἐν παρόδῳ, de ponderibus & menſuris, *I ſhould undertake any thing of this nature? My anſwer is, that obſerving in them ſo great a variety, and contradiction of opinions, I was willing to uſe mine own judgment, how mean ſoever, in giving my ſelf private ſatisfaction. And tho' I intended this work as a* παρεργον *to other employments; yet having, by the advantage of travelling in foreign parts, peruſed in* Italy, Greece, *and* Ægypt, *more antiquities than I think any of them abovenamed ſingle, I thought it would not be unacceptable, if I did, as it is the manner of travellers, publiſh at home, ſuch obſervations and diſcoveries as I made abroad. The which I humbly dedicate to you, as out of a deſire to expreſs my gratitude for many noble favours, So out of an aſſurance, that if they receive your approbation, I need not to fear the cenſure of others.*

Your moſt obliged friend, and humble ſervant,

JOHN GREAVES.

Of the Roman *FOOT.*

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THAT the foot was the moſt received and uſual meaſure amongſt the *Romans*, as the cubit amongſt the *Jews*, is a thing not controverted by any: for [a] *Polybius* deſcribing their *ſcutum*, makes it *in breadth over the bend, two* [Roman] *feet and a half, and in length four feet: Or if it be of a greater ſort, a palm more is to be added to this meaſure.* And not long after, expreſſing the manner of their caſtrametation, or encamping, he [b] writes: That *as often as a place is deſigned for the camp, the* prætorium (or general's lodging) *takes up that part, which is fitteſt for proſpect and direction. Setting therefore up the ſtandard, where they intend to fix the* prætorium, *they ſo meaſure out the ſquare about a ſtandard that each ſide may be diſtant from it an hundred feet, and the whole area contain four jugera.* In like manner [c] *Cæſar*, in the deſcription of his bridge over the *Rhine*, makes the binders, or tranſverſary beams, to be *bipedales*. [d] *Tully* alſo judges the quantity of the apparent diameter of the ſun to be *pedalis*. And not to produce more authorities, [d] *Suetonius* relates, That *Auguſtus preſented before the people of* Rome, Lucius, *a young gentleman, well deſcended, only for to ſhew that he was leſs than two feet in height, ſeventeen pounds in weight, and of an immenſe voice.* But concerning the preciſe quantity of this foot, there is not any one thing after which learned men have more enquired, or in which they do leſs agree: For *Budæus* equals it to the *Paris* foot; *Latinus Latinius*, *Maffæus*, *Urſinus*, and others, deduce it from an ancient monument in the Vatican of *T. Statilius Vol. Aper. Portius Vicentinus*, *Philander*, *Georgius Agricola*, *Ghetaldus*, *Donatus*, and ſeveral others, contend the foot on *Coſſutius* monument in *Rome*, to be the true *Roman* foot: *Marlianus* deſcribes it out of a porphyry column, with this inſcription, ΠΟΔ. Θ: *Lucas Pætus* defines it from ſome braſs feet found amongſt the *rudera* in *Rome*: *Villalpandus* derives it from the meaſure of the *congius*, placed by *Veſpatian* in the Capitol (the original ſtandard being ſtill extant:) *Willebrordus Snellius* equals it to the *pes Rhinlandicus*; and ſeveral others have had ſeveral fancies and conjectures. In ſuch a variety and incertainty of opinions, we have no more ſolid foundation of our inquiry, than either to have recourſe to the writings of the ancients; or elſe to ſuch other monuments of antiquity, as having eſcaped the injury and calamity of time, have continued intire to this preſent age.

And firſt for the ancients: [f] *Vitruvius* in his third book of architecture, gives this deſcription of the *Roman* foot: *E cubito cùm dempti ſunt palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum. Palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur uti pes habeat* XVI *digitos, & totidem aſſes æreos denarius.* [g] *Columella* ſhews, that it was the baſis and foundation to all their other meaſures: *Modus omnis aream pedali menſurâ comprehenditur, qui digitorum eſt* XVI. *Pes multiplicatus in paſſus, & actus, & climata, & jugera, & ſtadia, centuriaſque, mox etiam in majora ſpatia procedit. Paſſus pedes habet* V. [h] *Frontinus* more clearly and diſtinctly expreſſeth the ſeveral parts and diviſions of it. *Pes habet palmos* IV. *uncias* XII. *digitos* XVI. *Palmus habet digitos* IV. *uncias* III. *Sextans, quæ eadem dodrans appellatur, habet palmos* III. *uncias* IX. *digitos* XII. From which authority of *Frontinus*, and the place before cited of *Vitruvius*, we may collect ſome analogy to have been obſerved in the proportions of the *Roman* foot, and of the *Roman* coins: For as the *denarius* contain'd XVI *aſſes*, ſo the foot contained XVI *digitos*: And as the *aſſis* was divided in XII *uncias*, ſo likewiſe the foot was divided in XII *uncias*; and therefore the *dodrans* is uſed by *Frontinus*, and the *ſemuncia* and *ſicilicus* by *Pliny*, for proportionable parts of the *Roman* foot; as the ſame are uſed by other claſſical authors for proportionable parts of the *Roman aſſis*, and *uncia*. From which analogy, the *pes Romanus*, I ſuppoſe, is termed by [i] *Hyginus*, *pes monetalis*. Likewiſe in the ancient law of the XII tables (which *Tully* calls the fountains of the civil law) the *ſeſtertius pes* hath the ſame proportion with the *ſeſtertius* in coins: For as the *ſeſtertius*, according to [k] *Arruntius*, was *olim dupondius & ſemis*, anciently *two pounds of braſs and a half*; ſo the *ſeſtertius pes* was two feet and a half. [l] *Voluſius Mætianus*, "*Seſtertius duos aſſes & ſemiſſem,* "*quaſi ſemis tertius*; *Græca figura* ἕβδομον "ἡμιόλιον. *Nam ſex talenta & ſemi-* "*talentum eo verbo ſignificantur. Lex etiam* "XII *tabularum argumento eſt, in qua* "*duo pedes & ſemiſſis, ſeſtertius pes vocatur.* But to return to *Frontinus*, who farther

[a] Polyb. l. 6. [b] Polyb. *ibid.* Τιθέσης δὲ τῆς σημαίας, ἃ μέλλεσι πηξοῦναι ταύτην, λαμβάνεται πέριξ τῆς σημαίας τετράγωνον τόπον. Ὡς τε πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς ἴσον ἀπέχειν πόδας τῆς σημαίας, &c. [c] Cæſ. Com. lib. 4.
[d] Cic. l. 2. Acad. quæſt. [e] Suetonius in Auguſto. *Adoleſcentulum Lucium honeſtè natum exhibuit, tantùm ut oſtenderet, quòd erat bipedali minor, librarum* XVII, *ac vocis immenſæ.* [f] Vitruvius, lib. 3.
[g] Columella, l. 5. de R. Ruſt. [h] Frontin. de limitibus agrorum.
[i] Hygin. de limit. conſtit. [k] Arruntius ex editione Gotafredi. [l] Vol. Mæt. de aſſis diſtrib.

diſcourſing

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diſcourſing of the *Roman* foot, gives a diſtinction of three ſorts of feet: and thoſe were firſt, *pes porrectus*; next, *pes conſtratus*, or as [m] *Agricola* reads it, *contractus*; and laſtly, *pes quadratus*. The firſt was the meaſure of longitudes, the other two of ſuperficies. There were, writes [n] *Frontinus*, *In pede porrecto ſemipedes duo, in pede conſtrato ſemipedes quatuor, in pede quadrato ſemipedes octo.* Which words of his are to be thus explicated; the *pes porrectus* was the *Roman* foot extended in length, and therefore there were in it *ſemipedes duo:* the *pes conſtratus*, was the ſquare of the *ſemipes*, and therefore the perimeter of it contained *ſemipedes quatuor*; or, which is all one, two entire *Roman* feet: the *pes quadratus*, was the ſquare of the *Roman* foot; wherefore of neceſſity there muſt be four feet in the perimeter, or in *Frontinus*'s expreſſion, eight *ſemipedes*. The ſame [o] author likewiſe in his book *de aquæductibus*, deſcribing the digit and *uncia* of this, (*Eſt autem digitus*, (ſays he) *ut convenit, ſexta decima pars pedis, uncia duodecima)* uſeth a diſtinction of digits, as he did of feet before, not mentioned by any other author, *Quemadmodum autem inter unciam, & digitum diverſitas, ita & ipſius digiti ſimplex obſervatio non eſt, nam alius vocatur quadratus, alius rotundus. Quadratus tribus quartis decimis ſuis rotundo major: rotundus tribus undecimis ſuis quadrato minor eſt.* The proportions here aſſigned by him to the *digitus quadratus*, and *rotundus*, are the ſame which [p] *Archimedes* long before uſed: and thoſe are, that a circle hath the ſame proportion to the ſquare of the diameter, that XI. hath to XIV. *Hero* alſo, diſcourſing of ſeveral ſorts of meaſures, informs us thus concerning the foot: Ὁ μὲν δάκτυλος, μέρος ἐστι σμικρότατον. ἡ δὲ δοχμὴ ἐστὶ δακτύλων δ', ὅπερ μέρος ἐστὶ δακτυλοδόχμη παλαιστή τε καὶ δῶρον καλεῖται. ἡ δὲ λιχὰς ἐστι δακτύλων ι, τὸ δὲ ὀρθόδωρον ιά, ἡ δὲ σπιθαμὴ ιβ', ὁ δὲ πῆχυς δοχμῶν δ', ἤτοι δακτύλων ις', ἡ δὲ πυγμὴ δακτύλων ιή, ὁ δὲ πυγών κ', ὁ δὲ πῆχυς κδ', ἤτοι δοχμῶν ς', ἡ δὲ ὀργυιὰ πηχέων δ', ἤτοι ποδῶν ς', *The digit is the leaſt meaſure, the palm conſiſts of* IV *digits, and is called dactylodochme, and palaiſte, and doron. The lichas is ten digits, the orthodoron eleven, the ſpan* XII. *The foot hath* IV *palms, or* XVI *digits, the pygme* XVIII *digits, the pygon* XX, *the cubit* XXIV, *or* VI *palms, the orgyia* IV *cubits, or* VI *feet.* Moſt of which meaſures the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greeks*; as on the contrary, the *Greeks* borrowed the ἰσῆρον, and μίλιον, from the *Roman jugerum* and *milliare*. The ſame *Hero* deſcribes another ſort of foot uſed in *Italy*: Ὁ δὲ Ἰταλικὸς πούς δακτύλους ἔχει ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκατα ἓν τρίτον. *The Italian foot contains thirteen digits, and one third.* Whence [q] *Salmaſius* concludes, that the *Romans* uſed one ſort of foot in *Rome*, conſiſting of XVI *digits*; and in ſome parts of *Italy* another, being but XIII digits, and one third. Which might be granted, did not [r] *Hyginus*, who is much ancienter, in his tract, *de Limitibus conſtituendis*, contradict it. His words are theſe: *Item dicitur in Germaniâ in Tungris pes Druſianus, qui habet monetalem, & ſeſcunciam, ita ut ubicunque extra fines, legeſque Romanorum, id eſt, ut ſolicitiùs proferam, ubicunque extra Italiam aliquid agitatur inquirendum; & de hâc ipſâ conditione diligenter præmoneo, ne quid ſit, quod præteriiſſe videamur.* Where ſpeaking immediately before of the *pes Romanus*, or as he alſo calls it, the *pes Monetalis*, by which he meaſures and defines the *limites*, he gives us this caution, That out of *Italy* (for in *Italy* he ſuppoſes one meaſure to be generally received) we are to obſerve the quantity of the foot, or meaſure of the country. And for this reaſon, to avoid ambiguity, he aſſigns the proportions of the *pes Druſianus*, at *Tongeren* in *Germany*, to be a *ſeſcuncia*, more than the *pes monetalis* uſed at *Rome*, and in *Italy*. And ſo in another part about *Cyrene*, which *Ptolemy* gave to the *Romans*: [s] *Pes eorum qui Ptolemaicus appellatur habet monetalem pedem, & ſemunciam.* But to omit the *pes Ptolemaicus*, (for our inquiry is only of the *Roman* foot) I cannot but wonder at the miſtake of [t] *Joſeph Scaliger*, concerning the *Pes Druſianus*, and *Romanus*, who thus writes: *Pes igitur ille Druſianus major eſt Romana ſeſcunciâ, fuit enim* XXII *digitorum, quantorum* XVI *eſt pes Romanus.* If it were but a *ſeſcuncia*, greater than the *Roman* foot, as *Hyginus*, and he alſo make it, how can it poſſibly be XXII *digitorum?* Or how can he excuſe his words, which immediately follow? *Ex quo colligimus pedem Druſianum omnino eſſe eum, qui hodie in Galliâ, & Belgio in uſu eſt, qui profectò major eſt* VI *digitis, quantorum* XVI *eſt pes, qui Romæ in hortis Angeli Colotii ſculptus in ſaxo viſitur. Eum enim nos cum pede Gallicano comparantes, id veriſſimum eſſe deprehendimus.* Neither is the error of ſome others much leſs, in making the *pes Monetalis*, or *Romanus*, and *pes Regius Philetærius*, to be equal. Becauſe the *Roman* foot conſiſted of XVI digits, as *Frontinus* writes, and the *pes Philetærius* of as many, as [u] *Hero* ſhews: Ὁ πούς ὁ μὲν βασιλικὸς, ἢ φιλεταίρικὸς λεγόμενος ἔχει παλαιστὰς δ', δακτύλους ις'. There-

[m] Agricola de menſuris quibus intervalla metimur. [n] Frontinus de limitibus agrorum.
[o] Frontinus de aquæductibus. [p] Archim. de circ. dimenſ. prop. 2. [q] Salmaſii Exercit. Plinianæ, p. 684.
[r] Hyginus de limit. conſtit. [s] Hyginus ibid. [t] Joſ. Scaliger. de re nummaria. [u] Hero in Iſagoge.

fore

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fore both theſe are equal. The error is in ſuppoſing all digits to be alike; and therefore the ſame number of digits being in both, that both are equal. By the ſame argument we may conclude the *Roman* foot, and *Arabian* foot, and the derah, or cubit of theſe, to be equal to the cubit, or *ſeſquipes* of the *Romans*; ſeeing [x] *Abulfeda*, an *Arabian* geographer, defines the derah to conſiſt of XXIV digits, and ſo many alſo did the *Roman ſeſquipes* contain. But the obſervation of [y] *Rhemnius Fannius* in this particular, is much better; which he applies to weights, and we may by analogy aſſign to meaſures.

Semina ſex alii ſiliquis latitantia curvis
Attribuunt ſcripulo, lentes veraciter octo,
Aut totidem ſpeltas, numerant, triſtéſve lupinos
Bis duo; ſed ſi par generatim his pondus ineſſet,
Servarent eadem diverſæ pondera gentes:
Nunc variant. Etenim cuncta non fœdere certo
Naturæ, ſed lege valent, hominúmque repertis.

But to return to the *Roman* foot: Laſtly, We may alledge, [z] *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis. Palmus autem, quatuor habet digitos, pes* XVI *digitos, paſſus pedes quinque, pertica paſſus duos, id eſt decem pedes.* And this is that which I find delivered by ſuch of the ancients as are extant. Out of which bare and naked deſcriptions, it is as impoſſible to recover the *Roman* foot, as it is for mathematicians, to take either the diſtance, or altitude of places, by the proportions of triangles alone, or by tables of ſigns and tangents, without having ſome certain and poſitive meaſure given, which muſt be the foundation of their inquiry. All that can be collected by theſe deſcriptions, is this, that we may know into how many parts the *Romans* uſually divided their feet; and all theſe diviſions I have ſeen in ſome ancient ones. But ſuppoſe there were no *Roman* foot extant; how by XVI digits, or by IV palms, or by XII *unciæ*, (which is the moſt uncertain of all; ſeeing whatſoever hath quantity, how great or ſmall ſoever it is, may be divided in XII *uncias*) could it be preciſely reſtored? For if that of [a] *Protagoras* be true, as well in meaſures, as in intellectual notions, that man is πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον: Whence [b] *Vitruvius* obſerves, that the *Latins* denominated moſt of their meaſures, as *their digit, palm, foot, and cubit*, from the parts and members of a man: Who ſhall be that perfect and ſquare man, from whom we may take the pattern of theſe meaſures? Or if there be any ſuch, how ſhall we know him? Or how ſhall we be certain the ancients ever made choice of any ſuch? Unleſs, as ſome fancy, that the cubit of the ſanctuary was taken from the cubit of *Adam*, he being created in an excellent ſtate of perfection: So we ſhall imagine theſe digits, and palms, to have been taken from ſome particular man of compleater lineaments than others. On the other ſide, if this foot may be reſtored by digits, and palms of any man at pleaſure, ſince there is ſuch a difference in the proportions of men, that it is as difficult to find two of the ſame dimenſions, as two that have the ſame likeneſs of faces, how will it be poſſible, out of ſuch a diverſity, to produce a certain poſitive meaſure, conſiſting in an indiviſibility, not as a point doth in reſpect of parts, but in an indiviſibility of application, as all originals and ſtandards ſhould do? The *Arabians* to avoid this difficulty, ſhew us a more certain way, as they ſuppoſe, how to make this commenſural digit, and conſequently the foot: and that is by the breadth of ſix barley-corns laid one contiguous to another: for thus [c] *Muhammed Ibn Meſoud*, in his book, entituled in *Perſian*, *Gehandaniſh*, relates: *That in the time of* Almamon (the learned calif of *Babylon*) *by the elevation of the pole of the Æquator, they meaſured the quantity of a degree upon the globe of the earth, and found it to be fifty ſix miles, and two thirds of a mile: every mile containing four thouſand cubits, and each cubit twenty four digits, and every digit ſix barley-corns.* The ſame proportions are aſſigned in the *geographia Nubienſis*, printed in *Arabick* at *Rome: the cubit is twenty four digits; and every digit is ſix barley-corns.* But this is as uncertain as the former, and is built upon a ſuppoſition, that all ſuch are of the ſame dimenſion: whereas thoſe of one country differ much from thoſe of another; and thoſe of the ſame country (as I have made trial in *Ægypt*, more out of curioſity, than as hoping this way to give my ſelf ſatisfaction) are not all of the ſame bigneſs: And not only ſo, but in the ſelf ſame ear, there is a ſenſible difference as experience doth ſhew. And yet *Snellius*, a man much to be commended for his abilities in the mathematicks, and to be blamed for his ſupine negligence, both in his meaſure of the magnitude of the earth, and in his dimenſions of the *Roman* foot, upon theſe ſlight and weak principles, deduces the *A-*

[x] Abulfedæ Geogr. Arab. MS. [y] Rhemnii Fannii Fragmentum. [z] Iſid. Hiſpal. l. 15. c. 15.
[a] Protagoras apud Ariſtot. l. 13. c. 5. Metaphyſ. Πάντων εἶναι χρημάτων μέτρον τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
[b] *Nec minus menſurarum rationes, quæ in omnibus videntur neceſſariæ eſſe, ex corporis membris collegerunt: uti digitum, palmum, pedem, cubitum,* Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1. [c] *Muhammid Ibn Meſoud's Gehandaniſh.*

rabian

rabian foot, [d] *This containing ninety ſix grains, ſuch as his* Roman *foot* (for none beſides himſelf will own it) *contains* ninety. Wherefore ſome other *Arabians*, to mend the matter, limit the breadth of one of them, [e] *by ſix hairs of a camel, evenly joined one by another:* By which invention their derah being almoſt anſwerable to the *Roman ſeſquibes*, or cubit, ſhall conſiſt of twenty four digits, and every digit of ſix barley-corns, and every barley-corn of ſix hairs of a camel. So that in concluſion the hair of a camel ſhall be the *minimum* in reſpect of meaſures. But this invention, however at the firſt it may ſeem ſomewhat ſubtile (for we are come now almoſt as low as atoms) is leaſt of all to be approved. For tho' the ſuppoſition were true, that all hairs are of a like bigneſs in all camels, whereas they are different in one and the ſame; yet this objection is unanſwerable, that ſeeing hairs are not perfectly round tho' the ſenſe judges them ſo, but angular, and that with ſome inequality, as magnifying-glaſſes plainly demonſtrate, it will be very difficult ſo to ſize them together, that they ſhall always take up the ſame breadth: And if they do not, little errors committed in ſuch ſmall bodies, tho' at the firſt inſenſible, will infinitely increaſe and multiply, in the meaſuring of great diſtances, to which theſe are ſuppoſed the foundation. And therefore I cannot but approve the council of [f] *Villalpandus*, who adviſed ſuch as will examine meaſures and weights, to begin with the greater, and not with the leſſer. And that there is reaſon for his aſſertion, may be made evident, eſpecially in weights, to ſuch as ſhall make an experiment. For admit there were a ſtandard of ten thouſand grains, and another of one grain, it will be eaſy, by a continual ſubdiviſion of the former, with a good balance, to produce a weight equal to the ſtandard of one grain: Yea, tho' at the beginning ſome little error had been committed, which after many diviſions will vaniſh, and become imperceptible. Whereas on the contrary, the moſt curious man alive, with the exacteſt ſcale that the induſtry of the moſt ſkilful artizan can invent, ſhall never be able out of the ſtandard of one grain, to produce a weight equal to the weight of ten thouſand grains, but that there ſhall be a ſenſible and apparent difference; yea, tho' he had that excellent ſcale mentioned by [g] *Capellas* at *Sedan*, which would ſenſibly be turned with the four hundredth part of a grain. The like difference as we find in weights, we may conceive by analogy to be in meaſures, when they ſhall be made out of ſuch little parts as hairs, barley-corns, digits, and the like. And therefore I cannot but diſapprove the ordinary courſe of moſt geographers, whether *Greeks*, *Latins*, or *Arabians*, that from ſuch nice beginnings meaſure out a degree upon earth, and conſequently the magnitude of this globe. On the contrary, the enterprize of [h] *Snellius*, in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus*, and of our countryman [i] *M. Wright*, hath been more commendable: Who by the ſpace of a degree on earth, (or which were better of many degrees) have endeavoured to fix meaſures with more exactneſs and certainty for poſterity. But of this argument I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. And therefore to return to the buſineſs in hand.

Since the *Roman* foot cannot be recover'd by hairs, grains, digits, palms, and ſuch like phyſical bodies, which being of a various and indeterminate magnitude, cannot give, unleſs by accident, the commenſuration of that which ought to be preciſely limited and determinated; ſome relinquiſhing the former way as erroneous, have endeavoured with much ingeniouſneſs, by weights to find out the *Roman* foot: For there is the ſame analogy between meaſures and weights, as between continued and diſcrete quantities: And as mathematicians by numbers demonſtrate, or rather illuſtrate the affections of lines, ſuperfices, and geometrical bodies: So by weights, meaſuring ſome phyſical bodies, eſpecially ſuch as are liquid, in cubical veſſels, (which are eaſieſt commenſurable) we may render the exact quantity of the *Roman* foot, and by conſequence of all their other meaſures. And therefore [k] *Lucas Pætus*, and [l] *Villalpandus*, have attempted with probable reaſons to diſcover the *Roman* foot, the one by the *Sextarius*, the other by the *Roman Congius*. For the *ſextarius* being the ſixth part of the *congius*, and the *congius* containing x *libræ*, or pounds, as it is manifeſt by that exquiſite ſtandard in *Rome*, with this inſcription:

[d] Snellius in Eratoſth. Batav. l. 2. cap. 2. [e] *Aly Kuſhgy*, who aſſiſted *Ulug Beg* in compiling his aſtronomical tables in *Perſian* (tables the moſt exact of any in the *Eaſt*) limits their breadth by ſix hairs of an horſe. *Every digit is ſix barley-corns laid evenly together, and the breadth of every barley-corn is ſix hairs of an horſe's tail.* Inſtit. Aſtron. Aly Cuſhgy, MS. [f] Villalpandus de apparatu urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25. *Atque in univerſum illud unum monitos velim eos omnes, qui menſurarum ac ponderum cognoſcendorum deſiderio tenentur, ne à minimis incipiant examinare majora: nam vel minimus quiſque error ſæpius multiplicatus in magnum adducit errorum cumulum.* [g] Capellus de pond. & nummis, lib. 1. [h] Snell. in Eratoſth. Bat. l. 2.
[i] *Wright* of the errors of navigation. [k] Luc. Pætus, l. 3. de menſur. & pond. Rom.
[l] Villalpandus de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

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IMP. CAESARE
VESPAS. VI
T. CAES. AVG. F. IIII cos
MENSVRÆ
EXACTAE IN
CAPITOLIO

P X

[n] P X signifies *pondo decem.*

Again, the *congius* being the eighth part of the *amphora*, or *quadrantal*, filled with water or wine, as by the teſtimonies of [m] *Dioſcorides*, [n] *Sex Pompeius*, and of an ancient anonymous *Greek* author, tranſlated by *Alciat*, it doth appear: If therefore a veſſel be made of a cubical figure, which may receive VIII *congii*, or XLVIII *ſextarii*, or LXXXIV pounds of water or of wine, out of the ſides of this cube, by [o] *Rhemnius Fannius* his deſcription, or rather by *Sextus Pompeius*, who is ancienter, will the *Roman* foot be deduced. For both theſe write (neither is it as yet contradicted by any man) that the longitude of one of the ſides of the *amphora* (being a cube) is anſwerable to the *Roman* foot. And here our enquiry would be at an end (ſuppoſing the authorities of *Feſtus* and *Fannius* to be unqueſtionable) were there not farther ſome objections, which cannot eaſily be removed. And thoſe are firſt, a ſuppoſition that we have the true *Roman libra* (for by this we are to find the *congius*, admitting there were none extant, as by the *congius*, the *amphora*, or *quadrantal*) a thing of as great difficulty as the foot it ſelf. And beſides, if this were obtained, yet we cannot have an abſolute certainty, that water, or wine, ſhall in all places alike ponderate; by reaſon of the different gravity which is obſerved in natural bodies, tho' they be homogeneous, and of a like ſubſtance. Wherefore laying aſide all ſuch ſpeculations, as being far from that accurateneſs which is required, there is no other poſſible means left for this diſcovery, but to have recourſe to ſuch monuments of antiquity, as have eſcaped the injury and calamity of time; which is our next, and ſecond enquiry.

And here it will not be amiſs to ſee what learned men, who not long preceded our age have obſerved out of ancient monuments, concerning the *Roman* foot: And then to relate what courſe I took to give my ſelf private ſatisfaction; which, I hope, will be alſo ſatisfactory to others. *Philander* in his commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, being one of the firſt that had ſeen, and diligently peruſed many ancient meaſures in *Rome* (whereas *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Glareanus*, and ſome others received them upon truſt) gives us ſo much the more certain information. His words are theſe: [p] *Veruntamen quoniam non ſtatim ex cujuſcunque pollicibus, aut digitis, quis fuerit apud antiquos Romanus pes ſciri poteſt, facturum me ſtudioſis rem gratam putavi, ſi ad marginem libri ſemipedem apponerem, dimenſum ex antiquo pede, in marmore, quod eſt in hortis Angeli Colotii Romæ ſculpto, cujus etiam, niſi me fallit memoria, meminit Leonardus Porcius lib. de Seſtertio. Eum enim pedem, nos cæteris qui circumferuntur, prætulimus, quòd conveniret cum eo, quem ſculptum invenimus in alio marmoreo epitaphio T. Statilii Vol. Apri menſoris ædificiorum, quod operâ Jacobi Meleghini ſummi Pont. architecti ex janiculo non ita pridem refoſſum, in Vaticanum hortum tranſlatum eſt. Quamvis jacentem in baſilicâ apoſtolorum columnam ex porphyrite, cum his Græcis in calce literis* ΠΟΔ. Θ. *id eſt pedum novem, nos cum dimenſi eſſemus, deprehenderimus non reſpondere noſtro eum quo uſus fuerat ejus columnæ artifex, ſed noſtro eſſe majorem duobus ſcrupulis & beſſe, id eſt unciæ parte nonâ. Ut argumentum aliquod eſſe poſſit pedis Græci fuiſſe modulo ſcapum columnæ factum; quod facilius conjicere potuiſſem, ſi integra eſſet alia ex eodem lapide columna, quam in viâ latâ eſt conſpicere jacentem, his in calce literis* ΠΟΔ. IB. *inſignitam. Verùm quando ſtadium Herodoto, l. 2. Heroni, Suidæ, cæteris Græcis ſit ſexcentorum pedum; Plinio, Columellæ, cæteris Latinis ſexcentorum viginti quinque noſtrorum, neceſſe eſt Romanum à Græco ſemunciâ ſuperari.* Thus far *Philander*. Not long after him, *Lucas Pætus*, having examined the foot on *T. Statilius tomb*, and that other of *Coſſutius*, together with ſeveral ancient ones in braſs, found amongſt the *rudera* at *Rome*, concludes that the [q] true *Roman* foot, *Dictis duobus marmoreis comparatus, ſeptima unciæ parte, ſive unciæ ſcripulis tribus, & duabus ſcripuli ſextulis, & ſextulæ ſemiſſe brevior eſt.* Much about the ſame time I find in *Ciaconius*, out of *Latinus Latinius*, another experiment to have been made, by many eminent men together at *Rome*. *Superioribus autem annis* (ſaith [r] he) *Ant. Auguſtinus, qui poſtmodum fuit archiepiſcopus Tarraconenſis, Jo. Baptiſta Sighicellus epiſcopus Faventinus, P. Octavius, Pacatus, Achilles Maffæus, Achilles Statius, Benedictus Ægius, Fulvius Urſinus, Latinus Latinius,*

[m] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis. [n] Sext. Pomp. Feſt. de verb. ſignif. [o] Rhemn. Fann. Fragment.
[p] Philander in lib. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii. [q] Luc. Pætus, l. 1. de antiq. Rom. & Græc. intervall. menſuris.
[r] Ciaconius è Lat. Latinii obſervationibus de pede Rom.

cùm

cùm veram pedis Rom. quantitatem ſtatuere vellent, plures ejuſd. pedis menſuras ſimul contulerunt, & earum octo cum antiquiſſima dicti pedis forma, quæ in baſi quadam in hortis Vaticanis extat, adamuſſim convenire videntes, ex hoc pede quadrato vas confecerunt, quod etiam nunc octoginta aquæ, vel vini libras, quibus publicè ſignatis civitas utitur, omnino capere invenerunt, & cum octo congiis antiquis ita congruere, ut neque minus quidquam, neque amplius inter utraque eſſet. Quo experimento evidentiſſimè cognoverunt, & libras noſtri temporis cum antiquis Romanis eſſe eaſdem, cùm congii antiqui vas ſub Veſpaſiano Imp. ſignatum decem libras contineret, quot etiam noſtri temporis libras capit; & hunc eſſe juſtum pedem Romanum, cùm ex ejus modulo perfectum quadrantal octoginta libras contineat, quæ cum congii antiqui libris ad momentum reſpondent. Notwithſtanding theſe obſervations, *Villalpandus*, knowing how neceſſary it was to have the true dimenſions of the *Roman* foot, to find out the proportions of the *Hebrew* cubit, made new experiments: And after examination of the meaſures and weights at *Rome*, he thus concludes: [s] *Sed iis omnibus tam variis, aliiſque multis ſententiis prætermiſſis, in hac una conquieſcimus, ut arbitremur unum Farneſianum congium poſſe omnes antiquas Romanorum, atque aliarum gentium menſuras, omniáque pondera priſtinæ integritati reſtituere.* And in another place, *Quapropter aliis omnibus conjecturis, argumentationibus, æreis pedibus, marmoreis dimenſionibus, aut ſculpturis, quaſi maris fluctibus prætermiſſis, in hac una pedis longitudine, quaſi in portu conquieſcere jam tandem decrevimus.* Yet *Snellius* in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus* could not reſt ſatisfied with this foot of *Villalpandus*, how exquiſite ſoever he imagines it: For he had a mind to diſcover it nearer home; making the *Rhinland* foot equal to the *Roman*. The proof of this aſſertion is taken from an ancient *Roman armamentarium*, or fort, near the ſea, not far from *Leiden*, which by the natives is called, *Het huys te Briten:* And is ſuppoſed by *Ortelius* to have been built by *Claudius Cæſar*, in his intended voyage for *Britain*, of which [t] *Suetonius*, and *Dio*, make mention: *Sive in commodiorem legionum, cohortiumque tranſvectionem, ſive quo milites hibernarent* (ſaith *Ortelius.*) *Arcis ipſius fundamenta*, (according to [u] *Snellius*) *quadrata ſunt forma, & quaquaverſum ducentis quadraginta Rhinlandicis pedibus patent. Ut vel hinc Romanæ menſuræ veſtigia quàm planiſſimè agnoſcas. Nam ipſius podiſmus duorum Romanorum jugerum magnitudinem complectitur. Jugeri enim menſuram ducentos & quadraginta longitudinis pedes eſſe, non eſt ferè quiſquam qui ignoret, inquit Quintilianus, l. 1. cap. X. Varro de re ruſtica libro 1. cap. X. Jugerum quod quadratos duos actus habet. Actus quadratus, qui & latus eſt pedes 120 & longus totidem. Is modius, ac mina Latina appellatur, ut mihi planè dubium non videatur, eos hic Romanæ menſure modum ſecutos, hujus ſtructuræ podiſmum ita comprehendiſſe ſecundum jugeri menſuram, ut duo jugera, vel actus quatuor contineret. Frontinus de limitibus. Hi duo fundi juncti jugerum definiunt, deinde hæc duo jugera juncta in unum quadratum agrum efficiunt, quòd ſint omnes actus bini: Ut ſingula ideò latera ducentos & quadraginta pedes in longum patêre neceſſe ſit. Atqui totidem pedibus Rhinlandicis ſingula latera exporrigi Geodætarum experientia confirmat. Unde efficitur Romanum antiquum pedem noſtro Rhinlandico planè æquari.* GREAVES

After theſe experiments of ſo many able and learned men, and thoſe too taken from ancient monuments, it may ſeem ſtrange, that we ſhould not be able as yet to define the true quantity of the *Roman* foot. For this I can aſſign no other reaſons than theſe: Firſt that thoſe which have deſcribed it, have either not exactly, and with ſuch diligence as was requiſite, performed it; or elſe, if they have been circumſpect in this kind, they have omitted to compare it with the ſtandards for meaſures of other nations. On the contrary thoſe which have compared it with the preſent ſtandards, never took it from the ancient monuments, and originals, which are at *Rome*, but only from ſome draughts, or ſchemes delineated in books. Now how uncertain a way this is, doth appear by [x] *Villalpandus*, who thus writes: *Ego dum hæc ſcriberem, hunc Colotianum pedem circino expendi, & in annotationibus Guil. Philandri ſolertiſſimi viri, & apud Georgium Agricolam, & apud Lucam Pætum, & Staniſlaum Orſepſium, & nullum potui reperire alteri æqualem, imo verò neque ejuſdem pedis aſſignatas ſimiles partes.* The ſame have I obſerved in thoſe *Roman* feet deſcribed by *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Philander*, *Pætus*, *Ciaconius*, and *Villalpandus* himſelf, that they differ one from another. And not only ſo, but thoſe of the ſame author, in the ſame impreſſion, are likewiſe different. Which laſt muſt ariſe, either by the diverſe extention of the paper in the preſs, when it is moiſt, or by the unequal contraction of it, when it grows dry, or by ſome other accident, in the beating and binding. So that tho' it were granted, that ſo many learned men had found out what we enquire after, the *Roman* foot; yet it is im-

[s] Villalpandi apparatus urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25. [t] Suetonius in Claudio. Dio Hiſt. Rom. l. 60. [u] Snell. in Eratoſth. Bat. l. 2. c. 2. [x] Villalpan. de apparatu urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

poſſible out of thoſe ſchemes and draughts delivered in their books, for the reaſon before ſpecified, to attain an abſolute certainty. But [y] *Snellius* ſhews us a remedy of this difficulty, which, in my opinion, is as vain as his *Roman* foot, (ſeeing by his ſuppoſition all paper muſt ſhrink alike, be it thick or thin) and that is, to allow one part in ſixty for the ſhrinking of the paper. *For ſo much* (ſaith he) *do typographers obſerve, that letters contract themſelves, when they are taken off wet from the types.*

Wherefore having received ſmall ſatisfaction from the writings of the ancients, and not much better from the imperfect deſignations of the *Roman* foot, by modern authors, I propoſed to my ſelf in my travels abroad, theſe ways, which no reaſonable man but muſt approve of. And thoſe were, Firſt, to examine as many ancient meaſures and monuments, in *Italy*, and other parts, as it was poſſible. And, Secondly, To compare theſe with as many ſtandards, and originals, as I could procure the ſight of. And laſt of all, to tranſmit both theſe, and them, to poſterity, I exactly meaſured ſome of the moſt laſting monuments of the ancients. To this purpoſe, in the year 1639, I went into *Italy*, to view, as the other antiquities of the *Romans*, ſo eſpecially thoſe of weights and meaſures; and to take them with as much exactneſs as it was poſſible, I carried inſtruments with me made by the beſt artizans.

Where my firſt enquiry was after that monument of *T. Statilius Vol. Aper*, in the *Vatican* gardens, from whence [z] *Philander* took the dimenſions of the *Roman* foot, as others have ſince borrowed it from him. In the copying out of this upon an *Engliſh* foot in braſs, divided into 2000 parts, I ſpent at leaſt two hours, (which I mention, to ſhew with what diligence I proceeded in this, and the reſt) ſo often comparing the ſeveral diviſions, and digits of it, reſpectively one with another, that I think more circumſpection could not have been uſed; by which I plainly diſcovered the rudeneſs and inſufficiency of that foot. For beſides that the length of it is ſomewhat too much, (whatſoever [a] *Latinius* out of an obſervation made by *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Sighicellus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Ægius* and *Fulvius Urſinus*, pretend to the contrary) there is never a digit that is preciſely anſwerable to one another. Howſoever it contains 1944 ſuch parts, as the *Engliſh* foot contains 2000.

My next ſearch was for the foot on the monument of *Coſſutius*, *in hortis Colotianis*, from whence it hath ſince received its denomination, (tho' it be now removed) being termed by writers, *pes Colotianus*. This foot I took with great care, as it did well deſerve, being very fair and perfect: Afterwards collating it with that *Roman* foot, which *Lucas Pætus* cauſed to be engraved in the Capitol, in a white marble ſtone, I found them exactly to agree; and therefore I did wonder, why he ſhould condemn this with his pen (for he makes ſome [b] objections againſt it) which notwithſtanding he hath erected with his hands (as appears by the inſcription in the Capitol, CURANTE LU: PAETO.) It may be, upon ſecond thoughts, he afterward privately retracted his error, which he was not willing to publiſh to the world. Now this of *Coſſutius* is 1934 ſuch parts, as the *Engliſh* foot contains 2000.

Next I ſought after that porphyry column mentioned by [c] *Marlianus*, as alſo by [d] *Philander*, and others, with this inſcription, ΠΟΔ. Θ. For if the length of that column were aſſigned according to the proportion of the *Greek* foot, then would the *Roman* foot be thence deduced; this (as I ſhall elſewhere ſhew) containing 24 ſuch parts, as that contained 25: Or if it were made according to the *Roman* foot, as the *Grecians* after their ſubjection to the *Roman* empire, often uſed the ſame meaſures that the *Romans* did, then had I my deſire. But the column being defaced or loſt my labour was in vain: And it ſeems [e] *Pætus* about LXX years before made the ſame enquiry with as little ſatisfaction.

I ſhould be too tedious in deſcribing the ſeveral feet which I have peruſed in braſs, found amongſt the *rudera* at *Rome*, and carefully preſerved by antiquaries: Of moſt of which *Peireſkius* hath given a good character, in ſome letters of his, which I have ſeen in the hands of *Buchardus*, a learned man, not yet printed; [f] who thus writes: *I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the inequality which I have found in the diviſions by digits, and inches, of the ancient* Roman *feet; which ſeem to me to have been made for faſhion-ſake,* & dicis causâ *(as lamps that are found in tombs incapable of oil) more to expreſs the myſtery and profeſſion of thoſe that were to uſe them, than to regulate the meaſures of any thing beſides them.*

Beſides theſe, I examined the ancient ſtructures of the *Romans*, hoping by collating one with another, to deduce the

[y] *Pars ſexageſima typorum & formarum longitudini excuſis decedit, quemadmodum à diligentibus & peritis typographis ſciſcitando edoctus ſum.* Snell. in Eratoſth. Batavo. l. 2. c. 1.

[z] Philander in l. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii. [a] Ciaconius è Latino Latinio. [b] Luc. Pætus l. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. interv all. menſuris. [c] Marlianus de Antiq. urbis. [d] Philander in lib. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii. [e] Luc. Pætus l. 1. de. Antiq. Rom. & Græc. interval. menſuris. [f] Ex Epiſtolis Peireskii MSS.

dimenſion

dimension of their foot. For I presumed, that those excellent architects, before they began their work, must necessarily propose some models to themselves, according to the proportion of which, they meant to raise their fabricks: Which proportions could not be assigned, but in the parts of some common and received quantity; and this in probability was the *Roman* foot; being a measure generally used, and by publick authority prescribed. Upon which grounds I measured *the stones in the foundation of the Capitol*, Domitian's, *or rather* Vespatian's *amphitheatre*, *the triumphal arks of* Titus *and* Severus, *together with that of* Constantine *the great, and above all that exquisite temple of the* Pantheon, built by *Agrippa*, I know not whether with more cost or art: Concerning which [x] *Sebastianus Serlius* is of opinion, *That if all rules of architecture were lost, they might be revived out of this monument alone.* And in truth, this place gave me more satisfaction than any other: For most of the white marble stones on the pavement, contained exactly three of those *Roman* feet on *Cossutius*'s monument, and the lesser stones in porphyry contained one and an half.

But yet I thought this not sufficient, unless I went to *Terracina*, which is the ancient *Anxur*, and LIII miles distant from *Rome:* Having read in [y] *Andreas Schottus*, out of *Pighius*'s *Hercules Prodicius*, that near the sea by the *Via Appia*, in the height of a white rock, whence that of [z] *Horace*,

Impositum saxis latè candentibus Anxur,

There are described the *Roman decempedæ*. And indeed the place is very memorable, for the whiteness, altitude, and hardness of the rock, which notwithstanding is cut away perpendicularly, on the side towards the *Tyrrhene* sea, above an hundred and twenty feet in depth, to make passage for the *Appian* way; and at the space of every *decempeda*, these characters X XX XXX *&c.* (being almost *cubitales)* are fairly engraven, in a continued order, descending to CXX. Measuring below the distance between CXX and CX, it amounted to IX *English* feet, and $\frac{1384}{2000}$ of a foot, computing it from the [a] line engraven above CXX, to the line next under CX. The rest I examined with my eyes, by often comparing the distance between CXX and CX, whether it were equal to that between CX and C, and this again (ascending upwards) to that between C and XC; which manner, though it be uncertain and conjectural, and far from that exactness I used in all others, yet it was the best means I could then put in practice; and I am confident, that whosoever shall measure those spaces, shall find a manifest inequality. To which opinion I am rather induced, because measuring there, in several places, the breadth of the *Appian* way, cut out of the same rock, I found a difference sometimes of one or two inches, or more. It being in one place XIII *English* feet, and $\frac{1620}{2000}$ of a foot; in another, XIII feet and $\frac{1880}{2000}$; in a third XIII and $\frac{1975}{2000}$. Whereby I concluded, that the ancients, in making that way, had not respect to a mathematical point, (as it was not necessary) but only that if any difference were, it should not be sensible. And such differences have I observed in the white *Corinthian* pillars, in the *Pantheon* beforementioned, of above an inch or two, in the circuit of the *Scapus* near the *Torus:* which inequality, seeing no eye could discover, the masters of that exquisite work did justly contemn. Whereas the porphyry stones, and those of white marble, on the pavement, are sized so even, and so exactly to the proportions of the *Roman* foot, that nothing can be more accurate. And this the nature of the work required; for the temple being round, (which hath occasioned the *Italians* vulgarly to call it the *Rotundo)* the circle within could not so exquisitely have been filled up, if there had not been a special care taken in observing the true dimensions in every particular stone. But to return to the rock at *Anxur:* The spaces between those characters, to an eye that shall be intentively fixed upon them, will be apparently different. So that I concur in opinion with [b] *Schottus*, that those figures were placed there, *to give notice to posterity, how much of the rock had been removed, to make passage for the* Appian *way*; and not for any memorial of the *Roman* measures.

Having measured those places in the *Appian* way at *Terracina*, I made trial of at least XX others between *Terracina* and *Naples*, without any great satisfaction; and therefore, partly the incertainty that I found there, and partly the danger of thieves, discouraged me from measuring the *Roman milliare*; a work conceived to be of great use, for the discovery of the *Roman* foot. Seeing the *miliare* containing *mille passus*, as the very name imports, and every *passus* consisting of five feet, as [c] *Columella*, and [d] *Isidorus* expresly tell us; here therefore would be five thousand feet

[x] Sebast. Serl. delle Antichita. [y] Andr. Schot. Ititinerar. [z] Horat. l. 1. Serm. Sat. 5.

[a] See at the end of this book the figure of these characters, as they are cut in the rock at *Anxur*, with lines encompassing them. [b] Schotti Itiner. [c] Columella de re rust. l. 5.

[d] Isidorus, l. 15. c. 15. Origin.

GREAVES to help us to one, could there be but found out a perfect *Roman* mile. And this I imagined might probably be discovered amongst those many *vestigia* of *Roman* ways, which to this day are frequently seen in *Italy*. Wherefore conferring with *Gasparo Berti*, a man curious and judicious, (as appears by his ichnography of *Roma subterranea* in *Bosius*) as also with *Lucas Holstenius*, a learned companion of *Cluverius*, in those honourable travels of his, for the restauration of the ancient geography: they both informed me that there are still in the *Appian* way, where it passes over the *Pomptinæ Paludes*, several *columnæ*, or *lapides milliarii*, standing; whereby the *Romans* divided and distinguished their miles; and which occasioned those phrases, *ad primum*, *ad quartum*, *ad centesimum lapidem*, and the like. And these, it may be, at the first were ordinary stones, till *C. Gracchus* caused columns to be erected in their places: Διαμετρήσας πᾶν μίλιον ὁδὸν πᾶσαν (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὀλίγον ἐστὶ δεῖ) κίονας λιθίνας σημεῖα τοῦ μέτρου καθέστησεν. *He measured out*, saith [c] *Plutarch*, *by miles*, *all the ways*, *the mile containing little less than eight* stadia, *and placed columns of stone to design the measure.* The thing was of that ornament and use, as that it was afterwards taken up, and continued by the *Roman* emperors; as appears by these inscriptions, which are fairly engraven on the first column, found amongst the ruins in the *Appian* way, and from thence lately removed into the Capitol, by order of the [f] Senate and people of *Rome.*

I

IMP. CAESAR
VESPASIANVS. AVG
PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTESTAT. VII
IMP. XVII P. P. CENSOR
COS. VII DESIGN. VIII

Below this, on the end of the Scapus.

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR
AVGVSTVS. PONTIFEX
MAXIMVS. TRIBVNICIA
POTESTATE. COS. III PATER
PATRIAE REFECIT

Below this, on the basis of the same pillar.

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI
TRAIANI. PARTHICI. F.
DIVI. NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANO. HADRIANO
AVG. PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTEST. II COS. II
VIATORES. QVI. IPSI. ET. COS. ET
PR. CETERISQVE. MAGISTRATIB.
APPARENT. ET. H. V.

To these I shall also add the inscription of another *columna milliaria*, not extant in *Gruterus*, or any other, that I know, which I have seen at *Terracina*; the column being exactly of the same magnitude with the former, but wanting by the injury of time, a basis below, and a globe of nigh three feet diameter on the top, serving instead of a capital, both which the former hath.

X.[g]

IMP. CAESAR.
DIVI. NERVAE
FILIVS. NERVA
TRAIANVS. AVG
GERMANICVS
DACICVS
PONTIF. MAX
TRIB. POT XIIII
IMP. VI COS. V P. P
XVIIII SILICE. SVA. PECVNIA
STRAVIT

LIII

[c] Plutarchus in Gracchis.

[f] S. P. Q. R.
COLVMNAM. MILIARIAM
PRIMI. AB. VERBE. LAPIDIS. INDICEM
AB. IMPP. VESPASIANO. ET. NERVA
RESTITUTAM
DE. RVINIS. SVBVRBANIS. VIAE. APPIAE.
IN. CAPITOLIVM. TRANSTVLIT

[g] The figure X signifies the distance of *Terracina* from the next city, or town, in the way to *Rome:* And that was *ad Medias:* A place so called, either because it was *ad Medias Paludes*, or else because it was in the mid-way, almost between *Terracina* and *Appii Forum:* For it was X miles from *Terracina*, and IX from *Appii Forum*; as appears by the *itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* in *Berbius.*

If

If therefore two ſuch columns were found entire, (as I am informed there are four or five in the *decennovium*, ſtanding in a continued order) the diſtance between two ſuch being exactly meaſured, would much conduce to the diſcovery of the *Roman* foot. Upon which ſuppoſition I had almoſt reſolved to have gone thither, as I did to other places, with no other intention, but only to have been a ſpectator of thoſe columns, and to have truſted to mine own hands, in taking their diſtances. But upon a more deliberate examination of the buſineſs, I perceived that this enquiry did depend upon a very nice ſuppoſition: for if the *decempedatores*, or *curatores viarum*, proceeded not with extreme caution, and aimed almoſt at a mathematical point, in deſigning the juſt ſpace of each particular mile (which in a work of that length is not probable; where the inequality of many feet could not be diſcerned by the eye, and might be admitted without any blemiſh. For in [h] *Varro*'s judgment, *Senſus nullus quod abeſt mille paſſus ſentire poteſt)* it could not be, but the ſame differences, or ſomewhat like, muſt have crept in with them, which have been obſerved amongſt us, in our meaſured and ſtatute miles; out of which it would be a vain attempt exactly to demonſtrate the *Engliſh* foot. The neglect of which circumſpection, amongſt ſome other reaſons that may be aſſigned, I take to be one, of the diverſities which aſtronomers found in that memorable obſervation, made in the plains of *Singiar*, or *Sinar*, by the command of *Almamon* the renowned califf of *Babylon*, about eight hundred years ſince, in proportioning the magnitude of a degree upon earth. For having taken the altitude of the pole at two ſeveral ſtations, differing a degree in the heavens, they meaſured the diſtance between theſe ſtations on earth, going on in the ſame meridian; where [i] *ſome of them*, ſays *Abulfeda*, *found it to be fifty ſix miles, and two thirds*; *others fifty ſix, without any fraction.* If therefore the *Roman decempedatores*, or *geodætæ*, uſed not more circumſpection than the *Babylonian* aſtronomers (which is not likely) there can be no truſt given to their miles, and leſs truſt to the foot that ſhall be deduced from thence. GREAVES

Wherefore to come to a concluſion; having made enquiry more ways than it may be any man hath done, and I think with as much caution and exactneſs as any, it will be neceſſary after all, to ſhew amongſt ſo many feet, as are taken to be *Roman*, which I conceive to be the moſt genuine and true. And though in ſuch an uncertainty and ſcarcity of ancient monuments, and in ſuch a diverſity of opinions, among modern writers, it may ſeem too great preſumption, poſitively to define the magnitude of the *Roman* foot; yet having had the opportunity to have peruſed in this kind, more antiquities than any that have preceded, I may with the more confidence conclude, that the *pes Colotianus*, in my judgment, is the true *Roman* foot; and that for theſe reaſons.

For firſt, It moſt exactly agrees with ſome very ancient and perfect *Roman* feet in braſs, found long ſince amongſt the *ru-*

Appii Forum
Ad Medias IX.
Taracina X.

The figure LIII below, ſignifies the diſtance of *Terracina* from *Rome:* which diſtance may be further proved out of *Appian*, in his third book of the civil wars, ſpeaking of *Auguſtus:* Ὅντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ταρρακίνας ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων πὺ Ῥώμης σαδίων. *Being about* Tarracina, *which is diſtant* CCCC ſtadia *from* Rome. The *ſtadia* reduced to miles, if we allow VII *Greek ſtadia* and an half to a *Roman* mile, as *Suidas* doth, will make up LIII miles, and one third part of a mile; that is, two *ſtadia* and a half over and above. Which fraction *Appian* neglects; and therefore uſes the round number CCCC *ſtadia*, for LIII miles.

The figure XVIIII ſignifies the *decennovium*, or way paſſing over the fens, between *Appii Forum* and *Terracina:* ſo denominated, becauſe it contained nineteen miles in length: which may alſo be proved out of *Procopius*, where he ſpeaks of the δεκαννόβιον. This way was paved by *Trajan*, as the inſcription ſhews, and I think firſt of all by him. Long after it was repaired by *Theodoricus*, according to another inſcription that I have ſeen at *Terracina*, of which *Gruterus* and *Cluverius* alſo make mention; where, omitting the titles of *Theodoricus*, in the marble we find theſe words engraven:

DECENNOVII. VIAE. APPIAE. ID. EST. A. TRIP
VSQVE. TERRACENAM. ITER. ET. LOCA. QVAE
CONFLVENTIBVS. AB. VTRAQVE. PARTE. PALVDVM
PER. OMNES. RETRO. PRINCIPVM. INVNDAVERANT
VSVI. PVBLICO. ET. SECVRITATI. VIANTIVM
RESTITVIT. . . . . PER
PLVRIMOS. QVI. ANTE. NON. ERANT. ALBEOS
. . . . DEDVCTA. IN. MARE. AQVA

By this number XVIIII ſignifying the *decennovium*, and by the *itinerarium Hieroſolymitanum*, we may ſafely correct the *itinerarium Antonini*, in which *Terracina* is placed but XVIII miles diſtant from *Appii Forum*. And from hence likewiſe we may certainly know, how far the Chriſtians went to meet St. *Paul*, and that was XXXIV miles. For ſo much was *Appii Forum* diſtant from *Rome*, if we ſubduct XVIIII out of LIII; whereas the itineraries of *Bertius* edition make it more.

[h] Varro de L. L. lib. 5. [i] Abulf. Geogr. Arab. MS.

dera

GREAVES

dera at *Rome*; eſpecially with that excellent one (as I remember) of *F. Urſinus*, a learned antiquary. Tho' I cannot deny but that I have ſeen two ancient feet in braſs different from this; the one of *Gualdus*, a very fair one, wanting two parts and a half, of ſuch as this contains a thouſand, a ſmall and inconſiderable difference. The ſecond of *Gottiſridus*, a gentleman of honourable quality, (to whom I ſtand obliged for the free donation of ſeveral antiquities) which exceeds it by eight parts; but this laſt hath been made by a very rude and unſkilful hand.

Next, the proportions of almoſt all the white marble ſtones, as alſo of thoſe leſſer in porphyry, in the pavement of that admirable temple of the *Pantheon*, are either compleatly three of theſe feet, or one and a half; which, it is not probable, and in a ſtructure of ſo much art, ſhould have been the work of chance. Add to this the dimenſions of ſeveral ſtones in the foundation of the capitol, in *Titus* and *Severus*, triumphal arches, correſponding either to the whole foot, or conjointly to the whole, and ſome *uncia*, or digits of it.

Thirdly, The inſcription on the ſame monument where this foot is found, of the *circinus*, the *libella*, the *norma*, and the like, plainly ſhew, that theſe were intended to expreſs *Coſſutius*'s profeſſion, (whom [k] *Pætus* imagines to have been a *ſculptor*) and this being intended, I ſee no reaſon why the *Roman* foot ſhould have been cut in ſo fair a relevy, either too ſhort, or too long; when the ſame hand, and the ſame pains, might have made it exact. It is true, that the foot upon *Statilius*'s tomb, is 1944 ſuch parts. as this is but 1934; whereof the *Engliſh* foot taken by me from the iron yard, or ſtandard of three feet, in *Guild-Hall* in *London*, contains 2000: But how rudely, in reſpect of digits, that foot of *Statilius* is deſcribed, I have before diſcovered. And therefore I wonder that [l] *Philander* in his commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, ſhould in a matter of ſuch high concernment in architecture, proceed with ſo much inadvertency, affirming that between this of *Statilius*, and that of *Coſſutius*, there is no difference. And if he a mathematician hath thus erred, (tho' commonly men verſed in thoſe ſciences take not up things at too cheap a rate, without due examination) what opinion may we conceive of another obſervation, made at the ſame moment, by [m] *Ant. Auguſtianus*, *Jo. Baptiſta Sighicellus*, *P. Octavius Pacatus*, *Achilles Maffæus*, *Achilles Statius*, *Benedictus Ægius*, *Fulvius Urſinus*, *Latinus Latinius*, with as many ancient feet as there were men preſent? I ſhrewdly ſuſpect they ſlubbered over their obſervation, as not regarding in nineteen hundred parts and better, the ſmall exceſs or defect of ten parts; or not rightly apprehending what might be the conſequences of ſuch an error, how little ſoever, in meaſuring the vaſt magnitude of the terreſtrial globe, or of the celeſtial bodies.

Laſtly, Beſides the authorities of *Portius Vicentinus*, *Georgius Agricola*, *Glareanus*, *Ghetaldus*, *Donatus*, and of many other learned and judicious men, who approve of this *pes Colotianus*, (tho' bare authority is the worſt, becauſe the weakeſt kind of argument) that excellent *congius* of *Veſpaſian*, now extant in *Rome*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly magnified by [n] *Villalpandus*, may likewiſe ſerve to confirm, if not totally my aſſertion, yet thus far, that I have not exceeded in aſſigning the true longitude: For by the clear evidences of [o] *Dioſcorides*, and of an *anonymous author* before cited, eight *congii* are the juſt meaſure of the *Roman amphora*, or *quadrantal*; and again by as many teſtimonies of [p] *Sextus Pompeius*, and [q] *Rhemnius Fannius*, each of the ſides of the *amphora* is equal in longitude to the *Roman* foot. Wherefore having procured by ſpecial favour the *congius* of *Veſpaſian*, I took the meaſure of it with [r] *milium* (being next to water, very proper for ſuch a work) carefully prepared and cleanſed, which being done with much diligence I cauſed a cube to be made anſwerable to the true dimenſion of the *pes Colotianus*; filling up the capacity of which, and often reiterating the ſame experiment, I found continually the exceſs of about half a *congius* to remain, and that an *amphora* made by the *pes Colotianus*, would contain but VII *congii*, and about an half. And therefore I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the obſervation [s] of *Ant. Auguſtianus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statinius*, *Urſinus*, and others, with a cube of that foot which is deſcribed on *Statilius*'s monument: who affirm the *quadrantal* of this exactly to contain eight of theſe *congii* of *Veſpaſian:* Whereas upon due examination I confidently affirm, that they have erred. And therefore [t] *Villal-*

[k] Luc. Pætus, lib. 1. de antiq. Rom. & Græc. interval. menſuris. [l] Philander in l. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii.
[m] Ciaconius è Latini Latinii obſerv. de pede Rom. [n] Villalpandus, l. 2. diſp. 2. c. 11. de apparatu urbis ac templi. [o] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis. [p] Sext. Pomp. Feſtus de verb. ſignif.
[q] Rhemn. Fann. carm. fragm. [r] It had been better to have made my experiment with water, and then to have weighed it with an exact balance: but becauſe no balances are found in *Rome* ſo exact as with us, I was fain to meaſure it with *milium*. [s] Ciaconius è Latini Latinii obſervationibus de pede Rom. *Cum veram pedis Rom. quantitatem ſtatuere vellent ejuſd. pedis menſuras ſimul contulerunt, & earum octo cum antiquiſſima dicti pedis forma, quæ in baſi quadam in hortis Vaticanis exſtat, adamuſſim convenire videntes, ex hoc pede quadrato vas confecerunt*, &c. Vide ſupra. [t] Villalp. de apparatu urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

pandus

pandus, in this particular, with more judgment and ingenuity hath publiſhed his obſervations, concerning the meaſure, and preciſe weight of *Veſpaſian*'s *congius*, than any other whatſoever. Altho' I cannot be induced to aſſent to that deduction, which he infers of the *Roman* foot, (from the ſide of a *quadrantal* containing eight of theſe *congii*) relying upon the authorities of *Feſtus* and *Fannius*, againſt ſo many evidences produced to the contrary. Wherefore as he is ſingular in his opinion (for there is not one author of credit which follows his aſſertion) ſo is his foot as ſingular, there being not one of at leaſt ten ancient ones, in the hands of ſeveral antiquaries (beſides thoſe inſcribed on two monuments in *Rome*) which arrive to the proportions of his, by XXVII parts in two thouſand. As for thoſe other fancies of his (for they are no better) of deſcribing alſo the *Roman* foot, by the altitude of *Veſpaſian*'s *congius*, and aſſigning the [u] *latus cubicum* of the *modius*, the *ſemicongius*, the *ſextarius*, and *hemina*, from certain parallel circles circumſcribed about it, (which certainly, as the ſcheme of the *congius* it ſelf, drawn by me to the full proportion, ſhews, were delineated without any farther intention than for ornament) I do not think them worth the computation.

And therefore it will be much better, to give ſome ſolution to thoſe authorities of *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Rhemnius Fannius*, alledged by him. For the objection which may be raiſed thence is very material: How the *pes Colotianus* can be the true *Roman* foot, ſince it is confeſſed by me, that it doth not preciſely anſwer to the ſides of a *quadrantal*, or cube, containing eight of thoſe *congii* of *Veſpaſian*, or XLVIII *ſextarii?* Whereas on the contrary, *Feſtus* expreſly writes, that the *quadrantal* was the ſquare (he means the cube) of the *Roman* foot. [x] *Quadrantal vocabant antiqui, quam ex Græco amphoram dicunt, quod vas pedis quadrati, octo & quadraginta capit ſextarios.* And [y] *Fannius* confirms the ſame.

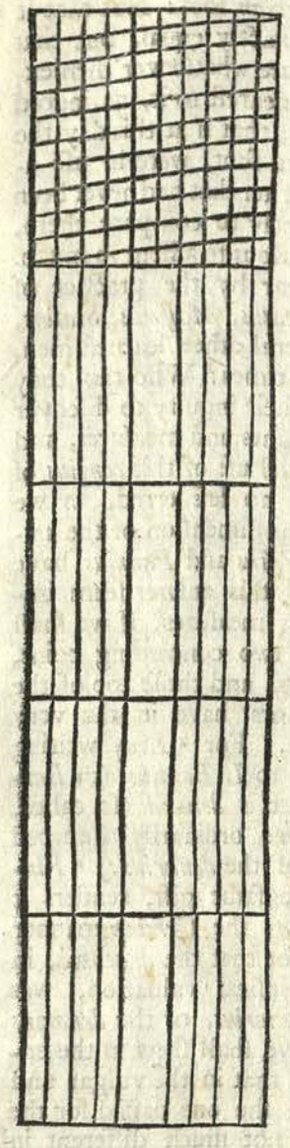
Pes longo ſpatio, latóque notetur in anglo,
Angulus ut par ſit, quem claudit linea triplex.
Quatuor ex quadris medium cingatur inane:
Amphora fit cubus: Quam ne violare liceret,
Sacravere Jovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites.

We might elevate their authorities by ſaying, theſe are only the teſtimonies of two grammarians, better verſed in diſputes of words, than critical in meaſures, which more properly are the ſpeculation of mathematicians: And therefore if *Vitruvius* had affirmed it, much more credit might have been given. But we ſhall rather ſay, they wrote what was vulgarly, and commonly, upon tradition, believed, that the length of one of the ſides of the *amphora* was equal to the *Roman* foot: Not that it was preciſely and exactly equal, but that of any known meaſure whatſoever then extant, this came the neareſt to it, as indeed it doth; yea, ſo near, that if at this day the *amphora*, and *Roman* foot, were in uſe amongſt us, many a writer that had never been ſo curious as diligently to compare them, would not be ſcrupulous to affirm as much. Which may appear by the practice of *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Urſinus*, and of ſeveral other learned men, not long before our times: Who tho' they purpoſely made it their inquiry to diſcover the true *Roman* weights and meaſures, and therefore made ſpecial uſe of this *congius* of *Veſpaſian*, yet have no leſs erred, as we ſhewed before, in the dimenſion of the *amphora*, than both *Feſtus* and *Fannius* have done. Neither will this anſwer ſeem improbable concerning meaſures, if we ſhall examine a place or two concerning coins, in which the ancients, and thoſe too of the better ſort of authors, have in the very ſame manner erred. For [z] *Livy* writing that *Marcellus* gave to *L. Bantius*, (or *Bandius*) 10 *bigati*, that is *denarii* (ſo called, becauſe the *biga* was ordinarily ſtamped upon the reverſe of the *denarius*:) [a] *Plutarch* deſcribing the ſame gift, renders it by ſo many *drachmæ*, the *Grecian* manner of computation; not that the *drachma*, in the exact and intrinſical valuation, was equal then to the *denarius*, or the *denarius* to the *drachma* (as we ſhall ſhew in the enſuing diſcourſe) but that in the vulgar and popular eſtimation, the one paſſed for the other, being both not much different in their weight, as well as valuation. [b] Likewiſe *Dio* informs us, that *Octavius* promiſed the *Veteran* ſoldiers 10 *drachmæ* a man: Whereas [c] *Cicero* expreſſing the ſame thing to *Atticus*, terms them 10 *denarii*. And *Suetonius* writes, that *Cæſar*, by teſtament, gave to each of the common people, *ſeſtertia trecenta*, that is, LXXV *denarios*; which [d] *Plutarch*, both in the life of *Brutus*, and of *Antonius*, renders δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, *ſeventy five drachms*. In the like manner we may ſay, that *Feſtus* and *Fannius* have deſcribed the *amphora* by the *Roman* foot; not as if this were the exact meaſure of it, but as being the moſt known and neareſt proportion, in which, without falling into fractions, it might evenly and roundly be expreſſed. GREAVES

And thus have we finiſhed our enquiry after the *Roman* foot: Our next labour ſhould be to compare it with the preſent ſtandards, and originals, for meaſures of divers nations. For which I muſt refer the reader to this enſuing table.

[u] *Vides etiam latus cubicum, modii, ſemicongii, ſextarii, heminæ*, &c. Villalp. ibidem.
[x] Sext. Pomp. Feſtus de verb. ſignif. [y] Rhemn. Fannii carmina de pond. & menſuris.
[z] Livius, l. 23. [a] Plutarchus in Marcello. [b] Dio, l. 45. in Cæſare Octav.
[c] Cicero, l. 16. 5 ep. ad Atticum. [d] Plut. in Bruto. Idem in Antonio.

SEMIPES ROM.



The Roman *FOOT compared with the meaſures of divers Nations.*

SUCH Parts as the *Roman* foot, or that on the monument of *Coſſutius* in *Rome*, contains	1000
The foot on the monument of *Statilius* in *Rome*, contains	1005 12/100
The foot of *Villalpandus*, deduced from the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*, contains	1019 65/100
The ancient *Greek* foot, being in proportion to the ancient *Roman* foot, as XXV to XXIV, contains	1041 67/100
The *Engliſh* foot	1034 13/100
The *Paris* foot	1194 45/100
The *Venetian* foot	1201 65/100
The *Rhinland* foot, or that of *Snellius*	1068 25/100
The *derah*, or cubit, at *Cairo* in *Ægypt*	1886 25/100
The *Perſian ariſh*	3306 10/100
The greater *Turkiſh* pike, at *Conſtantinople*	2275 08/100
The leſſer *Turkiſh* pike, at *Conſtantinople*, is in proportion to the greater, as 31 to 32	
The *braccio* at *Florence*	1978 28/100
The *braccio*, for woollen, at *Siena*	1284 38/100
The *braccio*, for linen, at *Siena*	2041 37/100
The *braccio* at *Naples*	2171 66/100
The *canna* at *Naples*	7114 79/100
The *vara* at *Almaria*, and at *Gibraltar*, in *Spain*	2854 19/100
Il palmo di Architetti, at *Rome*; whereof x make the *canna di Architetti*	756 98/100
Il palmo del braccio di Mercantia, & di teſſito di tela, at *Rome*; this and the former are both engraven in a white marble-ſtone in the Capitol, with this inſcription, *Curante Lu. Pæto*	719 24/100
The *Genoa* palm	842 81/100
The *Antwerp* ell	2360 91/100
The *Amſterdam* ell	2345 40/100
The *Leyden* ell	2337 13/100

The Engliſh *FOOT, taken from the Iron-Standard at* Guild-Hall *in* London, *and compared with the Standards for Meaſures of divers Nations.*

SUCH parts as the *Engliſh* foot contains	1000
The *Roman* foot, or that on the monument of *Coſſutius* in *Rome*, contains	967
The foot on the monument of *Statilius* in *Rome*, contains	972
The foot of *Villalpandus*, deduced from the *congius* of *Veſpaſian*, contains	986
The *Greek* foot	1007 2/100
The *Paris* foot	1068
The *Venetian* foot	1162
The *Rhinland* foot, or that of *Snellius*	1033
The *derah*, or cubit, at *Cairo* in *Ægypt*	1824
The *Perſian ariſh*	3197
The greater *Turkiſh pike*, at *Conſtantinople*	2200
The leſſer *Turkiſh pike* at *Conſtantinople*, is in proportion to the greater, as 31 to 32	
The *braccio* at *Florence*	1913
The *braccio* for woollen, at *Siena*	1242
The *braccio* for linen, at *Siena*	1974
The *braccio* at *Naples*	2100
The *canna* at *Naples*	6880
The *vera* at *Almaria*, and at *Gibraltar* in *Spain*	2760
Il palmo di Architetti, at *Rome*; whereof x make the *canna di Architetti*	732
Il palmo del Braccio di Mercantia, & di teſſito di Tela, at *Rome*; this and the former are both engraven in a white marble-ſtone in the Capitol, with this inſcription, *Curante Lu. Pæto*	695 1/2
The *Genoa* palm	815
The *Antwerp* ell	2283
The *Amſterdam* ell	2268
The *Leyden* ell	2260

This table I made by the ſtandards, the former by proportion.

Of

Of the DENARIUS.

AS I have made for meaſures, the *Roman* foot the foundation of my enquiry, and therefore have handled it in the precedent treatiſe: So for finding out of weights, I ſhall take the *denarius* as an undeniable principle, from whence thoſe of the ancients, by a neceſſary conſequence may be inferred. For as the unity is in reſpect of numbers, or the *ſeſtertius* in diſcourſes *de re nummariâ*; ſo is the *denarius* for weights, a fit riſe, or beginning, from whence the reſt may be deduced. Not but that it were better (as I gave the caution before) if we abſolutely conſider the exacteſt ways of diſcovering weights, to begin with the greater, and by them to find out the leſs, than by the leſs to produce the greater; but if we look upon the condition of times, and conſider the means that are left after ſo many revolutions and changes of the *Roman* empire, it will be ſafer to alter our method. For to this day there are many thouſand *denarii* left and amongſt theſe ſome ſo perfect and entire, as if they had been but newly brought from the mint; whereas of the *Roman libræ*, and ounces, there are but few extant, if compared with theſe. *Lipſius*, and *Gruterius*, in their inſcriptions mention ſome, and *Pætus* ſome others, beſides ſuch as I have ſeen in the hands of antiquaries, and many of mine own: Moſt of which differ from one another, either as having been conſumed by ruſt and time, or it may alſo be by the men that then lived, for their advantage leſſened: A thing too often practiſed amongſt us. Wherefore I think it more convenient by the *denarius* to deduce the proof and evidence of theſe, than by the diverſity and uncertainty of theſe to conclude the *denarius:* And yet if ſome of the beſt and faireſt of them ſhall agree with this, I ſhall think my ſelf ſo much the more aſſured.

Now ſeeing the *denarius* may be conſidered in a double reſpect, either as *nummus*, or as *pondus:* In the firſt acception, the valuation of it in civil affairs is remarkable, in the latter, the gravity and ponderouſneſs: I ſhall ſpeak no farther of the former, than as it may conduce in ſome ſort to illuſtrate the latter. The *denarius* was a ſilver coin in uſe amongſt the *Romans*, paſſing at the firſt inſtitution for *dena æra*, or ten *aſſes*. And ſo [a] *Vitruvius* expreſly writes, *Noſtri autem primò decem fecerunt antiquum numerum, & in denario denos æreos aſſes conſtituerunt.* The ſame thing is atteſted by [b] *Voluſius Metianus. Denarius primò aſſes decem valebat, unde & nomen traxit.* [c] *Pliny*, beſides a confirmation of the ſame valuation, aſſigns alſo the time in which it was firſt ſtamped. *Argentum ſignatum eſt anno urbis* [d] *quingenteſimo octogeſimo quinto, Q. Fabio conſule, quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum, & placuit denarius pro decem libris æris:* That is, for ten *aſſes*. For the *aſſes* both then, and under the firſt conſuls, were *librales. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, Ἦν δὲ ἀσσάριον, χάλκεον νόμισμα, βάρος λιτραῖον. The *aſſis* was a braſs coin, *weighing a pound.* Where by the way, it is worth the obſervation, the ſtrange, and in mine opinion, the unadviſed proportion, betwixt the braſs and ſilver moneys of thoſe times: That ten pounds of braſs ſhould be but anſwerable to the eighty fourth part (for ſo much, or near it, was the *denarius*) of a pound of ſilver; or to ſpeak more clearly, that one pound in ſilver ſhould be equal in valuation to eight hundred forty pounds in braſs. Neither can there be any excuſe of that error, unleſs this, that there was then an infinite plenty of the one, and as great a ſcarcity of the other. However it were, the ſame proportion is teſtified by *Varro*, who farther adds; that the *Romans* took the firſt uſe and invention of the *denarius*, from the *Sicilians:* [e] *In argento nummi, id à ſiculis, denarii quòd denos æris valebant.* And according to this valuation the *denarius* had an impreſs upon it of the figure X, denoting the *decuſſis*, or number of the *aſſes*, as *Valerius Probus* witneſſes, and ſometimes this character ⧖; both which I have ſeen, and can ſhew, in ſeveral ancient ones. This latter by the ignorance of ſcribes formerly in *MSS.* and of our printers of late, in the edition of *Celſus*, and of *Scribonius Largus*, is repreſented by an aſteriſk *; and by a worſe error in the ſame authors, the figure X expreſſing the *denarius*, as a *pondus*, is confounded with the figure X expreſſing a number. From this figure on the *denarius*, or *decuſſis*, [f] *Vitruvius* calls the interſections of lines, *decuſſes*, and *decuſſationes*. And [g] *Columella* uſeth the phraſe *in ſtellam decuſſari*, when lines meet diamond-wiſe, or lozenge-like, as theſe in the character X or ⧖. Neither did the *de-*

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[a] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1. [b] Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtributione. [c] Plinius, l. 33. c. 3.
[d] Budæus, l. 5. *de aſſe*, corrects theſe numbers by *Livy* (l. 30.) and reads them 478.
[e] Varro, l. 4. de ling. Lat. [f] Vitruv. l. 10. [g] Columella, l. 5.

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narius long paſs at the valuation of ten *aſſes*, nor the *aſſes* which before, and then were *librales*, continue at one ſtay; but with the exigencies of the *Roman* ſtate, the rate of the *denarius* roſe, and the weight of the *aſſes* fell; that is in effect, both the ſilver and the braſs monies came to be augmented in their eſtimation. For by a publick edict of *Fabius Maximus* the dictator, the common wealth being hardly preſſed upon by *Hannibal*, the *denarius* came to be priced at XVI *aſſes*, and the *aſſes* which were then *ſextantarii*, or the ſixth part of the *Roman* pound, (for in the firſt *Punick* war, by reaſon of the exceſſive expences of the ſtate, they firſt fell from being *librales*, to be *ſextantarii*) came now in the ſecond *Punick* war to be *unciales*. The whole progreſs and manner of this alteration, is by none ſo well and fully expreſſed as by [h] *Pliny*, and therefore I ſhall a little inſiſt upon his words: *Silver*, ſays he, *came to be coined in the five hundred eighty fifth year of this city*, Q. Fabius *being conſul, five years before the firſt* Punick *war, and then the* denarius *paſſed for* X *pounds of braſs, the* quinarius *for* V, *the* ſeſtertius *for* II *pounds and an half. The weight of the* aſſis *in braſs was diminiſhed in the firſt* Punick *war, the common-wealth not being able to ſupport the expences, and then it was decreed, that the* aſſes *ſhould be coined* ſextantario pondere: That is, with the weight of the ſixth part of a pound, or two ounces, whereas before they were *librales*. Tho' *Alciatus* here, upon a very groſs miſtake, contends, that they were then coined *dextantario pondere*, and not *ſextantario*; but yet that they were called *aſſes ſextantarii*, becauſe the *ſextans*, or ſixth part of an ounce was wanting: whereas [i] *Feſtus* expreſly writes: *Grave æs dictum à pondere, quia deni aſſes ſinguli pondo libræ efficiebant denarium ab hoc ipſo numero dictum: Sed bello Punico populus Romanus preſſus ære alieno, ex ſingulis aſſibus libralibus ſenos fecit, qui tantundem valerent.* And theſe words of *Pliny*, which immediately follow thoſe before recited, put it out of controverſy. [k] *Whereby*, ſays he, *five parts were gained, and the debts (of the common-wealth) diſcharged.* I would gladly ſee by what arithmetick *Alciatus* can demonſtrate, that the common-wealth ſhall gain five parts, making the *aſſes ſextantarii*, in his ſenſe; whereas on the contrary, taking them in this interpretation (as both [l] *Agricola*, and [m] *Villalpandus* do) it is a thing moſt evident. For the whole pound, or *aſſes*, before conſiſting of XII ounces, being now reduced to two ounces, and theſe two paſſing at as high a rate in the valuation of things vendible, as the whole *libra* did, it is plain, that the common-wealth by this diminution of weight, keeping the ſame conſtant tenure of the eſtimation of the *aſſes*, gain'd ten parts in twelve, that is, five in ſix; and not one in ſix, as *Alciatus* would have it. But to omit this digreſſion, and to return to [n] *Pliny*: *Afterwards being oppreſſed by* Hannibal, *under* Q. Fabius Maximus *the dictator, the* aſſes *were made* unciales, *and the* denarius *paſſed for* XVI aſſes, *the* quinarius *for* VIII, *and the* ſeſtertius *for* IV. *And hereby the common-wealth gained half, yet in the pay of the militia, the* denarius *was always accounted for* X aſſes. *The impreſs of the ſilver* [that is of the *denarius*] *were the* bigæ, *and* quadrigæ; *from whence they are called* bigati, *and* quadrigati. *Not long after, by the* lex Papiria, *the* aſſes *came to be* ſemunciales. Livius Druſus, *tribune of the people, mixed an eighth part of braſs with the ſilver.* Thus far *Pliny*. Out of which words it is moſt evident (omitting many paſſages of his worth our conſideration) that as the *denarius* at the firſt inſtitution paſſed for X *aſſes*, ſo afterwards it was valued at XVI. And *Vitruvius* gives a reaſon, why next to X, they made choice of XVI, rather than of XII or any other proportion: [o] *Quoniam animadverterunt utroſque numeros eſſe perfectos, & ſex, & decem, utroſque in unum conjecerunt, & fecerunt perfectiſſimum decuſſiſſexi*, where [p] *Budæus* reads *decuſſiſſexis*: But [q] *Villalpandus decuſſi ſex*, that it may the better, as he imagines, anſwer to the *Greek*, δέκα ἓξ. [r] *Hujus autem rei*, ſaith *Vitruvius*, *autorem invenerunt pedem. E cubito enim cùm dempti ſint palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum, palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur uti pes habeat ſexdecim digitos, & totidem aſſes æreos denarius.* [s] *Metianus* alſo purpoſely treating of this argument, after that he had related that

[h] *Argentum ſignatum eſt anno urbis* DCLXXXV. *Q. Fabio. Coſ. quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum. Et placuit denarius pro* X *libris æris, quinarius pro quinque, ſeſtertium pro dupondio, ac ſemiſſe. Libræ autem pondus æris imminutum bello Punico primo, cum impenſis reſp. non ſufficeret, conſtitutumque ut aſſes ſextantario pondere ferirentur.* Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

[i] Sext. Pompeius Feſt. de verb. ſignif.

[k] Plin. l. 33. c. 3. Ita quinque partes factæ lucri diſſolutumque æs alienum.

[l] Agricola, lib. 2. de pondere & temperat. monetarum.

[m] Villalp. de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 2. diſp. cap. 9.

[n] *Poſtea Hannibale urgente, Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore, aſſes unciales facti: placuitque denarium* XVI *aſſibus permutari, quinarium octonis, ſeſtertium quaternis: ita reſp. dimidium lucrata eſt. In militari tamen ſtipendio ſemper denarius pro* X *aſſibus datus. Nota argenti fuere bigæ atque quadrigæ, & inde bigati, quadrigatique dicti. Mox lege Papiria ſemunciales aſſes facti, Livius Druſus in tribunatu plebis octavam partem æris argento miſcuit.* Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

[o] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.

[p] Budæus, l. 5. de aſſe.

[q] Villalp. de apparatu urbis ac templi.

[r] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.

[s] Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtrib.

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the *denarius*, at the firſt inſtitution, was valued at X *aſſes*, adds, *now it is worth* XVI. And not to cite more authorities, the impreſs or ſtamp of XVI, as well as of X, found upon ſeveral *denarii*, and ſeen both by [t] *Antonius Auguſtinus*, (a man very accurate in coins, as appears by his dialogues) and by *Villalpandus*, beſides one with the inſcription of *C. Titinius*, with the ſame character, mentioned by *Fulvius Urſinus*, and [u] *Dalechampius* puts it out of controverſy. And this valuation of the *denarius*, as it is more than probable, continued from the firſt inſtitution of it in the ſecond *Punick* war, without any interruption, to *Juſtinian*'s time, and it is likely longer; ſince there is no proof out of any ancient author, nor any character on any ancient *denarius* found to the contrary. As for thoſe authorities which are alledged, and preſſed by *Budæus*, and *Alciatus*, of *Varro*, *Apuleius*, *Arruntius*, and *Pompeius*, affirming that after the ſecond *Punick* war, the *denarius* contained X *aſſes*, the *quinarius*, or *victoriatus* V, the *ſeſtertius* II and a half: We may give a true and eaſy ſolution, that theſe writers expreſſed the valuation of them, as they were in their firſt original and beginning, with reflection to their primitive denomination: In which reſpect the *treviri monetales*, or officers of the mint, uſually imprinted on the *denarius* the character X, rather than XVI; the former being the impreſs of its firſt inſtitution, and the latter of its after valuation. And ſo in like manner may thoſe citations be anſwered by *Plutarch*, *Dionyſius*, and others, produced by ſome learned men to ſtrengthen their aſſertion, that the *denarius* after the ſecond *Punick* war returned to its firſt eſtimation. Which thing could not have been effected, without extreme loſs and prejudice to particular men, in their private fortunes and eſtates; which the juſtice and wiſdom of the *Roman* ſenate, under the conſuls, was not likely to have introduced, or the people to have admitted.

To conclude, the *denarius*, as it is evident by many irrefragable authorities before alledged, in the higheſt valuation paſſed for XVI *aſſes*; and according to that proportion, the *quinarius*, or *victoriatus* for VIII, the *ſeſtertius* for IV: But in the loweſt valuation, or firſt inſtitution, it paſſed for X *aſſes*: And then the proportion of the *quinarius* was V, of the *ſeſtertius* II *aſſes* and a half, and therefore was thus marked IIS, or thus HS, as the *quinarius* had this character V, and alſo this X, as it is to be ſeen in a *victoriatus* of mine own (beſides ſeveral others) with the face and inſcription of *M. Cato*. By which coin that place may not unfitly be explained, which troubled [x] *Budæus*, why the *ordo decuſſatus*, and *ordo quincuncialis*, ſignify in the ranking of trees the ſame thing, altho' the *quinarius*, or *quincunx*, give the denomination to one, and the *denarius*, or *decuſſis*, to the other. The reaſon is, becauſe the *quinarius* had the character X imprinted on it, as well as the *denarius*, or *decuſſis*. Beſides in [y] *Temporarius*, we find the *quincunx* to be thus ⁘ repreſented, as the *uncia* thus ⁚ ſo that five of theſe *unciæ* making the *quincunx*, and theſe five being ranged like the figure X (the character of the *decuſſis*) it is no wonder if the *ordo decuſſatus*, and *quincuncialis*, were taken for the ſame.

That the *denarius* ſhould have paſſed at any other rate between XVI and X *aſſes*, as there is no coin extant to prove it, ſo there is no expreſs authority to conclude it. Tho' ſome infer out of [z] *Polybius*, that it was valued alſo at XII *aſſes*: Becauſe he defines the ἡμιοβόλιον, or *ſemiſſis*, to be τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολοῦ, *the fourth part of the Attick obolus*; and VI *oboli* being in the δραχμὴ, to which *drachma* they ſuppoſe the *denarius* equal, therefore there muſt be XXIV *ſemiſſes*, or XII *aſſes* in the *denarius*. But with much better reaſon we may hence infer, that the *drachma* was ſomewhat bigger than the *denarius*, as we ſhall prove in this enſuing diſcourſe; and therefore *Polybius* allows XII *aſſes* to it: Whereas, if it had been preciſely equal to the *denarius*, he would have valued it at X, or elſe XVI of the leſſer ſort of *aſſes*. So that ſir *H. Savile*, a man of exquiſite judgment and learning, in his diſcourſe at the end of *Tacitus*, juſtly blames *Hottoman* for altering the text of *Polybius*, and is himſelf to be cenſured, as alſo [a] *Lypſius*, in inferring thence that the *denarius* contained XII *aſſes*.

The ſeveral parts of the *denarius*, excepting the *quinarius* and *ſeſtertius*, of both which I have ſpoken before, are all comprized in this deſcription of [b] *Varro*, with which I ſhall conclude: *Nummi denarii decima libella, quòd libram pondo as valebat, & erat ex argento parva; ſembella quòd ſit libellæ dimidium quòd ſemis aſſis. Teruncius à tribus unciis ſembellæ quod valet dimidium, & eſt quarta pars ſicut quadrans aſſis.* By which proportions it appears, that the *libella* was the tenth part of the *denarius*, when it was current at X *aſſes*, the *ſembella* the XXth, the *teruncius* the XLth. And thus much of the *denarius* as it is *nummus*.

[t] Anton. Auguſt. Dialogo I.
[u] Dalechampius in. Plin. l. 33. c. 3.
[x] Budæus, l. 1. de aſſe.
[y] Cod. MS. Temporarii.
[z] Polyb. l. 2.
[a] Lypſius Elector. c. 2.
[b] Varro, l. 4. de ling. Lat.

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The ſecond, and our principal conſideration of the *denarius*, is, as it is *pondus*, in which acception it will be neceſſary to premiſe a ſecond diſtinction; that the *denarius* was either [z] *conſularis*, or *cæſareus*. The *conſularis* was that which was made under the government of the city by the conſuls, the *cæſareus* under the *Cæſars:* The *conſularis*, (I mean the *conſularis* after the ſecond *Punick* war, and under the later conſuls) contained preciſely the ſeventh part of the *Roman* ounce, as the other did the eighth part, or ſomewhat near it.

Firſt that the *denarius conſularis* of the later conſuls, was the ſeventh part of the *Roman* ounce: This ſhall be our principal enquiry, becauſe it is more evident of the two, and will give us the beſt light to diſcover the true weight of the *denarius*, in the notion and acception of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*. It is moſt apparent both by ſeveral fair coins which I have peruſed of the later conſuls, as alſo by *Cornelius Celſus*, who lived in the beginning of the *Roman* emperors, before there happened a general diminution of the *denarius*, that it was then the ſeventh part of the ounce, who thus writes, [a] *Sed & antea ſciri volo in uncia pondus denariorum eſſe ſeptem.* The ſame proportion is alſo expreſſed by [b] *Scribonius Largus*, who lived not long after *Celſus*, as ſome imagine, his words are theſe: *Erit autem nota denarii unius pro Græca drachma; æquè enim in libra denarii octoginta quatuor apud nos, quot drachmæ apud Græcos incurrunt.* [c] *Pliny* alſo confirms the ſame. *Miſcuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum, alii* (he means under the emperors) *è pondere ſubtrahunt, cùm ſit juſtum octoginta quatuor è libris ſignari.* Out of which words of his, and of *Scribonius Largus*, it will by a neceſſary conſequence be inferr'd, that the true weight of the *denarius conſularis* is the ſeventh part of an ounce. For if we multiply twelve, the number of the ounces in the *Roman libra* (as by all it is confeſs'd) by ſeven the number of the *denarii*, of which the ounce then conſiſted, the ſum will be LXXXIV *denarii*; and ſo many, ſay *Scribonius* and *Pliny*, ought juſtly to be in the *Roman* pound. And theſe are the only clear and poſitive authorities that are to be found in claſſical authors; moſt of the writings of the ancients, *de ponderibus & menſuris*, having long ſince been loſt; or elſe thoſe few fragments that are left, of *Cleopatra*, *Dioſcorides*, and of others, are ſo corrupted, that little truth with any certainty can be collected. From whence it will by way of corollary follow, that if either the *denarius conſularis* be given, the *Roman* ounce, and *libra*, in the ſame proportion will neceſſarily be thence deduced; or if the *Roman* ounce, and *libra* be given, the *denarius* will as neceſſarily be concluded.

But before we farther treat of this argument, we ſhall endeavour alſo to demonſtrate the *denarius*, by the *drachma Attica*. For *Scribonius* ſeems, and ſo do other ancients, to make them equal. And therefore *Pliny* writes: [d] *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus:* Whereas the *drachma Æginea* was much larger, this containing X ſuch *oboli* as the *Attick* contained VI, and therefore the *Athenians* in hatred of the *Ægenians*, called it παχεῖαν δραχμὴν, as [e] *Pollux* teſtifies. And here as we conſidered the *denarius*, as *nummus*, and as *pondus*; ſo likewiſe muſt we take the *drachma Attica*, as *nummus*, and as *pondus:* In the proſecution of both which, relatively to the *denarius*, I ſhall inſiſt ſo much the longer, becauſe it is an argument that hath ſcarce at all, or very perfunctorily been handled. The *drachma*, as *nummus*, was a ſilver coin in uſe amongſt the *Athenians*, (for I intend only to ſpeak of the *drachma Attica*, for the ſame reaſon that [f] *Pliny* doth, *Ferè enim Atticâ obſervatione utuntur medici)* and ſo it was the meaſure of things vendible, as all coins are: And as *pondus*, ſo was it the meaſure of their gravity and weight. Now the *drachma*, as *nummus*, paſſed in the eſtimation of the beſt authors, both *Greek* and *Latin*, at the ſame rate and valuation as the *denarius* did. And therefore, as often as the *Latins* are to expreſs the *Greek drachma*, they render it by the *denarius*; and on the contrary, the *Greeks* the *denarius* by the *drachma*. Thus what [g] *Tully* renders by the *denarius*, *Dio* in his forty fifth book expreſſeth by the *drachma*. Their words, both ſpeaking of *Auguſtus*, are theſe, *Veteranos quique Caſilini, & Calatiæ ſunt* (as *Tully* relates) *perduxit ad ſuam ſententiam, nec mirum, quingenos denarios dat.* Καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθὺς τότε, ſaith [h] *Dio*, κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμάς. In like manner [i] *Pliny* writes,

[z] The *conſularis* again may be conſidered, either in the time of the former, or of the latter conſuls: That of the former conſuls, at the firſt inſtitution of it by *Q. Fabius*, five years before the firſt *Punick* war, *Peireskius* not improbably imagines to have been the ſixth part of the *Roman* ounce: And *Agricola* by comparing it with the *talentum Atticum*, which *Varro* values at 15000 *Seſtertii* and with the *tetradrachme*, which *Livy* (*lib.* 34.) eſtimates, *Trium fere denariorum*; as alſo upon the authority of the *Scholiaſt of Nicander*, who equals the *denarius* to a drachme and an half, as *Priſcian* doth to a drachme and a third part; I ſay, *Agricola* aſſigns it to almoſt the ſame proportion with *Peireskius*. But becauſe I have ſeen no *denarii conſulares* of ſo great antiquity, and theſe authorities may perchance admit other conſtructions, I ſhall leave this opinion as only probable, and follow what is more certain and demonſtrative, of the later conſuls.

[a] Celſus, l. 5. c. 17. [b] Scrib. Largus in præfatione.
[c] Plinius, l. 33. c. 9. [d] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34. [e] Jul. Pol. l. 9. c. 6. [f] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34.
[g] Cicer. 16. l. 5. Ep. ad Attic. [h] Dio, l. 45. [i] Plinius, l. 1. 27.

writes,

writes, *Veniſſe murem ducentis nummis*, (that is, *denariis*; for *nummus* abſolutely put is often, tho' not always, taken for the *denarius*, as on the contrary the *denarius* is taken for *nummus* in *Heſychius*, [k] δηνάριον τὸ νόμισμα, ἢ εἶδος ἀργυρίου.) *Caſilinum obſidente Annibale, eumque qui vendiderat fame interiſſe, emptorem vixiſſe annales tradunt.* The ſame thing [l] *Valerius Maximus* reports in his ſeventh book, and ſixth chapter, and [m] *Strabo* in his fifth book; the former writing that it was ſold for 200 *denarii*, and the latter that it was bought for 200 *drachmæ*. To theſe authorities I ſhall adjoin [n] *Cleopatra*, Τὸ Ἰταλικὸν δηνάριον ἔχει δραχμὴν ά. *The* Italian denarius *containeth one* drachma: And [o] *A. Gellius*, *Lais* μυείας δραχμὰς ἢ τάλαντον *poposcit, hoc facit nummi noſtratis, denariûm decem millia.*

Theſe two thus paſſing the one for the other, being alſo at the firſt inſtitution much of the ſame fineneſs in reſpect of ſilver, it muſt neceſſarily be admitted, either that they were exactly the ſame for weight, which is our next enquiry, or elſe that they were not much different. For in comparing of foreign coins, the κολλυβισταὶ, or *nummularii*, in ancient times, muſt have taken the ſame courſe, which our moſt knowing bankers do practiſe now. Firſt, to reſpect the pureneſs and fineneſs of the coins, whether they be alike *for the intrinſick*; and next, whether they have the ſame weight; and if they differ in either, or both of theſe, according to thoſe differences to proportion their exchanges. Thoſe other accidental cauſes of the riſing and falling of exchanges of moneys, ſince they are meerly contingent, depending upon the neceſſities either of times, or places, or perſons, I purpoſely pretermit, as not ſo proper and eſſential to our enquiry. As *for the extrinſick of coins*, by which I mean the outward form, or character, and inſcription of the prince, or ſtate, tho' this may raiſe the valuation of them in thoſe countries, which are ſubject to the prince, or ſtate, and leſſen them in thoſe which are out of their dominions; yet this can produce no remarkable difference, more than what is uſually aſſigned by the maſters of the mint, for the waſte in coining, and for the labour of the work.

With theſe cautions, if we ſhall examine the *Attick drachma*, and by ſuch writings of the ancients, or by ſuch coins as are extant, enquire their true weight, we ſhall come to ſuch a preciſeneſs as may be hoped for in a work of this nature. [p] *Suidas* tells us in the general, Δραχμὴ ὅλη νομίσματος ἀργυρίου. *The* drachma *is the weight of the ſilver money.* And [q] *Heſychius* more particularly informs us: Δραχμὴ τὸ ὄγδοον τῆς ὑγιείας. *The* drachma *is the eighth part of the ounce.* And [r] *Fannius* yet more diſtinctly writes: GREAVES

In ſcrupulis ternis drachmam, quo pondere doctis
Argenti facilis ſignatur pondus Athenis.

To which we may add [s] *Cleopatra*, Ἡ δραχμὴ ἔχει γραμμάλια γ'. ὀβολοὺς ς'. θερμοὺς θ'. κεράτια ιή. χαλκοῦς μή. *The* drachme *hath three* ſcruples, *ſix* oboli, *nine* lupini, *eighteen* ſiliquæ, *forty eight* æreola. The [t] *Scholiaſt of Nicander* alſo makes the δίδραχμον to be τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ὑγιείας, *The fourth part of the* [Attick] *ounce.* In the ſame proportion are we to take thoſe other ſilver *Athenian* coins mentioned by [u] *Julius Pollux*, namely, the τρίδραχμον, which conſiſted of three drachmes, the τριώβολον, or τέτραχμον, which by a ſyncope is the ſame with the τριώβολον, containing four drachmes, or the half ounce. Τέτραχμον, τριώβολον, ſaith [x] *Heſychius*; tho' [y] *Ammonius* puts a diſtinction between them, τέτραχμον μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ νόμισμα, τριώβολον δὲ τὸ τεσσάρων δραχμῶν. [ἄξιον.] This the *Greeks* alſo called ſτατῆρα, as [z] *Cleopatra*, and [a] *Epiphanius* witneſs, Ὁ ſτατὴρ, in *Cleopatra*, ἄξει λ' δ'. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν τριώβολον: *The ſtater weighs four drachms, this they call the tetradrachme.* And this alſo may moſt clearly be collected out of [b] St. *Matthew*, where ſeeing the original expreſſeth it more fully than our tranſlation, I ſhall recite the words as they are in *Greek*: Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ, προσῆλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ εἶπον, ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ τὰ δίδραχμα; which the vulgar renders thus: *Et cum veniſſent Capernaum, acceſſerunt qui didrachma accipiebant, ad Petrum, & dixerunt ei, Magiſter veſter non ſolvit didrachma?* And our tranſlation thus: *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute-money, came to Peter, and ſaid, Doth not your maſter pay tribute?* In the twenty ſeventh verſe of the ſame chapter, our Saviour anſwers: Ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλίζωμεν αὐτοὺς, πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν βάλε ἄγκιστρον, καὶ τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἆρον, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ ſτόμα αὐτοῦ εὑρήσεις ſτατῆρα. ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ. *Notwithſtanding, leſt we ſhould offend them, go thou to the ſea, and caſt an hook, and take up the fiſh that firſt cometh up: And*

[k] Heſychius in voce δηνάριον. [l] Valer. Max. l. 7. c. 6. [m] Strabo, l. 5. Geogr. [n] Fragmenta Cleopatræ. [o] A. Gellius l. 1. c. 8. Noct. Att. [p] Suidas in voce δραχμή. [q] Heſychius in voce δραχμή. [r] Rhemn. Fann. [s] Fragmenta Cleopatræ. [t] Scholiaſtes Nicandri. [u] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [x] Heſychius in voce τριώβολον. [y] Ammonius περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων. [z] Fragmenta Cleopatræ. [a] Epiphanius, περὶ ſταθμῶν. [b] Mat. c. xvii. v. 24.

GREAVES *when thou haſt opened his mouth, thou ſhalt find a piece of money: That take, and give unto them for me, and thee.* This, which our tranſlation calls *tribute-money*, in the twenty fourth verſe, is called in the original δίδραχμον, or *two drachmes*; and ſo much was paid by the pole, according to [c] *Joſephus*, for each particular perſon. Our Saviour therefore paying for himſelf, and St. *Peter*, in the twenty ſeventh verſe, bids him to give a *ſtater*; that is, a τέτραδραχμον, or four drachmes; namely the double to the δίδραχμον, which our tranſlation renders too generally by *a piece of money*: But the [d] *Perſian* tranſlation interprets it diſtinctly by four drachmes: *Thou ſhalt find four drachmes in it; that take, and give for thee, and me.*

With this *Attick tetradrachme*, or ſilver *ſtater*, the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* שקל *Shekel*, that is, *Sicle*, did alſo agree. For if we give credit to *Joſephus*, who in [e] *Scaliger*'s eſteem is, *diligentiſſimus* καὶ φιλαληθέστατος *omnium ſcriptorum*, we ſhall find them to be the ſame. [f] Ὁ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα ἑβραίων ὢν, Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. *The ſicle is a ſort of money amongſt the* Hebrews, *that contains four* Attick drachmes. The ſame proportion is evidently collected out of [g] *Philo*, where for L ſhekels mentioned in the law, he renders CC drachmes, and for XXX an CXX. [h] *Heſychius* likewiſe teſtifies as much, Σίκλος τέτραδραχμον Ἀττικὸν, *The ſicle is* [in valuation] *the* Attick tetradrachme: And [i] St. *Hierome* the ableſt of the fathers in the Jewiſh antiquities, [k] *Siclus, id eſt ſtater, habet quatuor drachmas Atticas.*

Theſe teſtimonies are ſo poſitive, and from ſo good authors (to which alſo I might adjoin [l] *Epiphanius* in his book περὶ ſταθμῶν, did I not conceive him to be full of errors in that diſcourſe) that I cannot ſufficiently wonder at that ſtrange opinion of [m] *Grſepſius*, and ſome others, introduced out of affection of novelty, of a double ſhekel, the one ſacred, equal to the tetradrachme, the other profane, weighing the didrachme: That uſed in the ſanctuary, this in civil commerce, without any ſolid foundation in the writ, or without any probability of reaſon, that in any wiſe ſtate, the prince and people ſhould have one ſort of coin, and the prieſts ſhould have another: And that this of the ſanctuary ſhould be in a double proportion to the other, and yet that both ſhould concur in the ſame name. It is true there is often mention in the [n] ſcriptures of the *weights of the ſanctuary*, not as if theſe were different from what were uſed vulgarly in the city; but becauſe the ſtandards, and originals, the rules of commutative juſtice, and therefore of an high and ſacred uſe, were kept (as it is more probable) in the ſanctuary; for God himſelf makes this one of the prieſt's offices, [o] *ut ſint ſuper omne pondus atque menſuram.* And it is no wonder that God, who ſo much hated a [p] *falſe balance*, and a *falſe meaſure*, ſhould commit the charge of theſe to the prieſts, as things moſt holy; ſince the heathens themſelves out of a reverent eſtimation of them, placed them in their temples, as appears by that inſcription of the *congius* of *Veſpaſian* before alledged, and now extant in *Rome*, and by theſe verſes of [q] *Fannius*, treating of the *Roman* meaſures:

Amphora fit cubus, quam, ne violare liceret.
Sacravere Jovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites.

And afterwards in the times of Chriſtianity, they were kept in churches, as it is to be ſeen in the [r] *authenticks of Juſtinian*; where he commands that the weights and

[c] Joſephus l. 7. Bell. Jud. c. 27. [d] Evangelia Perſ. MSS. Eruditiſſimi viri D. Pocockii.
[e] Scal. προλεγομ. in libr. de Emend. Temp. [f] Joſephus l. 3. Antiq. Judaic. [g] Philo de decalogo. [h] Heſychius in voce Σίκλος. [i] Hieronym. in *Ezek.* iii. [k] Such ſicles, I conceive, were thoſe τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, *the* XXX *pieces of ſilver*, which were given to *Judas*, as the reward of his treaſon. *Euſebius* relating the ſtory expreſly, terms them *ſilver ſtaters*, which an *Hebrew* would have termed either ſilver ſhekels, or abſolutely כסף *Ceſef*: This in ſcripture phraſe being frequently put for the ſhekel, and therefore the *Syriack* tranſlation of the new teſtament reads it כסתא: Whence *Tremellius* hath this annotation: *Obſervant Hebræi, ubicunque in ſcripturis argenteorum fit mentio, non expreſſâ numiſmatis argentei ſpecie, intelligi ſiclum ſanctuarii æquivalentem quatuor denariis.* Some modern writers imagine them to have been but XXX *denarii*; but *Baronius* contends that they were, *vel librarum argenti* XXX, *vel aureorum coronatorum trecentorum.* And *Arias Montanus*, that they were either XXX *libræ*, or XXX *talenta.* The moſt probable opinion is, that this ſum was neither ſo great as *Baronius* and *Montanus* make it, nor yet ſo little as ſome moderns would have it, but between both, and that is XXX ſhekels. *M. Caſaubone* in his exercitations upon *Baronius*, hath a probable conjecture to ſtrengthen this aſſertion: *Non enim temere factum videtur, quòd filius Dei qui ſeſe exinanivit, aſſumpta ſervi formâ*, Phil. ii. 7. *Triginta argenteis venderetur, ſicut lege Dei mancipia totidem ſiclis æſtimantur.* Exod. xxi. 32. & *apud Joſephum, lib.* 4. *c.* 8. *Facit hoc quoque non parum ad Domini abjectionem declarandum, quando caput ejus tam parvi æſtimatum eſt.* A ſmall price I confeſs, XXX ſhekels being leſs than XV of our ordinary crowns. But *Hierome* upon St. *Matthew* thought it to be as little, who thus writes, as M. *Caſaubone* renders him, *Infelicem Judam non cogitaſſe quanti precii rem venderet. Sed Chriſtum mundi ſalvatorem, Dei filium, ceu vile aliquod mancipium minimo pretio addixiſſe.* Now the price of a ſervant we find in *Exodus* to have been thirty ſhekels. [l] Epiphanius περὶ ſταθμῶν. [m] Grſepſius de multiplici ſiclo & talento.
[n] And all thy eſtimation ſhall be according to the ſhekel of the ſanctuary. *Levit.* xxvii. 25. *Vet. vulg. ſiclo ſanctuarii ponderabitur.* [o] 1 Paral. xxiii. 29. [p] Prov. xi. 1. item c. xx. ver. 10, 23.
[q] Rhemn. Fann. carmina de pond. & menſuris. [r] Authentic. collat. 9. de collatoribus tit. 11. novel. 128. c. 15.

meaſures

meaſures ſhould be kept, *in ſacratiſſimâ cujuſvis civitatis eccleſiâ*. As for theſe allegations taken out of the interpretation of the LXX, whereby *Groſepſius*, and others, go about to prove a double ſhekel, they are well, and ſolidly, in my judgment, anſwered by [f] *Villalpandus*, and others to whom I ſhall refer the judicious reader: For I intend not here to ſpeak of the *Hebrew* ſhekel, or *Attick* drachme, more than what may ſerve to illuſtrate the *denarius*.

Seeing therefore, as we have proved, that the *Attick drachma* was equal in the notion and acception of the ancients, to the *denarius:* If therefore an entire, either *Attick* Δεκαχμὴ, or Δίδεκαχμον, or Τεσσάρεκαχμον, were found, we might thence conclude the *denarius*. Again, ſince the *Hebrew* ſhekel hath likewiſe been demonſtrated to be equal to the *Attick* Τεσσάρεκαχμον, and this *Attick* Τεσσάρεκαχμον to four *denarii*, by the common and received [t] axiom of geometricians, we may conclude, that the *Hebrew* ſhekel was alſo equal to four *denarii*; that is, that four *Roman denarii*, the *Attick* Τεσσάρεκαχμον, and the *Hebrew* שקל were all reſpectively equal to one another. If therefore an *Hebrew* ſhekel, fair and entire, were found, we might as neceſſarily thence infer the *denarius*, as by the Τεσσάρεκαχμον.

We ſhall endeavour by both theſe to enquire out the truth, and firſt by the *Attick tetradrachmes* in ſilver: Becauſe of theſe I have ſeen and weighed many, ſome of them very fair and perfect, and found at many ſeveral places, as *Athens*, *Conſtantinople*, *Tenedos*, and other parts; where the art of counterfeiting coins is not as yet crept in, and where it is to little purpoſe to practiſe it: Seeing in thoſe places there are few ſo curious as to buy them, or that will give a greater valuation than what they are worth in the *intrinſick*. Wherefore having in *Italy*, and elſewhere, peruſed many hundred *denarii conſulares*, I find by a frequent and exact trial, the beſt of them to amount to LXII grains *Engliſh*, ſuch as I have carefully taken from the ſtandards of the troy, or ſilver weights, kept in the tower in *London*, and in goldſmiths-hall, and in the univerſity of *Oxford:* On the other ſide weighing many *Attick tetradrachmes*, with the image of *Pallas* on the forepart, and of the *noctua* on the reverſe: I find the beſt of theſe to be CCLXVIII grains; that is, each particular drachme LXVII grains.

And that no man may doubt whether theſe were true *Athenian tetradrachmes*, we are to obſerve, that the ancients uſed ſeveral impreſſes on their coins, by which they might be known and diſtinguiſhed. And therefore *argentum ſignatum*, in the deſcription of *Quintius* his triumph over *Philip*, is by [u] *Livy* oppoſed to *argentum infectum*, which [x] *Pollux* terms ἄσημον, as [y] *Tully* calls the former ſort, *Factum atque ſignatum*, and the [z] *Greeks*, ἐνειλυπωμένον. Thus the *denarius* had the impreſs of the *biga*, or *quadriga*, as *Pliny* informs us: And therefore [a] *Livy* uſes the word *bigati* for *denarii*, and [b] *Pliny* both *bigati* and *quadrigati*. The braſs coins of the *Romans* were thus marked: [c] *Nota æris fuit ex alterâ parte Janus geminus, ex alterâ roſtrum navis, in triente vero & quadrante rates.* The *Perſians* ſtamped on the reverſe an [d] archer: Which occaſioned that conceit of *Ageſilaus*, mentioned by [e] *Plutarch*, *That the king of* Perſia *had beaten him back with ten thouſand archers*; when with ſo much money he had corrupted the *Grecians*. The *Carthaginians* on the one ſide ſigned the face of a woman, (I ſuppoſe in memory of queen *Dido*) on the reverſe the head of an horſe, or in *Virgil*'s expreſſion, [f] *Caput acris æqui*, both which I have ſeen. The *Peloponneſians* had the impreſs of a tortoiſe on their money, whence that witty *Greek* proverb took its original: [g] Τὰν ἀρετὰν, ἢ τὰν σοφίαν νικᾶντι χελῶναι. The money at *Tenedos* had on the one ſide a double hatchet, and on the other ſide two heads, one of a man, and another of a woman, ariſing from the ſame ſtem, or neck, in memory of a law made by the king of that iſland (whom [h] *Heraclides* names Τέννης, placing him ancienter than the *Trojan* war,) that a man and a woman, taken in adultery, ſhould have their heads ſtruck off with an hatchet. In which kind I met with two very rare and ancient coins in ſilver, at *Conſtantinople*, both made with a very fair relevy, and both agreeing in the ſame image and inſcription; the one weighed leſs than the *Attick tetradrachme*, the other wanted ſomewhat of the *drachme*. And becauſe the coin hath not, I think, been ſeen by any antiquary, and the hiſtory is remarkable, I ſhall here expreſs the figure of the faireſt of theſe.

GREAVES

[a] Villal. de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. lib. 2. diſp. 4. c. 28. Item par. 2. l. 2. diſp. 4.
[t] *Quæ eidem æqualia, ſunt æqualia inter ſe.* Eucl. ax. 1. l. 1. [u] Livius, l. 34. [x] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [y] Cicer. 6. Verr. [z] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [a] Liv. l. 34. [b] Plinius, l. 33. c. 3. [c] Plin. ib. [d] Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Τὸ δὲ Περσικὸν νόμισμα τοξότου ἐπίσημον εἶχεν. [e] Plut. Ageſil. [f] Virg. 1. Æneid. [g] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [h] Heraclides, περὶ πολιτειῶν.

GREAVES And the hiſtory I ſhall relate out of [b] *Heraclides:* Νόμον δέ τινά φασι τ̃ βασιλέα Τέννην θεῖναι, εἴτις λάθοι μοιχὸν ἀποκτείνειν τ̃τον πελέκει, ἀλόντ& δ' τ̃ὸ ὁμ̃ αὐτ̃, καὶ τ̃ λαβόντ& ἐρομένου τ̃ βασιλέα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τ̃ῷ νόμῳ χρῆσθαι· καὶ διὰ τ̃το τ̃ νομίσμα τ̃ αὐτ̃ ὅπῃ θάτερα πέλεκυς κεχάρακται, ὅπῃ θάτερα δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς αὐχέν& πρόσωπον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός. καὶ ἐκ τ̃τ& λέγεται ὅπῃ τ̃ Τενεδίων, τὸ ἀποκεκόφθαι Τενεδίῳ πελέκει. *They ſay king* Tennes *made a law, That if one took another in adultery, he ſhould kill him with an hatchet. His ſon being found ſo, and he that took him, aſking the king, What he ſhould do? He anſwered him, Execute the law: and for this reaſon on one ſide of his money there was an hatchet imprinted; on the other, the face of a man and of a woman, ariſing out of one neck. From hence it is ſaid of ſevere actions, to be cut with a* Tenedian *hatchet.* For which exemplary juſtice thoſe of *Tenedos*, as it is probable, deified king *Tenes.* [c] *Tully* writes, *Tenedii Tenem [Deum appellant]:* And again, *Tenem apud Tenedios putant eſſe ſanctiſſimum Deum, ac eorum urbem condidiſſe.* Where his name is truer writ than in *Heraclides:* for the coin hath only a ſingle *N*, and ſo hath [d] *Euſtathius.*

The money of *Chios*, as *Julius Pollux* witneſſes, had the effigies, or reſemblance of *Homer*; no doubt in honour of his memory; though [e] *Herodotus* relates, that whilſt he was living he found at firſt but cold entertainment in that iſland. *Theſeus* the tenth king of the *Athenians* ſigned his money with the impreſs of an ox: hence that proverb, Βῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβηκεν. This, as [f] *Julius Pollux* teſtifies, was the δίδραχμον: Who farther adds, Τὸ δ' παλαιὸν τ̃το ἦν Ἀθηναίοις νόμισμα, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο βῦς ὅτι βῦν εἶχεν ἐπιπεπωμένον. εἰδέναι δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον νομίζουσιν εἰπόντα, ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεάβοιον, καὶ μὴν κἂν τοῖς Δρακοντ& νόμοις ἔστιν ἐπιτείνειν δεκάβοιον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δηλίας θεωρίᾳ τ̃ κήρυκα κηρύττειν φασὶν ὁπότε δωρεάν τινι ἐδίδοτο, ὅτι δοθήσον& ἀνὶ ἑκάστου βόες, καὶ δίδοσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον βῦν δύο δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς. *This was an ancient coin amongſt the* Athenians, *and was called* βῦς, *becauſe it had the figure of an ox inſtamped. They imagine that* Homer *knew this, when he ſaid, nine hecatombs of oxen; and alſo in the laws of* Draco, *it is to pay the mulct of ten oxen. And they ſay, that at the ſolemn ſhew at* Delos, *the crier, when any gift is to be given, cries ſo many oxen ſhall be given, and for every ox ſo many* Attick didrachmes *are given.* The ſame [g] author writes, that the *Attick tetradrachme* was ſtamped with the face of *Minerva*; and he might have added, with the *noctua* on the reverſe. This [h] *Eubulus* pleaſantly calls Παλλάδ& πῶλον, *Minervæ pullum.* The δίωβολον had the face of *Jupiter*, it may be it is an error in *Pollux* for *Pallas*, and on the other ſide the *noctua.* The τέτρώβολον had on the one ſide *Jupiter*, according to [i] *Pollux*, (I conceive it to be a miſtake for *Pallas*, or *Minerva*) on the other ſide two *noctuæ*, becauſe it was the double to the διώβολον. From the *diobolum*, [k] *Plautus* uſes the term *diobolaris ſervorum ſordidulorum, ſcorta diobolaria*, which [l] *Feſtus* interprets thus, *meretrices diobolares appellatas, ex eo quod duobus obolis ducerentur.* To which I may adjoin, out of ſuch ancient coins as I have ſeen, that the *triobolum* (whence that phraſe of [m] *Plautus, homo trioboli*, and of the *Greeks*, ἄξι& τριωβόλου) which by [n] *Pollux* is called the ἡμίδραχμον, had the face of *Pallas* on the one ſide, and the *noctua* on the other; and ſo likewiſe had the *obolus* and *drachma* of ſuch as I peruſed; and all of them on the reverſe the inſcription ΑΘΕ. And I think I may ſafely add, that on ſuch coins as we find the *noctua*, with a deep relevy, we may conclude them to be *Athenian* coins. [o] *Plutarch* is of the ſame opinion in the life of *Lyſander*, where he diſcourſes of *Gylippus*, a commander as famous for defeating the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, as infamous for ſtealing the ſilver conſigned to him by *Lyſander*, for the city *Sparta. When he arrived*, ſaith *Plutarch*, *at* Sparta, *he hid the ſilver that he had ſtollen, under the tiles of his houſe, and delivered into the hands of the* Ephori *the bags, ſhewing them the ſeals* [entire:] *which being opened, and the money told, they found the ſums to diſagree from the labels; wherewith being troubled, a ſervant of* Gylippus, *in obſcure terms, intimated to them, That under the tiles of his maſter's houſe, there were hid many* noctuæ, or owls; ὧν γὰρ (ὡς ἔοικε) τὸ χάραγμα τ̃ πάλαι τότε νομίσμα& Διὰ τὰς Ἀθηναίας γλαῦκας. *For the greateſt part (as it ſeems) of the money then had the ſtamp of the* noctua, *by reaſon of the* Athenians: who not long before, as *Thucydides*, and the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times ſhew, were the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing ſtate amongſt the *Grecians.*

Having therefore had the opportunity to have bought, or elſe the favour to have weigh'd many fair and perfect *tetradrachmes*, found at remote places, with the *Pallas galeata* on the one ſide, and the *noctua*, with the inſcription ΑΘΕ on the reverſe, where E being placed for H, proves the antiquity of them. (For the *Atticks* at the firſt uſed not H, but only E, for both E and H) I find by the beſt of theſe (to re-

[b] Heraclides περὶ πολιτειῶν. [c] Cicer. l. 3. de naturâ deorum. [d] Euſtathii παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ῥαψῳδ. [e] Herodot. in vita Homeri. [f] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [g] Ibid. [h] In anchiſe. [i] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [k] Plautus in Pœnulo. [l] Sextus Pompeius Feſtus de verb. ſignif. [m] Plautus in Pœnulo. [n] Jul. Poll. 9. c. 6. [o] Plutarchus in Lyſandro.

aſſume

aſſume what I ſaid before) that the *Attick tetradrachme* is two hundred ſixty eight grains, and the *drachme* is ſixty ſeven of our *Troy*, or *Engliſh* ſtandard. Which may farther be confirmed by an *Attick drachme* of mine own, found in the *Black Sea*, with this inſcription, ΑΘΕ ΤΙΝΑΡΝΙΚΑ ΑΡΧΕ; and by a [o] τεμιώβολον, or *ſemidrachme*, bought by me at *Alexandria*; that weighing near ſixty ſix grains, and this thirty and better: the face of *Minerva*, either by uſe or time, being a little diminiſhed in both; but yet ſo little, that they cannot have loſt above two or three grains of their primitive weight. And as this ſingle *Attick drachme* of mine is much to be valued by antiquaries for the weight, and therefore was deſired by the learned *Peireſkius:* So is the inſcription, TINAPNIKA APXE, no leſs worth conſideration, for the explication of a place in [p] *Livy*; who deſcribing the naval triumph of *L. Æmilius*, writes thus: *Pecunia tranſlata nequaquam tanta pro ſpecie regii triumphi. Tetracina Attica* CCXXXIII *millia. Ciſtophori* CCCXXII *mil.* Where [q] *Budæus*, and *Rhodiginus*, inſtead of *tetracina*, read *tetradrachma. Tetracinum enim quid ſit, nemo ut arbitror novit*, ſaith *Budæus*. I would rather read it, as the coin doth, *Tinarnika*; this having almoſt the ſame letters with *tetracina*, which by the ſcribes, I ſuppoſe, have been inverted. Neither is there any reaſon, why *Livy* might not as well mention in this triumph, *Attica tinarnica*, as *tetradrachma*; theſe being the fourth part of the *tetradrachme*, and therefore better agreeing with his deſcription: *Pecunia tranſlata nequaquam tanta pro ſpecie regii triumphi:* and alſo better agreeing with the *ciſtophori* he here mentions: a ſort of coin about half of theſe *Attica tinarnica*, whereas the *tetradrachma* were eight times as great. For [r] *Feſtus* expreſſing the *talentum Euboicum*, renders it by 7500 *ciſtophori*, and by 4000 *denarii*, that is CIↃ *cetradrachmes. Euboicum talentum nummo Græco ſeptem millium & quingentorum ciſtophorum eſt: noſtro quatuor millium denariorum.*

And as theſe teſtimonies above alledged are beyond all exceptions, ſo the *gold coins of the* Grecians, which I have examined, do moſt evidently prove this proportion aſſigned to the *Attick drachme*. Which that we may the better underſtand, we are to obſerve what proportion the valuation of the gold of thoſe times had to the ſilver; and next, what proportion it had in reſpect of weight. GREAVES

For the firſt, [t] *Julius Pollux*, in very perſpicuous terms, puts it down: Τὸ ᾗ χρυσίον, ὅτι τοῦ ἀργυρίου δεκαπλάσιον. ἦν σαφῶς ἂν τις ἐκ τῶ Μενάνδρου παρακαταθήκης μάθη. *That the gold was in the tenfold proportion to the ſilver, one may evidently learn out of* Menander's paracatathece. [u] The *ſcholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes* implies as much: Εἰσὶ μὲν χρυσοῖ σαλῆρες οἱ Δαρεικοί· ἐδύναντο ᾗ ἕνας & αὐτῶν, ὅπερ ἡ μνᾶ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὀνομαζόμενον χρυσοῦς, οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν. Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύναντ ᾗ Δαρεικὸν δεκάχμους ἀργυρίου εἴκοσιν· ὡς τοὺς πέντε Δαρεικοὺς δύναντ μνᾶν ἀργυρίου. *The* daricks *are golden* ſtaters, *each of them is worth as much as that which is named by the* Atticks *the* χρυσοῦς. *They are called ſo not from* Darius *the father of* Xerxes, *but from another king more ancient than he. Some ſay that the* darick *is valued at* XX drachms *of ſilver, ſo that* V daricks *are worth a* mina *of ſilver.* For the *Attick* μνᾶ, or *mina*, containeth an hundred *drachmes* in weight, as it is very clear out of [w] *Pliny*, [x] *Pollux*, and others. *Mina* (ſaith *Pliny*) *quam noſtri minam vocant, pendet drachmas Atticas centum.* And *Pollux*, Ἡ μνᾶ ᾗ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἑκατὸν εἶχεν δεκάχμους Ἀττικάς: *The* mina *with the* Athenians *containeth an hundred* Attick drachmes, and the Χρυσοῦς Δαρεικὸς, or Σταλὴρ Χρυσοῦς of *Darius*, conſiſting of two *drachmes* in weight, as we ſhall preſently prove, it will neceſſarily follow, that the proportion of the δεκάχμου Χρυσίου, was to the δεκάχμου ἀργυρίου, *in decuplâ ratione:* and therefore, that five *daricks*, or ten *drachmes* of gold, were equal in valuation to an hundred *drachmes* in ſilver, that is, to the μνᾶ. The ſame proportion may be collected out of [y] *Polybius*, when the *Romans* upon a ſum of money to be received, concluded a peace with the *Ætolians*, Ἀντὶ τρίτου μέρους τοῦ ἀργυρίου χρυσίου, χρύσιον ἐὰν βούλωνται διδόντες ᾗ δέκα μνῶν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου μνᾶν. Which words [z] *Livy* renders thus: *Pro argento ſi aurum dare mallent, dare convenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret.* This being granted, as certainly of neceſſity it muſt, I would correct that place of [a] *Heſychius* concerning the δεκάχμου χρυσίου, and read it thus: Δεκάχμου ᾗ χρυσίου ὁλκὴ νομίσματος εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον δεκάχμων ι', and not διδεκάχμων ι'. as it is in the printed copies. And by

[o] I have ſince peruſed a fair *Athenian* Τριώβολον, of my very worthy and learned friend, *John Marſham*, Eſq; weighing completely thirty three grains *Engliſh*. As alſo another of ſir *Tho. Roe*'s, together with an Ὀβολὸς of his, weighing eleven grains. [p] Livius, l. 37. [q] Bud. l. 2. de aſſe. Rhodigin. lect. antiq. l. 10. c. 2. [r] Sextus Pompeius Feſtus de verb. ſignif. [t] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 3. [u] Scholiaſtes Ariſtophanis. [w] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34. [x] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 3. [y] Polybii ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρεσβείων, c. 28. Ex Biblioth. Fulvii Urſini. Antv. 1582. [z] Livius, l. 31. Ἀντὶ ᾗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κ' δραχμῶν τὸ χρυσοῦν φιλάτης ᾗ νόμισμα. Zonaras. [a] Heſychius in voce δραχμή.

GREAVES this of *Heſychius* I would ſupply the defect of [b] *Suidas, who writes*: Δραχμὴ ἡ ὁλκὴ νομίσματος εἰς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ί. and make it thus, Δραχμὴ ἡ χρυσίου ὁλκὴ νομίσματος εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγου δραχμὰς ί. For without the addition of χρυσίου, and λόγου, there is no ſenſe: and I believe *Suidas* took theſe very words out of *Heſychius*.

Having thus found the proportion that the δραχμὴ χρυσίου had to the ſilver, our next enquiry is, how many of the *drachmes* in weight the χρυσοῦς, or χρυσοῦς ſταλὴρ, or *aureus* contained. [c] *Julius Pollux* gives us in this particular the beſt, and moſt poſitive information of any, ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦς ſταλὴρ δύο εἶχε δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς. *The golden* ſtater [or aureus,] *contains two* Attick drachmes. The ſame is confirmed by [d] *Heſychius*: Πολέμαρχος φησὶ δυνάσθαι τὸ χρυσοῦν πρὸς τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς δραχμὰς δύο· ἢ ἡ τοῦ χρυσοῦ δραχμὴ νομίσματος ἀργυρίου, δραχμὰς δέκα. Polemarchus *ſays, that the* aureus *amongſt the* Athenians *contains two* drachmes, *and that the* drachme *of gold is worth ten* drachmes *of ſilver*. And to this of *Pollux* and *Heſychius*, all the *aurei* of the ancient *Grecians*, which have paſſed through my hands, do very well correſpond. Now theſe *aurei*, as they had ſeveral impreſſes upon them, ſo had they ſeveral names, by which they are diſtinguiſhed. For they were either Ἀττικοὶ, or Δαρεικοὶ, or Φιλίππειοι, or Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, or the like; all which we may prove by *Xenophon*, [e] *Harpocratio*, the *ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes*, and others, to have been equal unto two *Attick drachmes*, and therefore reſpectively equal to one another. Neither is this much to be wondered at, that the *Grecians* and *Perſians*, though at enmity amongſt themſelves, yet ſhould agree in the *aurei*; ſeeing that in our times the *Venetian chequeen*, the *Barbary ducat*, the *Ægyptian* and *Turkiſh ſherif*, are almoſt all of the ſame pureneſs in reſpect of the gold, and not differing above a grain in the weight. Which difference we may alſo allow to thoſe of the ancients, without any prejudice to our enquiry. Concerning theſe *aurei*, or golden *ſtaters*, the obſervation of [f] *Julius Pollux* is worth our conſideration: Καὶ οἱ μὲν Δαρεικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ſτατῆρες, οἱ δὲ Φιλίππειοι οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, χρυσοῖ πάντες ὄντες, καὶ εἰ μὲν χρυσοῦς εἴποις προσανέχει ὁ ſταλὴρ, εἰ δὲ ſταλὴρ εἴποις ἐ πάντως ὁ χρυσοῦς. *Of the* ſtaters *ſome were denominated from* Darius, *ſome from* Philip, *ſome from* Alexander, *and were all of gold. And when you ſay the* aureus, *the* ſtater *is underſtood; but if you ſay the* ſtater, *the* aureus *is not always meant*. And this is moſt true; for the χρυσοῦς, or *aureus*, (I ſpeak not here of the *aureus Romanus*, this being ſomewhat leſs than theſe mentioned by *Pollux*) did always imply the ſταλὴρ, but the ſταλὴρ did not always infer the *aureus*: the *ſtater* being more general, ſignifying as well the *argenteus*, as the *aureus*, and that was double to this; the *ſtater argenteus* being four *drachmes*, as we proved before, and therefore the ſame with the *tetradrachme*, and the *aureus* two *drachmes*, and therefore equal in weight to the *didrachme*. Wherefore every *aureus* was rightly called a *ſtater*, but every *ſtater* could not rightly be called an *aureus*.

From theſe *aurei* then, or χρυσοῖ ſταλῆρες, we may deduce the ſilver *Attick drachme*, if we either had the Δαρεικοὶ, ſome of which to this day are found in *Perſia*, or if we had the Φιλίππειοι, or the Ἀλεξάνδρειοι. To paſs by the Δαρεικοὶ, becauſe I have not peruſed any of them, and to ſpeak only of the Φιλίππειοι and Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, of which there are many extant.

Concerning the Φιλίππειοι [g] *Snellius* writes thus: *Philippi nummum unicum, & Alexandri Macedonum, ſolertiſſimus veterum nummorum æſtimator Nicolaus Rockoxius poſſidet, utrumque eodem pondere granorum* 179. Now CLXXIX grains of gold in *Holland*, ſuch as *Snellius* uſed, are anſwerable to an hundred thirty four grains *Engliſh* and an half. Near which proportion I have obſerved two others, with the inſcription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, excepting only a grain or two.

As for the Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, I find the weight of one of the faireſt for impreſſion, and character, I think, in the world, which I bought at *Alexandria*, with the image and inſcription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, to be exactly of *Engliſh* grains 133½, and another at *Conſtantinople* 133, and in the ſame proportion ſeveral others. With which comparing one of mine honoured and learned friend, *John Marſham*, Eſq; I find his a grain defective: and weighing ſince ſome others, out of that choice and rare Κειμήλιον of ancient coins, collected by the noble ſir *Simonds D'Ewes*, knight baronet, I obſerved two of his to exceed 133 grains by half a grain.

Wherefore I may conclude (allowing only half a grain for ſo much wanting by time, or by the mint) from the *aureus* being double to the *Attick drachme*, that it hath been rightly aſſigned by me to be LXVII grains: and from this with thoſe limitations above mentioned, I may conclude the *denarius conſularis* (which is our princi-

[b] Suidas in voce δραχμή. [c] Jul. Poll. l. 4. c. 24. [d] Heſychius in voce χρυσοῦς.
[e] Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύνασθαι τὸ Δαρεικὸν ἀργυρᾶς δραχμὰς κ' (as *Joſ. Scaliger* rightly corrected the printed copies, which render it ἡ or ὀκτὼ) ὡς τοὺς πάντας Δαρεικοὺς δύνασθαι μνᾶν ἀργυρίου. Harpocr. Τριχίλιοι Δαρεικοὶ Xenophonti ſunt δέκα τάλαντα. Talentum autem 600 drachmæ. Ergo Δαρεικὸς ſunt 20 drachmæ. Scal. de re num.
[f] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6. [g] Snellius de re nummaria.

pal

pal enquiry) ſeeing [h] *Galen*, *l.* 8. *c.* 3. *de compoſitione medicam.* According to the *Latin* manner of diviſion, ſpeaking of an antidote prescribed by *Aſclepiades*, whereof the *doſis* was to be one *drachme*, or *denarius*, writes thus: Ἡγοῦμαι δ' λέγειν αὐτὸν δραχμὴν ἀργυρᾶν, ἣ δὲ ἕτω χαλκοῦν ἅπασι τοῖς νεωτέροις ἰατροῖς εἴθισ ὀνομάζειν. ἄλλο δ' νοεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἡ τῆ πράγματος φύσις ἀναίκάζει. πρόδηλον δ' ὅτι δραχμὴν λέγομεν νυν ἐκ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅπαντες, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι δηνάριον ὀνομάζουσιν. *I ſuppoſe, that he means the ſilver drachme, for ſo all the later phyſicians are wont to call it; neither will the nature of the thing ſuffer us to underſtand any other. And it is manifeſt, that in ſuch things as we all now name the* drachme, *the* Romans *name the* denarius.

The *denarius* alſo, as we proved before out of *Philo*, *Joſephus*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*, may be inferred by the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* ſhekel: the ſhekel, by the joint teſtimony of all of them, being equal in valuation to the *Attick ſtater Argenteus*, or *tetradrachme*, and the *Attick tetradrachme*, as we have ſhewed, to four *denarii conſulares:* If therefore an *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* ſhekel in ſilver, fair, and not impaired, were found, we might by this as well diſcover the *denarius*, as by the *tetradrachme*, or the *aureus*. And here I muſt confeſs I have not ſeen ſo many perfect and entire, with the *Samaritan* characters, which certainly are the beſt and trueſt, (for thoſe with the later characters, invented, as ſome ſuppoſe, by *Eſdras*, are moſt of them counterfeit, as to give my ſelf ſatisfaction. For tho' I have peruſed that of *Arias Montanus*, now in the univerſity of *Oxford*, which he deſcribes in his tract *De Siclo*, and from whence he deduces the proportion of the *Hebrew* ſhekel; yet to ſpeak the truth, there is no truſt to be given to it: Not but that the coin is very ancient, and the inſcription upon it in *Samaritan* characters well made; but the ſides of it have been ſo filed away, that it hath very much loſt of the true weight: For I find it to be ſcarce the weight of twenty-pence of our *Engliſh* ſtandard. Whereas *Montanus*, if he made his obſervation exactly, equals it to almoſt four *Spaniſh rials*, or to four *Roman julio's*; both which exceed two of our *Engliſh* ſhillings. So that till ſuch time as I may procure out of the eaſt, (whither I have often ſent) ſome perfect ſhekels, I muſt be content to take up the relations of others. And here I ſhall begin with *Moſes Nehemani Gerundenſis*, a jew, a learned expoſitor of the *Pentateuch*; who, as *Arias Montanus* tells us, flouriſhed in *Catalonia* above 400 years ſince. His words, as *Montanus* hath delivered them in his tract *de ſiclo*, are theſe: [i] *In comment. Exod.* xxxix. *Multis verbis differens ſignificabat ſe non facile ad Salomonis Jarrhæi, qui ante illum in Gallià ſcripſerat, ſententiam de ſiclo accedere; cum Salomon affirmaſſet, Siclum eſſe dimidiam argenti unciam. Poſtea jam abſoluto in omnem legem commentariorum opere, idem Moſes Gerundenſis capite ad eam rem propriè addito, ſicli æſtimationem à Salomone illo indicatam, re ipſâ doctus, ingenuè, & apertè, ut viros doctos, & veri inveniendi, atque docendi cupidos decet, comprobavit. Narrat autem ſe eo anno, quo illa ſcriberet, in Palæſtinam ex Hiſpaniâ ſacrorum locorum viſendi cauſa navi delatum Acconam, quam nunc Jachan vocant, deveniſſe; ibidemque ſibi ab incolis oſtenſum fuiſſe nummum argenteum antiquiſſimum, expreſſis tamen ſignis & literis conſpicuum; in cujus altero latere forma eſſet vaſculi illius, quod manna plenum in ſacra arca ad ſæculorum monumentum, Dei juſſu, & Moſis procuratione fuerat repoſitum: Et in altero ramus ille admirabilis, quem in faſciculum virgularum plurimarum Aaronis nomine illatum (cùm illius ſacerdotali dignitati ab æmulis quibuſdam obtrectaretur) poſtera die populus omnis florentem, amygdaláque explicantem vidit; inſcriptiones etiam fuiſſe in eodem nummo Samaritanis characteribus, quæ olim communes totius Iſraelis literæ fuerant, ante diſceſſionem decem tribuum à duabus, lingua planè Hebraica, quarum exemplum ex altera parte erat SEKEL ISRAEL, quod Latinè ſonat ſiclus Iſraelis: Ex altera verò JERUSALEM KEDESSAH, hoc eſt Jeruſalem ſancta: Qui nummus antiquitatem cùm primis magnam probabat, utpote cujus nomine Iſraelis, eo tempore quo omnes* XII *tribus communi concordia Iſraelis nomen obtinebant; quoque Hieroſolyma ipſis omnibus regia urbs, ſanctaque erat; eademque communis omnibus & religionis, & publicæ rei, & monetæ, atque literarum ratio, quæ poſtea diſceſſione facta, alia atque alia utrique parti fuit. Namque Judæi, ut omnes ferè ſcriptores aſſerunt, ne cum ſchiſmaticis Iſraelitis ullo ſacrorum uſu communicarent, eam literarum formam, quæ nunc etiam in uſu eſt, hoc eſt quadratam, mutatis valde alterius prioris figuris, adinvenêre. Affirmat præterea idem Gerundenſis, nummum illum, qui ſiclus inſcribebatur, ſibi in ſtatera penſum dimidiæ argenti unciæ pondus reddidiſſe, oſtenſam quoque alteram monetam dimidiato pondere minorem, iiſdem omnino vaſis & rami figuris quæ tamen non SEKEL, ſed HASZI SEKEL, hoc eſt dimidius ſiclus diceretur, probare itaq; ſibi vel maximè Salomonis Jarrhæi de ſicli pondere, & valore, ſententiam.* Thus

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[h] Galenus, l. 8. de compoſit medicam. Thubal Kain, ſive de menſuris.

[i] Arias Montanus de Siclo, in libro qui inſcribitur

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far *Gerundenſis:* who if he had expreſſed with what half ounce he had compared his ſhekel, or if *Montanus* had done it for him, they had given the judicious reader better ſatisfaction. But this, I ſuppoſe, by a probable conjecture, may be ſupplied, in ſaying, that he living in *Catalonia*, weighed it with the *Catalonian*, or *Spaniſh* half ounce; which [k] *Villalpandus*, and [l] *Ciaconius*, both of them *Spaniards*, make equal to the half ounce now uſed at *Rome*; that is, to two ſhillings three pence farthing, *q.* of our money. This conjecture of mine will exceeding well confirm thoſe many obſervations of *Villalpandus*, a man in this kind very curious, which he made of ſeveral ancient ſhekels in ſilver, who thus writes: [m] *Igitur ante aliquot annos appendimus ſiclum unum apud F. Urſinum & poſtmodum eos omnes, quos præcedenti capite percenſuimus, atque comperimus ſingulos argenti ſiclos ex æquo ſemunciæ Romanæ antiquæ reſpondere; ita ut ne minimum quidem hordei aut frumenti granulum, huic, vel illi lanci addi potuerit, quin in eam examen propenderet. Nec mirum cuiquam videri debet, antiquiſſimos nummos ſuo priſtino ponderi nunc reſpondere, neque ullam argenti partem vetuſtate conſumptam tot ſæculis fuiſſe. Nam ſingulari Dei beneficio nobis contigit, tot integros appendere potuiſſe ſiclos. Id quod nummi ipſi integri vetuſtatem maximè præ ſe ferentes, literæ expreſſæ, extantésque, argenti color, atque alia id genus multa facile probant.* With theſe obſervations of *Villalpandus*, I find the weight of a very fair *Samaritan* ſhekel, of *the truly noble and learned Mr.* Selden, to agree: To whom I ſtand obliged for this favour as he doth for the coin, *to the honourable antiquary, Sir* Robert Cotton. To theſe teſtimonies, tho' (it may be) ſufficient of themſelves, I ſhall add [n] one more, for farther illuſtration of the weight of the *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan* ſhekel, and that is of an ancient, and fair one, in ſilver, amongſt his majeſty's coins, peruſed by *the moſt reverend primate of* Ireland, *a man of exquiſite learning and judgment*, who hath often aſſured me, that it weighs two ſhillings five pence of the *Engliſh* ſtandard; which proportion, excepting ſome few grains, in which it doth exceed, does well correſpond with thoſe of *Villalpandus*. And this may farther be confirmed out of the *Talmud*, [o] כל כסף האמורה בתורה כסף צורי ושל דברו חכ כסף מדינה *Argentum omne cujus in lege fit mentio, intelligitur argentum Tyrium (ponderis & bonitatis ut in urbe Tyri:* As [p] *Schlinder* interprets it) *ſed Rabbinorum argentum intelligitur argentum commune provinciale.* Taking therefore the *ſilver-money of* Judea, as the *Talmud* doth, to be equal to the *Tyrian*, and that of *Carthage* to be equal to that of *Tyre:* As it is very probable that the *Carthaginians*, being a plantation of the *Tyrians*, might obſerve their proportions in coins, as well as their cuſtoms in religion, we may by theſe diſcover the ſhekel to be much about the ſame weight that hath been aſſigned: For [q] *Ant. Auguſtinus*, deſcribing in his dialogues the weight of two fair *Carthaginian* coins in ſilver, writes, *that they are each of them ſomewhat more than four drachms:* that is, as he elſewhere explains himſelf, a little more than half the *Roman* ounce. If therefore we ſhall adhere to the obſervation of *Gerundenſis*, made four hundred years ſince, or to theſe later of *Villalpandus*, and others; or to this conjecture of mine, the *Hebrew* ſhekel, and half the preſent *Roman* ounce, are either both the ſame, or elſe very near in proportion.

And this may eaſily be granted; but if it be, how will four *denarii conſulares*, four *Attick drachmes*, and the *Hebrew ſhekel*, be reciprocally equal one to another, as they ſhould be by thoſe ſeveral teſtimonies before alledged? Whereas, by many hundred *denarii conſulares*, tried by an exact ballance, I find the beſt of theſe to contain LXII grains *Engliſh*, and the *Attick drachme* LXVII. And the fourth part of the *ſhekel* to be but LVI grains $\frac{3}{4}$, if we admit of *Gerundenſis*, and *Villalpandus*'s obſervations. Which notwithſtanding, according to *Philo*, *Joſephus*, St. *Hierom*, *Epiphanius*, and *Heſychius*, ſhould be equal to the *Attick drachme*; and the *Attick drachme*, by the teſtimonies of the ancients, ſhould be likewiſe equal to the *denarius*. For the ſolution of this objection I anſwer: Firſt, That the *denarius*, and *Attick drachme*, being diſtinct coins of different ſtates, and not much unequal in the true weight, it is no wonder, eſpecially in *Italy*, and in the *Roman* dominions, that they ſhould paſs one for another: no more than that the *Spaniſh rials*, in our ſea-towns in *England*, ſhould paſs for teſtars; or the quarters of the dollar be exchanged for our ſhillings: whereas the *rial* in the intrinſical valuation, is better than our teſtar by four grains, and ſomewhat more; and the quarter of the dollar is better than our ſhilling by more than eight grains, or a penny; but becauſe they

[k] *Eædem omnino ſunt unciæ, quibus olim Romani Hiſpanique utuntur*, &c. Villalp. de appar urb. ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 20.
[l] Ciaconius de ponderibus, pag. 45.
[m] Villalpan. de app. urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 5. diſp. 4. c. 28.
[n] We may alſo inſert the obſervation of *Anton. Auguſt. dialogo* 2. *Ne ho uno [ſiclo] che è d' argento, & è di peſo di quattro dramme conforme à quello che dice San Girolamo ſopra Ezechielle:* Where by four drachms he means half the *Roman* ounce.
[o] Kidduſhf. 11.
[p] Schindlerus in Pentaglotto.
[q] Ant. Auguſt. Dialog. 6.

want

want the valuation, character, and impreſſion of our princes, which I call the *extrinſick of coins*; therefore doth the *Spaniſh* money fall from its true value with us, and ſo would ours do in *Spain*. By the ſame analogy muſt we conceive the *Attick drachmes*, tho' in the intrinſick they were ſomewhat better worth than the *denarius*, yet for want of the extrinſick, to have loſt in *Italy*, and thereby to have become equal in valuation to the *denarius*. And this ſeems to be implied by [r] *Voluſius Metianus: Victoriatus enim nunc tantundem valet, quantum quinarius olim. At peregrinus nummus loco mercis, ut nunc tetradrachmum, & drachma habebatur.* Which words of his *loco mercis*, plainly ſhew they made ſome gain of the *tetradrachmum*, and *drachma:* As our merchants, and goldſmiths do of the *Spaniſh rials*, and quarters of a dollar. Which they could not do, if they were preciſely equal, but muſt rather be loſers in the melting or new coining of them. And therefore all [s] modern writers that have treated of this argument, ſome of them making the *drachma* leſs than the *denarius*, others equal, but none greater, have been deceived by a double paralogiſm, in ſtanding too nicely upon the bare words of the ancients, without carefully examining the things themſelves. Firſt, In making the *denarius*, and *Attick drachme* preciſely equal, becauſe all ancient authors generally expreſs the *Attick drachme* by the *denarius*, or the *denarius* by the *drachme*; either becauſe in ordinary commerce, and in vulgar eſtimation, they paſſed one for another, in the *Roman* ſtate; or elſe if any were ſo curious to obſerve their difference, as ſurely the Κολλυβισαὶ were, yet by reaſon of their nearneſs, and to avoid fractions, and having no other names of coins that were preciſely equal, whereby to render them, therefore all *Greek* and *Latin* authors, mutually uſed one for the other. And, ſecondly, Becauſe ſome writers, (as *Dioſcorides* and *Cleopatra*) affirm, that the *Roman* ounce contained eight *drachmes*, therefore modern authors infer, that the *denarius*, being equal to the *drachme*, and eight *drachmes* being in the *Roman* ounce (as ſo many were in the *Attick*) that therefore there are eight *denarii* in the *Roman*, and conſequently that the *Roman* and *Attick* ounces are equal. Whereas *Celſus*, *Scribonius Largus*, and *Pliny*, as we ſhewed before, expreſly write, that the *Roman* ounce contained in their time, which was after *Dioſcorides*, ſeven *denarii*. And being natural *Romans*, and purpoſely mentioning the proportion of the *denarius* to the ounce, thereby the better to regulate their *doſes* in phyſick, it is not probable but they muſt better have known it than the *Grecians*. Beſides, who with any certainty can collect out of theſe imperfect fragments of *Dioſcorides* and *Cleopatra* (for thoſe tracts of theirs, *de ponderibus* are no better) whether at the firſt they wrote in that manner, as they are now printed? Or if they did, why might not they endeavour to introduce into the *Roman* ounce, in imitation of the *Attick*, that manner of diviſion, which is now generally received in our times, of making the ounce, of what kind ſoever it be, to contain eight *drachmes*. And ſurely this of eight being a *compound number*, as arithmeticians uſe to ſpeak, was much fitter than ſeven, uſed by the *Romans*, which being *a prime number*, is therefore incapable of any other diviſion. And then for to conclude, that becauſe the *Attick* ounce had eight *drachmes*, and the *Roman* as many, that therefore their ounces are equal, is all one as to conclude, that the *Paris* and *Engliſh* ounces are equal, becauſe the *French* as well as we (and ſo do all phyſicians of all countries that I know) divide their ounce by eight *drachmes*. And thus, I ſuppoſe, I have ſufficiently anſwered the firſt part of the objection, concerning the *denarius*, and the *Attick drachme:* that if we reſpect the vulgar and popular eſtimation, in which ſenſe claſſical authors underſtood them (for they could not well otherwiſe render them, than as they were current) ſo were they equal; but if we reſpect the intrinſical valuation, which depends upon the weight, eſpecially when coins are of a like fineneſs, ſo were they unequal: the *Attic drachme* being, of our money, eight pence farthing *q.* and the *denarius conſularis* ſeven pence half-peny farthing; allowing for the ſtandard [t] VIII *Engliſh* grains to the ſilver peny.

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[r] *Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtributione.* Theſe words of *Metianus* I find in a *MS* of *Temporarius*, thus corrected: *Victoriatus enim nunc tantundem valet quantum quinarius. Olim ut peregrinus nummus loco mercis, ut nunc tetradrachmum, & drachma habebatur.* Whether it be by conjecture, or that he found it in ſome ancient *MS.* I know not, but the emendation I cannot but approve.

[s] *Budæus drachmam putat ejuſdem ponderis eſſe cum denario: Onuphrius vero inter utrumque ſtatuit rationem ſeſquitertiam, Agricoli ſeſquiſeptimam, ut Panvinio tres denarii quatuor drachmas, Agricolæ verò ſeptem denarii octo drachmas efficiant. Capel de pond. & nummis, l.* I. LXXXIV *denarii, quæ eſt libra Romana, ſunt æquales* XCVI *drachmis, quæ eſt libra Italica, & medica.* Scal. de re nummaria.

[t] Theſe proportions, with thoſe before, and thoſe which follow, are taken from the *Engliſh* ſtandard at five ſhillings the ounce (as it was formerly coined) to avoid fractions: that is, eight grains to the ſilver penny: whereas in theſe times it is five ſhillings, two pence. Not that the ounce is encreaſed, for this is always conſtant and fixed; but that for reaſons of ſtate, our ſilver coins are diminiſhed, and conſequently contain fewer grains. And this diminution muſt neceſſarily be, as often as other nations, with whom we have commerce, rebate in the proportions of their coins; or elſe we muſt be content to be loſers.

Neither

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As for the *denarius aureus*, a name I think not known to the ancients, which *Salmaſius* and others collect out of [x] *Livy*, *De fœdere Ætolico. Pro argento ſi aurum dare mallent, dare convenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret.* I ſee no ſolid foundation for that opinion; all that can be collected thence is, that the gold then was *in decupla ratione* to the ſilver, which I have proved before. And whereas [y] *Plautus* hath his *denaria Philippea*,

Nummi octingenti aurei in marſupio inſuerunt,
Præterea centum denaria Philippea.

This is a metaphorical or comical expreſſion of him, and no certain ſort of coin; which he pleaſantly calls *denarii*, becauſe half the χρυσοῖ Φιλίππιοι were equal in weight to the *drachma*, and ſo alſo was the *Roman denarius* ſuppoſed to be.

Nor are we to take the κῆνσος, which is thrice mentioned by St. *Matthew*, and once by St. *Mark*, for the *denarius*, as ſome have done: no, nor for any other ſort of coin: for it is preciſely the *Latin* word *cenſus*; that is, ὁ φόρος, *tributum*, and ſo it is rendered by St. *Luke*, ἔξεστι Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι, ἢ οὔ; where St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* have it, ἔξεστι δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὔ; tho' *Heſychius* and *Moſcopulus*, both upon an error, interpret it a ſort of coin. *Heſychius*, κήνσος εἶδος νομίσματος δηκεφάλαιον, or νομίσματος δηκεφαλαίου, as M. *Caſaubone* corrects it: and *Moſcopulus*, κῆνσος νόμισμα δραχμῆς ἰσοτάσιον, *the* cenſus *is a coin equal in weight to the* drachme: that is, in the notion of the *Greeks*, equal to the *denarius*. The error of theſe two *Greek* grammarians, is a miſunderſtanding the propriety of the *Latin* word *cenſus:* and that occaſioned them to take κῆνσος, and νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου, for the ſame. But the evangeliſt *Matthew* puts a manifeſt difference between κῆνσος *tributum*, and νόμισμα, the money that was paid for tribute. Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου, writes St. *Matthew*, *Shew me the money of the tribute:* or as our new tranſlation renders it, *Shew me the tribute-money.* And the three evangeliſts, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, immediately after expreſly term this money the δηνάριον. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον: *and they brought unto him a penny.* Which being a *Roman* coin, and current amongſt the *Jews*, being then in ſubjection to the *Romans*, it is more than probable that they paid their tribute to *Cæſar*, in the ſame ſpecies of money that was uſed by *Cæſar*; and not with any new or peculiar ſort of coin, according to *Baronius* (which M. *Caſaubone* hath juſtly

[u] *G. Agricolæ reſponſio ad Alciatum de pond. & menſuris. Argentei Romanorum denarii triplices ſunt: Graves, qui pendunt drachmam Atticam cum dimidia: Mediocres, qui drachmam & ſeptimam ejus partem: Leves, qui plerunque drachmam.*

[w] If this anſwer be not ſatisfactory, we may ſay, as ſome have done, that *Livy*, *Fannius*, and the *ſcholiaſt of Nicander*, ſpeak of the *denarii* of the former conſuls immediately ſucceeding *Q. Fabius.* For there being but ſix of thoſe in the ounce, (as they ſuppoſe) the *denarius* will be greater than the *drachma*, as it will be leſs when ſeven were coined, under the later conſuls, which is our aſſertion.

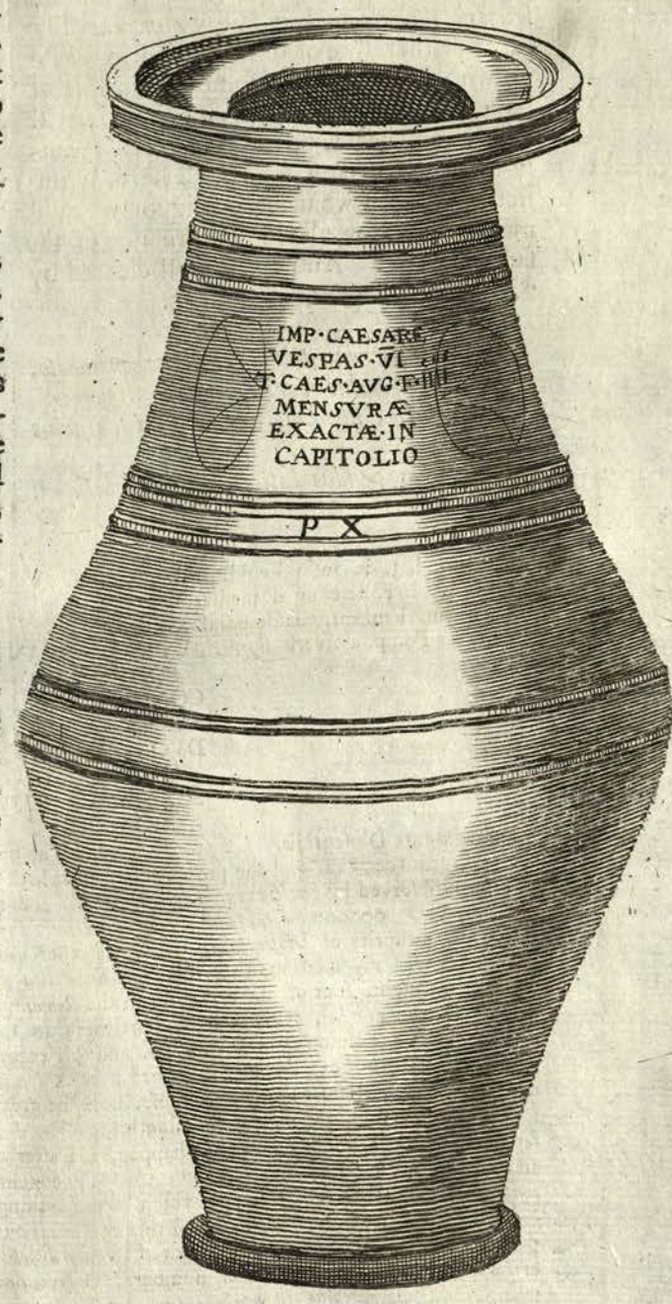
[x] Livius, l. 38. [y] Plautus in Rudente.

confuted)

confuted) but with the ordinary current money of *Rome*, and that was the *denarius*.

Our next ſolution ſhould be of the *ſhekel*. how it could be equal to the *tetradrachme*, and conſequently to four *denarii*, when by the conſtant weight of the beſt *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan ſhekels* extant, we find them to be much leſs. And here I am a little unſatisfied, how to reconcile the coins to *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*: or elſe, if we admit of the coins (as I know no juſt exceptions againſt them) how to excuſe theſe authors of too ſupine negligence in comparing them, if ſo be they ever were ſo curious as to collate them with the *Attick tetradrachmes*. For if we ſhall ſay, that the ſilver *ſtater*, or *Attick tetradrachme* was a foreign coin, in reſpect of the rep. of the *Jews*, and therefore that in *Judea* it might ſomewhat fall from its true valuation, we ſhall ſay no more than what reaſon and experience confirm. But then that the *tetradrachme* ſhould ſink ſo low as to loſe four-pence-half-peny, if we take the *reverend primate's* obſervation before-mentioned; or which is more, ſix-pence *q.* if we follow that of *Gerundenſis* and *Villalpandus*, or *thoſe of mine*, upon two ſhillings nine pence half-peny, for ſo much was the *tetradrachme* of our money, it may ſeem too great a diminution; eſpecially the *Attick* money being as pure, and fine, as that of the ſhekel; and therefore no gold-ſmith amongſt the *Jews*, but would have given a greater rate only to melt it, and turn it into bullion. Yet on the other ſide, when I conſider the practice of the money-changers amongſt the *Jews* at this day, which it may be was as bad in *Philo*'s and *Joſephus*'s time, and might occaſion our Saviour not long before to whip them out of the temple, *which they by their extortions had made a den of thieves*; who now make it a trade at *Alexandria*, and elſewhere, in changing *Spaniſh* dollars into [z] *madines*, (or the ſmall ſilver money current in *Ægypt*) to gain one or two *madines* upon every dollar, notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* money is as frequent, and as well known in *Turky*, as their own. I can the better imagine they might make the ſame advantage, or a little more, upon the *Attick tetradrachmes*: Which it may be alſo were not permitted, being contrary to their law, to paſs ſo generally with them, as the *Spaniſh* money now doth (by reaſon of the image of *Pallas*, and the *Noctua* inſtamped:) or if they were permitted, yet they might not be ſo common, and ſo well known: and therefore upon ſtrangers in *Judea*, in giving them current money for that which was foreign, they would gain ſo much the more. So that *Philo*, and *Joſephus*, when they equal the *ſhekel* to the *tetradrachme*, GREAVES may have taken it upon the relation and practice of theſe money-changers, and not upon any experiment of their own. The ſame anſwer may ſerve for *Epiphanius*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*: tho' it may be theſe borrowed their deſcriptions from *Philo* or *Joſephus*, who long preceded them: and being *Jews*, and living in the time when the ſtate of the *Jews* was in being; whereas theſe did not, their authority is the more to be credited. And thus have we finiſhed our enquiry of the *denarius conſularis*, by comparing it with the *Attick drachmes*, and the *Hebrew ſhekels*.

ON CONGII VESPASIANI IN PALATIO FARNESIANO ROMÆ.



[z] At my being in *Ægypt*, thirty fives *madines* paſſed for a dollar: *Sands* in his travels writes forty.

GREAVES The laſt and beſt way to diſcover the true weight of it, is by the *congius Romanus*, whereof by a ſpecial providence, as [a] *Pætus*, and *Villalpandus*, have well obſerved, the original ſtandard of *Veſpaſian* is ſtill extant in *Rome*. This, as the ſuperſciption upon it, XP demonſtrates, contains the weight of ten *Roman* pounds, and is equal (by the joint confeſſion of all authors treating this argument) to ſix *ſextarii*. Again, the *ſextarius*, as [b] *Galen* writes, Ἔχϛ μίαν λίτραν ϗ ἡμίσειαν ϗ ἕκτον, ὡς εἶναι τὰς πάσας ὑγίας κ'. *Contains one pound and an half, and a ſixth part, ſo that it hath in all twenty ounces.* Or as [c] *Oribaſius*, phyſician to *Julian* the apoſtate, informs us, is equal to the *Roman* pound, and eight ounces. Ἰταλικὸν κεϱάμιον ἔχϛ ξέϛας μή. ξέϛης λίτϱαν μίαν, ϗ ὑγίας ή. *The* Italian amphora *contains forty eight* ſextarii, *and the* ſextarius *one pound and eight ounces.* The capacity therefore of this *congius* being fill'd up with ſix *ſextarii*, of ſome certain ſort of liquors, (for it is *liquorum menſura*) will give us ten *Roman* pounds, and conſequently their ounces and *denarii*. The only difficulty is, with what ſort of liquor we muſt meaſure it: for all liquors are not of the ſame gravity. And this is well cleared by [d] *Rhemnius Fannius*, and others.

Illud præterea tecum cohibere memento,
Finitum pondus varios ſervare liquores.
Nam libræ, ut memorant, beſſem ſextarius addet,
Seu puros pendas latices, ſeu dona Lyæi.

The *ſextarius*, ſaith *Fannius*, contains one pound and eight ounces, whether we weigh clear water, or wine: where by wine, according to [e] *Agricola*, is to be underſtood, *vinum fulvum*, ſuch as the *Greeks* call κιῤῥὸν. Rather, I imagine, that wine, which *Galen* calls λεῦκὸν, ϗ ὀλιγόφοϱον. The *ſextarius* then being one pound eight ounces of clear water, or pure wine, and ſix *ſextarii* being in the *congius*, it is moſt evident that the *congius* contains ten pounds of water, or of wine. This alſo appears by a *plebiſcitum* of the two *Silii*, *Publius*, and *Marius*, which is to be ſeen in the beſt copies of [f] *Sextus Pompeius*.

The ſame is confirmed by [g] *Dioſcorides*; who for farther certainty, mentions with what ſort of water we ſhould meaſure it: and that is with rain [h]-water, which he makes to be the moſt infallible of all: Ὁ χῆς τελέϛι τὸ κόγλιον ἔχϛ λι. ι. τὸ ἡμικόγλιον ἔχϛ λι. ε. ὁ ξέϛης ἔχϛ λίτϱαν μίαν γο. η, &c. ὁ αὐτὸς ϗ ϛαθμός ἐϛι ϗ ὕδαϚ ϗ ὄξος. Φαϛὶ ϗ τοῦ ὁμοβϱίου ὕδαϚ πληϱωθῆναι ἀψυδέϛαλον εἶναι τ' ϛαθμὸν, ἄγειν ϗ ὁλκὰς ψκ τ' κῆν. *The* chus, *(that is, the* congius,) *contains ten pounds; the* ſemicongius *five*; *the* ſextarius *one pound and eight ounces*, &c. *The weight of water, and of vinegar is the ſame. They ſay, that if it be filled up with rain-water, the weight will be moſt certain.* [i] *The* congius *weighs ſeven hundred and twenty drachmes.* An *anonymous Greek author*, falſly reputed to be *Galen*, in the edition at *Venice*, confirms the ſame, [k] Παϱὰ ϗ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς διέϊϛκεϒ ὁ χῆς μέτϱῳ μὲν ἔχων ξ ϛ. κοτύλας ιβ. ϛαθμὸν ϗ ὕδαϚ ὁμοβϱίου, ὅπεϱ ἐϛιν ἀψυδέϛαλον, δϱαχ-

[a] Pætus, l. 3. de antiq. liquid. arid. que menſ. Villalp. de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.
[b] Galen, l. 1. de compoſ. medicam. [c] Oribaſius, l. 2. ad Euſtathium filium.
[d] Rhemn. Fan. carmina de pond. & menſ. [e] Agricola, l. 3. de ponder. rerum.
[f] Sextus Pomp. de verb. ſignif. VTI. QVADRANTAL. VINI. OCTOGINTA PONDO. SIET
CONGIVS. VINI. DECEM. IS. SIET
SEX. SEXTARII. CONGIVS. SIET. VINI
DVO. DE. QVINQVAGINTA. SEXTARII QVADRANTAL. SIET. VINI.
SEXTARIVS. ÆQVVS. ÆQVO. CVM. LIBRARIO. SIET

[g] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis. [h] The proportion that rain-water hath to fountain-water, is as 1000000 to 1007522, and the proportion that it hath to water diſtilled, is as 1000000 to 997065, as it hath been obſerved by *Snellius in Eratoſth. Bat. l. 2. c. 5. Eſt in æquali mole ratio aquæ pluviæ ad diſtillatam, quemadmodum* 1000000 *ad* 997065; *pluviæ autem ad putealem ut* 1000000 *ad* 1007522.

[i] This authority of *Dioſcorides*, with that other citation following out of an *anonymous Greek author*, ſtrongly proves my aſſertion, that the *drachma Attica* was more ponderous than the *denarius conſularis*. For there being eighty four of theſe *denarii* in the *Roman* pound, as we have elſewhere proved, and ten *Roman* pounds in the *congius*, it is moſt evident there are ıɔccccxl. *denarii* in the whole *congius*. Again, ıɔccxx *drachms* by the teſtimonies of *Dioſcorides*, and this *anonymous* writer being equal to the *congius*, and the *congius* being equal to ıɔccccxl *denarii*, therefore ıɔccxx *drachmes* are equal to ıɔccccxl *denarii*, and therefore of neceſſity every particular *drachme* of theſe, muſt be greater than each particular *denarius*. And tho', according to my aſſertion, the *congius* containeth ſome few *drachmes* more than are by them aſſigned; yet that difference, ſeeing it might many ways happen, as I afterwards ſhew in the like experiments of *Villalpandus*, and *Gaſſendus*, it cannot any way overthrow my concluſion: for the *drachmes* are ſtill fewer than the *denarii conſulares*, and therefore greater; which was the thing intended to be proved. And this may farther be confirmed, in that both *Cleopatra*, and this *anonymous* author, make alſo the ξέϛης, or *ſextarius* (being the ſixth part of the *congius*) to contain an hundred twenty *drachmes* of fountain-water. Whereby it appears there is no error committed in the former numbers: Ὁ ξέϛης μέτϱῳ μὲ ἔχει κοτύλας β' ϛαθμῷ ϗ λ' ρκ. The *ſextarius*, ſaith *Cleopatra*, *contains in meaſure two* cotyls, *but in weight an hundred and twenty* drachmes. And the *anonymous* writer, Ἔχϛ ϗ ὁ ξέϛης ϛαθμῷ δϱαχμὰς ρκ. *The* ſextarius *contains in weight an hundred and twenty* drachmes.

[k] Anonymus Græc.

μὰς

μὰς ψκ: *Amongſt the* Romans *is found the* congius, *containing in meaſure ſix* ſextarii (*that is*) XII cotylæ: *but in weight of rain-water, which is moſt infallible*, IↃCCXX drachmes. And whereas [l] *Dioſcorides* elſewhere writes: Τὸ κόγλιον ἔχει λίτρας θ. τὸ ἡμικόγλιον λ. δ'. S. ὁ ξέσης ἔχει λ'. ἁ. S. *The* congius *hath nine pounds*; *the* ſemicongius *four and a half*; *the* ſextarius *one and an half*: there is no repugnancy between this and his former aſſertion. For here he ſpeaks of the *congius* filled with oil, and before of the ſame *congius* filled with water, or wine: and that this ſhould be but nine pounds, whereas the former is ten, is no more repugnant to reaſon, than it is to nature, that oil ſhould be lighter than water or wine: which [m] *Ghetaldus*, in his *Archimedes promotus*, hath demonſtrated the moſt accurately of any man, to be in the proportion that 1 is to $1\frac{1}{11}$ in reſpect of water, and as 1 is to $1\frac{4}{5}$ in reſpect of wine; which is almoſt the ſame with *Dioſcorides*. The not obſerving this difference of weight, ariſing from the different gravity of ſeveral liquors, in veſſels of one and the ſame capacity, is that which hath occaſioned much uncertainty and confuſion, in modern writers. And therefore we ſhall for farther perſpicuity inſert that diſtinction, which is often inculcated by [n] *Galen*, that the *Romans* uſed two ſorts of ounces and pounds: and thoſe were either ſταθμικαὶ, or μετρικαὶ, *ponderal* or *menſural*; the one had reſpect ſolely to the gravity, the other to the *moles*, and gravity conjointly; the former were always certain and fixed, conſiſting of ſolid matter; the latter were *vaſa* (frequently, ἐν κέρασι) being receptacles and meaſures of liquid ſubſtances: and therefore the *libræ*, and *unciæ menſurales*, in theſe were greater or leſs, according as the liquor to be meaſured was heavier or lighter. Whence [o] *Galen* blames GREAVES phyſicians for not expreſſing this difference: Διὸ γεγράφειν ἐχρῆν ἐπιμελέστερον ἐν τοῖς φαρμακίτισι βίβλοις τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὁποίας τινὰς κελεύσει βάλλεσθαι τὰς ὑγρίας ἢ τὰς λίτρας τῶν ὑγρῶν φαρμάκων, πότερον τὰς μετρικὰς, ἢ τὰς ſταθμικάς. And he gives the reaſon of it. ΡΑΙ μὲν γὰρ ſταθμικαὶ τὸ βάρος κρίνουσι τῶν σωμάτων, αἱ δὲ μετρικαὶ τὸ ὄγκον. *For the* ponderal *examine the weight of bodies, but the* menſural *the moles.* But to return to the *congius*, and by it to our diſcovery of the *denarius*. The water then muſt be natural, either of ſome fountain, or of rain. For if it be artificial, ſuch as are made by diſtillations, whether by a ſtrong reverberation, or by a gentle, in an alembeck; theſe having ſomewhat of the property of fire, will be lighter than the natural, as [q] *Agricola* and others obſerve. I ſhall produce two obſervations of the *congius*, with fountain-water, made by two very eminent and able men, *Villalpandus*, and *Gaſſendus*, the one at *Rome*, with the *Roman* weights, from the [r] original *congius* itſelf; the other at *Aix*, with the *Paris* weights, from a model, or copy of that at *Rome*, procured by *Peireſkius*. And here to compare the *denarius conſularis* with their obſervations, it is neceſſary to have exactly both the *Roman* and *Paris* weights. The former, with as much accurateneſs as it was poſſible, were taken in *Rome*: the other were ſent me by monſieur *Hardy*, *a learned man of honourable quality in Paris*, who compared them with the ſtandard. To begin with that of *Villalpandus*, who gives us a large deſcription, with how much caution and circumſpection, and with how exquiſite a balance he twice made his experiment, whereby he diſcovered the weight of it in

[l] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis.
[m] Ghetaldus in Archim. promoto.
[n] Galenus, l. 1. & 6. de comp. medicam. ſecundum genera.
[o] Lib. 6.
[p] Ibid. lib. 1.
[q] *Perinde verò ut vinum hoc factitium omni nativo eſt levius, ſic aquæ ferè omnes, quæ ignis calore rebus quibuſcunque excoctis diſtillarint, quas ob id diſtillatas appellant, cæteris aquis leviores ſunt.* Agricola, l. 3. de pondere rerum.

[r] This *congius* I had weighed, if I could have procured a ballance of ſuch exactneſs, as was fitting for ſuch a work. The want of which occaſioned *Villalpandus* to ſuſpect the obſervation of *Pætus*; though *Pætus* writes thus of himſelf. *Plenum, cùm juſtiſſimâ trutinâ, quâ hodie Romæ utimur cùm appendiſſem* [congium,] *inveni aquam, quâ eum compleveram, libras noſtri temporis novem, uncias ſex ſemis efficere, quibus uncias quinque drachmas quatuor, ſcripulum unum, & grana* XIV (*quæ amplius ſunt in his noſtris, quam in antiquis libris computando eum congium libras decem*) *& ultra ſcripulum unum, & grana* XIV (*de quibus nullam rationem habendam eſſe judicavi*) *ex antiquis libris prædictis pendere inveni.* But *Villalpandus* trying it long after *Pætus*, with more care, and with a ballance made of purpoſe, found it to be exactly ten ſuch pounds as are now uſed in *Rome*. All that I could do was to fill the capacity of it with *milium* well cleanſed, and to compare it with the *Engliſh* meaſures taken from the ſtandards. *It contained of our meaſures for wine three quarts, one pint, and one eighth part of a pint. Of our corn, or dry meaſures, three quarts, and about one ſixth part of a pint.* At my being in *Italy*, there was found amongſt the ruins at *Rome* a *ſemicongius* in braſs, of the ſame figure with this of *Veſpaſian*'s, the ſides much conſumed by ruſt. This I alſo meaſured, and found it to be the half of *Veſpaſian*'s *congius*. From this meaſure of the *congius* we may rightly apprehend how vaſt that draught was of *Novellus Torquatus*, who drank three of theſe *congii* at once: from whence he was called *Novellus Tricongius*. The ſtory is recited by *Pliny*, (l. 14. c. 22.) *Apud nos cognomen etiam Novellus Torquatus Mediolanenſis ad proconſulatum uſque è præturâ honoribus geſtis, tribus congiis* (*unde & nomen illi fuit*) *epotis uno impetu, ſpectante miraculi gratiâ Tiberio principe in ſenecta jam ſevero, atque etiam aliàs ſævo, ſed ipſâ juventâ ad merum pronior fuerat.* In the ſame chapter *Pliny* likewiſe diſcourſes thus of *Cicero*, ſon to that famous orator: *Tergilla Ciceronem Marci filium binos congios ſimul haurire ſolitum ipſi objicit, Marcoque Agrippæ à temulento ſcyphum impactum.*

water

GREAVES water to be exactly answerable to ten such pounds as are now used in *Rome*: whence he concludes, [f] *Constanter asserimus antiquam Romanorum libram, unciam, ac pondera, tot ætatum successione, ac Romani imperii perturbationibus minimè immutata fuisse, sed eadem per manus trædita usque ad nostra tempora perdurasse.* This *Roman* pound of his reduced to the *English* standard for silver, or *Troy* weight, with which I have faithfully collated it, is 5256 grains *English*, such as the *Troy* pound is 5760; the whole *congius* therefore consisting of ten pounds, will be 52560 *English* grains. The other observation is related by [r] *Gassendus*, in his excellent discourse *De vitâ Peireskii: Ut paucis ergo res dicatur, cautiones adhibuimus easdem, quas Lucas Pætus, & Villalpandus, dum vas ipsum, ad summum collum puteali aquâ oppleviмus, expendimus, vasis pondus subduximus. Deprehendimus autem aquam, quæ Romano pondere esse debuit decem librarum, seu unciarum centum viginti, esse pondere Parisiensi (quale nempe Parisiis exploratum, missumque est) librarum septem, minus unciæ quadrante: Seu unciarum centum undecim, & quadrantum unciæ trium. Deinde ex hac proportione collegimus unciam Romanam continere grana quingenta, & triginta sex, qualium quingenta, & septuaginta sex in Parisiensi continentur: unde & illis in drachmas collectis, obvenere cuilibet drachmæ grana sexaginta septem: idque proinde censuimus pondus denarii Cæsarei, quem dictum est fuisse* [u] *drachmalem.* Now the *Paris* ounce sent to me by monsieur *Hardy*, containing four hundred seventy two grains *English*, and an half; and the *congius*, according to *Gassendus*, of the *Paris* ounces III $\frac{1}{2}$, the complete weight of the *congius*, in grains, will be 52801$\frac{1}{2}$. Which sum exceeds that of *Villalpandus* by 241 $\frac{1}{8}$; that is, by more than half a *Roman* ounce. This difference (tho' it is not great) between these two observations of theirs, might arise, either from the unequal swelling of the water in the *congius*; or from the different gravity of fountain-water at *Rome*, and at *Aix*; or from some inequality of the model and original; or from defect in the *jugum*, or beam of the balance, which if it were not made by a very skilful hand, by the pressure of so great a weight, would suffer some alteration. Which way soever it was, either by some, or all of these, the difference cannot prejudice my conclusion a compleat grain; which no reasonable man but will allow, either for coining, or for waste: for if I divide 52560, the number of grains in the *congius*, according to *Villalpandus*, by IↃↃↃCXL the number of the *denarii* in ten pounds, the sum will be LXII $\frac{4}{7}$. Or if we shall follow *Gassendus*, though I should rather prefer *Villalpandus*, because he took his immediately from the original, then will the weight of the *denarius consularis* be LXII $\frac{36}{43}$. The fraction in both without any convenience may be omitted. And this proportion of the weight of the *denarius consularis*, if it were necessary, I could farther prove by some of the *aurei consulares*, which often were double in weight to the *denarii*, as the χρυσοῖ Ἀτλικοὶ were double to the δεκαδραχμοὶ Ἀττικαί; as also by several *quinarii* in silver (which are the half of the *denarii*) by a very ancient and perfect [x] *semuncia*, by a *quadrans* and *triens*, all of them in brass of mine own, and by several other weights examined abroad. One of them I cannot pretermit, being near five *Roman* pounds, and very remarkable for this inscription: EX. AUCTORITATE. Q. IUNI. RUSTICI. PR. VR. but the weight of it is a little defective; part of the *silex* (as many of the ancient *Roman* weights that I have seen, were [y] *ex silice*, which is as hard or harder than marble) being broken away, else the rest is very entire and well polished. But I conceive, that by those former ways I have so irrefragably demonstrated the true ponderousness of the *denarius consularis*, that it would be thought superfluous, or a vain ostentation, to endeavour any farther to prove it. Wherefore instead of that I shall handle the *denarius cæsareus*, which is our second enquiry.

The *denarius cæsareus*, was that which was made under the government of the *Cæsars*. And this instead of the face and inscription *ROMA*, with the character X

[f] Villalpandus, l. 2. disp. 2. c. 11. de apparatu urbis ac templi. [r] Gassendus in vitâ Peireskii.

[u] The inference of *Gassendus* I easily grant, that the *denarius*, under some of the *Cæsars*, was *drachmalis*; that is, the eighth part of the *Roman* ounce. But neither was it always so under the *Cæsars*, nor if it had been so, will it therefore follow that it was *drachmalis*, or the eighth part in respect of the *Attick* ounce. Seeing the *Athenian* ounce was greater than the *Roman*, as we have before proved; and therefore the *denarius consularis*, which was the seventh part of the *Roman* ounce, was scarce the eighth part of the *Attick*. Wherefore he must see how he can make it good, where he brings *Peireskius*, in the second book of his life, thus discoursing: ——*Denarium, eùm tempore regum pependisset trientem unciæ, sub antiquâ tamen rep. pependisse solum sextantem, sub recentiore partem septimam, sub primis Cæsaribus octavam, seu drachmam (Atticæ nempe drachmæ æqualem.)*

[x] Of these *Roman semunciæ*, I have bought and seen several in brass. Besides one, which I owe to *my very worthy and learned friend, doctor* Ent.

[y] *Pætus, l. 1. de antiq. Rom. & Græc interv. mensuris*, makes mention of a *libra Romana* in brass, procured by *Fulvius Ursinus*, of singular rarity: *In cujus supremâ planitie argenteis literis hæc erat nota I, & in circumferentiâ hæ aliæ EX. AVG. D. CAES.* but this I had not the happiness to see in *Italy*.

or X on the fore-part, and the impreſs of the *biga*, or *quadriga* on the reverſe, (in which kind moſt of the *denarii conſulares* were ſtamped) had on the reverſe ſeveral impreſſes, and on the other ſide the image or reſemblance of the emperor: which occaſioned our Saviour to aſk the queſtion, when a δηνάριον, or *Roman* penny was ſhewed to him, [z] *Whoſe is this image and ſuperſcription? They ſay unto him, Cæſar's.* This *denarius Cæſareus*, if we reſpect ſome definitive quantity and weight, was as various and uncertain as the *denarius conſularis* of the later conſuls was conſtant and fixt; being under the firſt emperors, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, as the reaſons and exigencies of the ſtate did require, or the profuſeneſs and prodigality of thoſe times. Yet this uncertainty (as far as I have obſerved) was limited within ſome certain and determinate bounds: the *denarius Cæſareus* never exceeding the ſeventh part of the *Roman* ounce, and never being leſs than the eighth part, but often in a middle proportion between both, and that with much inequality. And this made [a] *Villalpandus*, after many experiments at *Rome*, to conclude, that out of the *denarii* nothing concerning the *Roman* weights could be determined. Tho' *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Ciaconius*, *Snellius*, and ſeveral others, before and after him, are of a contrary opinion. And it may be, if *Villalpandus* had diſtinguiſhed between the difference of times, and in them of the different coins, and conſidered thoſe of the conſuls, diſtinctly from thoſe of the *Cæſars*, and thoſe of the former *Cæſars* from thoſe of the later, he would have reformed his judgment: for it plainly appears, upon examination, that the diminution of their weight was an invention introduced after *Antonius* the *Triumvir's* time, whereas before the *denarius* was fix'd. *Miſcuit*, ſaith [b] *Pliny*, *denario triumvir Antonius ferrum, alii è pondere ſubtrahunt* (his meaning is under the emperors, to *Veſpaſian's*, or his own time) *cùm ſit juſtum octoginta quatuor è libris ſignari.* Where he ſays very well in ſpeaking ſo generally, *alii è pondere ſubtrahunt*, without preciſely limiting the proportion. For this, as we obſerved, was very various and undeterminate: ſo that whereas the juſt number of the *denarii*, according to the practice of the later conſuls, ſhould be eighty four in the *Roman* pound, we find by the weight of the beſt of them under the former *Cæſars*, that they coined ſometimes eighty ſix, eighty eight, *&c.* till at laſt there came to be ninety ſix *denarii* in the *Roman* pound, that is, eight in the ounce. And this, by a very neceſſary conſequence, may be inferred out of another place of *Pliny*, if we take for granted what ſome learned moderns confeſs, and the gold and ſilver coins found to this day, of the later conſuls, and firſt emperors, ſtrongly prove, that as the *Atticks* made their χρυσοῦς, or *aureus* double in weight to the δραχμὴ ἀργυρέα: ſo did the *Romans* make their *aureus* double in weight to the *denarius*. Which proportion they might borrow from the *Athenians*, and other *Grecians*, who, as [c] *Arias Montanus* imagines, firſt received it from the practice of the *Hebrews*: or rather, as I ſuppoſe, from the *Phœnicians*, and theſe from the *Hebrews*. From whenceſoever it came, it is not much material in our enquiry: that which we may ſafely conclude from thence is this; that the gold being in reſpect of weight, double to the ſilver, the *aureus Romanus* falling in its weight, the *denarius* likewiſe of neceſſity muſt fall: elſe could they not have continued *in duplâ ratione.* Now in what manner the *aureus* was firſt coined, and how afterwards it loſt of its primitive weight, [d] *Pliny* informs us: *aureus nummus, poſt annum* LXII *percuſſus eſt, quam argenteus, ita ut ſcrupulum valeret ſeſtertiis vicenis, quod efficit in libras ratione ſeſtertiorum, qui tunc erant, ſeſtertios* IↃↃↃↃ. *Poſt hæc placuit* XL. M. *ſignari ex auri libris: paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe vero ad* XLV. M. For this teſtimony, and the former, we are to thank *Pliny*, ſeeing there is neither *Greek* nor *Latin* author extant, from his time to *Theodoſius*, that gives us any certainty, what to conclude concerning the ancient coins. And therefore ſince this later is of great conſequence, but ſomewhat corrupted, I compared it with the *MSS.* in the *Vatican* and *Florentine* libraries, and with a fair one in *Baliol*-college, which renders the later part of it thus: *Poſtea placuit* X. XL. *ſignari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe verò ad* XLVIII. Where for XLVIII, [e] *Villalpandus* corrects, or rather corrupts the text in writing XLV. But *Agricola*, and [f] *Snellius* read it by conjecture thus: *Poſt hæc placuit* XLII *ſignari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, minutiſſimè verò ad* XLVIII. And [g] *Snellius* gives a reaſon of it in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus. Nam ita argentei denarii, & aurei nummi eadem manet analogia, pondere ſubduplo, ut quamdiu octoginta quatuor argentei è libra, & è ſingulis unciis ſeptem cudebantur, tam diu quoque aurei duo & quadraginta libram implerent, poſtquam vero argentei num-*

Greaves

[z] Mat. xxii. 20.
[a] Villalp. de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. lib. 2. diſp. 2. c. 13.
[b] Plin. l. 33. c. 9.
[c] *Arias Montanus* in *Thubal Cain, ſive de menſuris.*
[d] Plinius, l. 3. c. 33.
[e] Villalpan. de app. urbis ac templi, par. 2. l. 2. diſp. 2. c. 12.
[f] Snell. in Eratoſth. Batav. l. 2. c. 5.
[g] Ibid.

GREAVES *mi pondus imminutum eſt: ut ſex & nonaginta in libram conſtituerentur, tum quoque duo de quinquaginta aurei, pondere tanto leviore, in ſingulis libris cudi cœperunt.* Which conjecture ſeems not altogether improbable, if we reſpect the later conſuls, and firſt *Cæſars*, in whoſe times we find the *aurei* to have been double to the *denarii Cæſarei*; but ſurely long before *Juſtinian*, the *aurei*, or as they were then alſo called the *ſolidi*, loſt that proportion to the ſilver, and kept it only to the *ſemiſſes aurei*, to which they were double, as they were in a treble proportion to the *tremiſſes*.

Wherefore inſtead of theſe conjectures (which have been the bane of many a good author) of *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, and *Snellius*, I would read the later part of thoſe words of *Pliny*, as the *MSS.* do, till I can ſee ſome concluding reaſon, or good authority of ancient authors to the contrary, for I do not ſee why the *Romans* at the firſt might not coin forty *aurei* out of the *libra*, as well as forty ſilver *teruncii* out of the *denarius:* which [h] *Varro* aſſures us they did. And who knows whether at the firſt making of their gold coins, which was ſixty two years according to *Pliny*, after the firſt coining of ſilver, they endeavoured to keep them in *duplâ ratione*, in reſpect of weight: which graceful manner they might afterwards introduce by commerce with the *Grecians*.

And here, e'er I proceed any farther in my enquiry after the *denarius Cæſareus*, I cannot but complain, either of the negligence of former times, or unhappineſs of ours; in that not one author extant mentions the true weight of the *denarii*, under the *Cæſars*. [i] *Xiphilinus* relates in his epitome of *Dio*, how *Antoninus Caracalla* corrupted and abaſed the coins; but makes no mention of the weight. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀντωνίνῳ, τότε ἄλλα τὰ νόμισμα κίβδηλον ἦν, τόδε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὃ παρεῖχεν ἡμῖν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ μολίβδου καταχρυσούμενον, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καταχρυσούμενον ἐσκυβάζετο. *To* Antoninus, *as other things, ſo alſo his money was adulterated: for the ſilver and gold, which he gave us, the one was prepared of lead ſilvered over, and the other of braſs gilt.* [k] *Suidas* alſo ſpeaking of the *monetarii* writes thus: Μονιτάριοι οἱ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα τεχνίται, οἱ ὅτε Αὐρηλιανὸς διέφθειραν τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἄρχοντα Φιλικήσιμον ἀνελόντες ἐμφύλιον ἐγείρουσι πόλεμον, ὃς μόλις Αὐρηλιανὸς χειρωσάμενος ὑπερβαλλούσῃ κολάσεων ὠμότητι καθειργάσατο. *The* monetarii *are artizans employed in the making of money. Theſe, in* Aurelian's *time, corrupted the money; and, having ſlain their governor* Felicifſimus, *raiſed a civil war; whom* Aurelianus *with much difficulty conquering, put to death with exquiſite torments.* And many good laws were made by ſeveral emperors, againſt adulterating and corrupting of coins: and thoſe executed with much ſeverity, even in the time of Chriſtianity: for we find under the emperor *Conſtantine*, that ſuch as offended in this kind, were not only put to death, but to a cruel and bitter death by fire. *L. OMNES SOLIDI. C. THEOD. SIQVIS SOLIDI CIRCVLVM EXTERIOREM INCIDERIT, VEL ADULTERATVM IN VENDENDO SVBJECERIT. Omnes ſolidi, in quibus noſtri vultus, ac veneratio una eſt, uno pretio æſtimandi ſunt, atque vendendi, quanquam diverſa formæ menſura ſit: quod ſiquis aliter fecerit, aut capite puniri debet, aut flammis tradi, vel aliâ pœnâ mortiferâ. Quod ille etiam patietur, qui menſuram circuli exterioris adraſerit, ut ponderis minuat quantitatem, vel figuratum ſolidum, adulterinâ imitatione, in vendendo ſubjecerit.* In *Conſtantius*'s time the ſame puniſhment was inflicted. *L. PRÆMIO. C. THEOD. DE FALSA MONETA. Præmio accuſatoribus propoſito, quicunque ſolidorum adulter potuerit reperiri, vel à quoquam fuerit publicatus, illico omni dilatione ſubmotâ flammarum exuſtionibus mancipetur.* And afterwards under *Valentinianus*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius*, they were accounted, and ſuffered as *rei læſæ majeſtatis. L. FALSÆ MONETÆ. COD. EODEM. Falſæ monetæ rei, quos vulgò paracharactas vocant, majeſtatis crimine tenentur obnoxii.* But no where is it mentioned concerning the *denarii* and *quinarii*, which were the ſilver coins in common uſe, how much ſhould be their weight. Wherefore in ſuch a ſilence of ancient authors, we have no more ſolid and ſure foundation of our enquiry, than either by our ſelves to examine the weight of the faireſt coins under the emperors; or elſe to relate what others long before our time have obſerved. *Antonius Auguſtinus* in general informs us, when coins were at their higheſt perfection, and how they began to decline with the *Roman* empire: as commonly when money comes to be abaſed, and that the mint, like the pulſe, beats too ſlowly and irregularly, it is an evident ſymptom of ſome diſtempers in the bowels of a ſtate. [l] *The medals of all times* (ſaith he)

[h] Varro, l. 4. de ling. Lat. [i] Xiphilinus in Anton. Caracalla. [k] Suidas in voce Μονιτάριοι *ſive* Μονητάριοι.

[l] *Le medaglie di tutti i temi* [*ſono degne da eſſer oſſervate degli Artifeci*] *comminciando de Aleſſandro magno, nell' età del quale principalmente fiorirono, per fin al tempo dell Imperador Gallieno, nell quale caddero affatto inſieme con l' imperio. Da indi poi in fina Giuſtiniano ſi trovano bon medaglie di tutti gli Imperadori ma con notabil perdita della pulitezza, & perfetione antica. Quelpoi che habbiamo duppo Giuſtiniano, è tanto*

tative

he) [*are worthy to be obſerved by artizans*] *beginning from* Alexander *the great, in whoſe time they principally flouriſhed, till the emperor* Gallienus, *when they chiefly fell together with the empire. From thence to the end of* Juſtinian, *there are found good medals of all the emperors, but with a notable diminution of their politeneſs and ancient perfection. Thoſe which we have after* Juſtinian *are inſufferably bad. The fault by all men is aſſigned to the* Huns, *and* Vandals, *and* Alanes, *and* Goths, *and* Longobards, *and to other barbarous and ſavage nations, who conquered the greateſt part of* Europe. *Erizzo*, who lived almoſt an hundred years ſince, a very diligent man in the *Roman* coins, but it is to be wiſhed that he had uſed more judgment in the explication of them, more particularly informs us. [m] *Having compared the weight of thoſe ſorts of money, which are equal in weight to the* Roman denarius, *with the medals of ſilver, which have the heads of the* Roman *emperors imprinted, I have found them not a little different, ſo that as it were all thoſe medals weigh leſs than the* denarius. *And having alſo weighed thoſe medals which have the effigies of the* Cæſars, *I have continually found them different amongſt themſelves in weight.* This uncertainty ſo troubled *Villalpandus*, after many experiments made at *Rome*, that he knew not what to determine. And it ſeems [n] *Blondus* long before conceived it impoſſible: *Hæc omnia qualia per ſingulas ætates fuerint, ex amuſſim oſtendere, non magis difficile, quàm impoſſibile fuerit, non ſolùm quia obſcuris & noſtrâ ætate ignotis verbis ſunt à majoribus tradita, ſed quia omnis ferè ætas ſuam habuit cudendi varietatem, & formam.* Wherefore, for farther ſatisfaction of the reader, I ſhall relate ſome obſervations of mine own: eſpecially thoſe of the twelve firſt *Cæſars*, which I took, with many others, by an accurate balance, from ſuch choice cabinets in *Italy*. And firſt, I ſhall begin with the gold coins: for ſeeing the *aurei* under the former *Cæſars* were *in duplâ ratione* to the *denarii*, therefore the weight of thoſe being known, we cannot be ignorant of the weight of the *denarii Cæſarei*. Beſides, they are not ſubject to be conſumed by time and ruſt, but only *ex intertrimento*, and therefore we may the ſafelier give credit to them. And laſtly, becauſe the difference, tho' but of a grain, is of ſome conſideration in gold, the maſters of the mint uſe to be the more circumſpect about them: whereas in ſilver coins, ſince it is hardly worth the pains to ſtand preciſely upon the exceſs or defect of every grain, therefore there are few of theſe ſo exact, but either exceed or want in the very mint, one or two grains, and ſometimes more. GREAVES

The Weight of ſome AUREI *under the firſt twelve* CÆSARS.

	Eng. Grains.
* C. CAES. COS. III	123 2/3
* *A ſecond, on the reverſe,* A. HIRTIVS. PR.	122 1/4
* *A third*	124 1/4
AVGVSTVS. CAESAR. III. VIR	119 1/2
A ſecond, on the reverſe, OB CIVES SERVATOS	119 1/2
* *A third, on the reverſe,* DIVOS. AVG. DIVI. F.	119
TIBERIVS	118 1/4
* *A ſecond, on the forepart,* TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS. *On the reverſe, a temple*	117 1/2
CALIGVLA	
CLAVDIVS, *on the reverſe* S. P. Q. R. OB. CIVES SERVATOS	117
A ſecond	117 1/2
A third	118 1/2
* NERO, *on the reverſe,* SALVS	116
* *A ſecond, on the reverſe,* JVPPITER. CVSTOS	113 1/2
* *A third, on the reverſe,* CONCORDIA. AVGVSTA	113
GALBA, *on the reverſe,* CONCORDIA. PROVINCIARVM	115
OTHO, *on the reverſe,* SECVRITAS S. P. Q. R.	108 1/4
VITELLIVS, *on the reverſe,* LIBERTAS RESTITVTA	112 1/4
VESPASIANUS, *on the reverſe,* PACI AVGVSTI	111
* *A ſecond, on the reverſe,* COS. III TR. POT.	114 1/4
A third, on the reverſe, PONT. MAX. TR. P. COS. VI	111
* *A fourth, on the reverſe,* PACI. AVGVSTI	108 3/4
A fifth, on the reverſe, PACI. AVGVSTI	110
* T. VESPASIANVS, *on the reverſe,* ANNONA AVG	109 1/4
* DOMITIANNS. COS. II.	113
* *A ſecond,* DOMITIANVS. COS. VI. CAESAR. AVG. F. *on the reverſe,* IVVENTVTIS. PRINCEPS	122 1/4

cattivo che non ſi può ſofferire. Et ſe ne dà quaſi da ognuno la colpa à gli Unni, à i Vandali, à gli Alani, à i Goti, à i Longobardi, & ad altre barbare, & fiere nationi, che ſignoreggiarono gran parte d' Europa. Ant. Auguſt. dialog. 1.

[m] *Havendo io tali monete le quali ſono del peſo di un denario Rom pareggiate di peſo alle medaglie di argento, che hanno ſcolpite le teſte de i Principi Romani, le ho ritrovate differenti non poco del peſo, ſi che quelle medaglie peſano quaſi tutte meno del denario; & havendo ancora peſate quelle medaglie che hanno ſcolpita la effigie de i Cæſari, le ho ſempre ritrovate differenti fra loro nel peſo.* Erizzo. [n] Blond. l. 5. de Roma triumph.

GREAVES These *aurei* were ſelected by me out of ſeveral others, as the faireſt and entireſt; and amongſt theſe to ſuch as I have prefixed an aſteriſk, they are ſuch as ſeemed ſo perfect, that I could make no juſt objections againſt them. By theſe it appears that [r] *Pliny* ſpeaking of the gold coins, rightly informs us: *Paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe vero ad* XLVIII. *That by degrees the emperors leſſened the weight* [of the *aurei*] *to the forty eighth part of the* Roman *pound*; that is, to the fourth part of the ounce. For this is the loweſt weight, that I find, till *Heliogabalus*'s time, who coined new ſorts of *aurei*, different from what had been the conſtant practice of the *Roman* ſtate: ſome of which were the fifthtieth part of the *libra Romana*, and others again ſo maſſy, that they were *centeni*, or *bilibres*; which not long after were altered and aboliſhed by *Alexander Severus*. The manner is expreſſed by [s] *Ælius Lampridius*, in the life of *Alexander Severus*: *Formas binarias, ternarias, & quaternarias, & denarias etiam, atque amplius, uſque ad bilibres quoque & centenas, quas Heliogabalus invenerat, reſolvi præcepit, nec in uſu cujuſquam verſari: atque ex eo his materiæ nomen inditum eſt, cum diceret plus largiendi hanc eſſe imperatori cauſam, ſi cum multos ſolidos minores dare poſſet, dans decem vel amplius una forma, triginta, & quinquaginta, & centum dare cogeretur.* Under the ſame *Alexander Severus* began the *ſemiſſes aureorum*, and *tremiſſes* to be coined, which had not formerly been in uſe. The *ſemiſſes* were anſwerable in weight to the *denarii Cæſarei*, when they were leaſt, that is, ninety ſix in the *Roman* pound; though *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, and others, upon a miſtake, equal them then to the *drachma Attica*. [t] *Ælius Lampridius* writing of *Alexander Severus*, plainly expreſſes, that in his time they began. *Tumque primum ſemiſſes aureorum formati ſunt, tunc etiam, cum ad tertiam partem aurei vectigal decidiſſet, tremiſſes, dicente Alexandro etiam quartarios futuros, quod minus non poſſet.* Afterwards *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, *Julian*, and other ſucceeding emperors, leſſened the weight of the *aurei*, whereby there came to be ſeventy two in the *Roman* pound, ſo that each of them weighed the *ſextula*, or four *ſcrupula*. That the *aurei* of *Conſtantine*'s time were ſixty two in the *Roman* pound, is moſt evident out of the *codex Theodoſianus*, where they are alſo abſolutely called *ſolidi*, without the addition of *aurei*. [u] *L. SIQVIS. C. THEOD. DE PONDERATORIBVS, ET AVRI INLATIONE. Siquis ſolidos appendere voluerit auri cocti, ſeptem ſolidos quaternorum ſcrupulorum, noſtris vultibus figuratos, adpendat pro ſingulis unciis.* XIV. *vero pro duabus, juxta hanc formam omnem ſummam debiti inlaturus, eadem ratione ſervanda, etſi materiam quis inferat, ut ſolidos dediſſe videatur.* [x] *Pancirollus*, in his *Theſaurus variarum lectionum utriuſque juris*, reads VI *ſolidos*, inſtead of VII, and XII inſtead of XIV. And that it muſt neceſſarily be ſo, beſides that the *ſolidi* of *Conſtantine* now extant prove as much, may be collected out of the proportion of weight which is here aſſigned by *Conſtantine* himſelf to the *ſolidi*, and that is four ſcruples, or the *ſextula*. For the *ſolidus* containing four ſcruples, and the ounce containing twenty four ſcruples, there will therefore be ſix *ſolidi* in the ounce: again, the pound conſiſting of twelve ounces, and the ounce of ſix *ſolidi*, the whole pound therefore will conſiſt of ſeventy two *ſolidi*. Theſe *aurei* by *Juſtinian*, in like manner, are termed *ſolidi*. *L. QUOTIESCVNQVE. C. DE SVSCEPTORIBVS, PRÆPOSITIS, ET ARCARIIS.* Where he alſo defines the ſame weight. [y] *Quotieſcunque certa ſumma ſolidorum pro tituli qualitate debetur, & auri maſſa tranſmittitur,* [z] *in* LXXII. *ſolidos libra feratur accepta.* The ſame thing is implicity confirmed by *Iſidorus*, (*l.* XVI. *Orig. c.* 24.) *Solidus alio nomine ſextula dicitur, quod iis ſex uncia compleatur. Hunc ut diximus, vulgus aureum ſolidum vocat, cujus tertiam partem ideo dixerunt tremiſſem, quod ſolidum faciat ter miſſus.* Where [a] *Agricola*, I imagine, truly finds fault with him for calling the *ſolidus*, *ſextula*; tho' the proportion he aſſigns is right; that is, that the *ſolidus* was the ſixth part of the *Roman* ounce, and contained ἑξαλοῦς σταθμὸν, *the weight of the ſextula*, as it is atteſted by [b] *Zonaras*: or, which is all one, that ſeventy two *ſolidi* were made out of a *Roman* pound, as *Juſtinian* before expreſly aſſigned: and as infinite ſtore of the *ſolidi*,

[r] Plin. l. 33. c. 3. [s] Lampridius in Alex. Severo. [t] Lampridius in Alex. Severo.
[u] Codex Theodoſ. l. 1. de ponderatoribus. [x] Gui. Pancirolli theſaur. var. lect. utr. juris.
[y] Cod. lib. 10. tit. 70. in reſcripto Valentiniani & Valentis Impp.
[z] This excellent place very hardly eſcaped *Haloander*'s emendation, who had a great mind to have played the critick, and to have altered it. For he thus writes, *In veſtuto codice in raſam membranam hæc ita repoſita ſunt, ut certum ſit alteram, & fortaſſe genuinam lectionem ſublatam, & legendum, duodequinqueginta, aut certe quinquaginta.* A goodly conſequence, becauſe the parchment was ſcraped, and the firſt writing altered, therefore the true reading muſt be expunged, and a falſe one put in: whereas he might with more candour aud ingenuity have concluded the contrary, that the falſe one was expunged by the ſcribe, and the true one inſerted. For who uſes in copying of *MSS.* to ſcrape any thing out of the *apographum*, but only when by collating it he finds it to be different from the original?
[a] Agricola, l. 2. de pond. & temperat. monetarum. [b] Zonar. l. 3.

or

or *aurei*, from *Conſtantine* to *Focas*, which I have weighed, manifeſtly prove.

In the ſame place of [a] *Iſidorus* we may collect the reaſon why the *aureus* was called *ſolidus*. After that, the *ſemiſſes*, and *tremiſſes aurei* were coined, the *aureus* was called *ſolidus*, becauſe nothing was wanting to it. *Solidum enim antiqui integrum dicebant, & totum:* in which ſenſe the *ſolidus* was alſo taken for the *libra* or *aſſis*; that is, as the *aſſis* is taken for the whole, according to that uſual phraſe of *civilians*, *ex aſſe hæres*, when one is heir to the whole inheritance: ſo the *ſolidus* was taken for the whole *aſſis*. [b] *Voluſius Metianus: Prima diviſio ſolidi, id eſt libræ quod as vocatur, in duas partes dimidias deducitur. From hence* (ſaith [c] *Salmaſius*) *the* Romans *called that the* ſolidus aureus, *when it had the ſame weight in gold, which the* ſolidus, *that is, the* aſſis *had in reſpect of braſs, that is, two drachmes.* Though I rather ſuppoſe that the *aureus* was called *ſolidus*, firſt of all in *Severus*'s time, not for containing two *denarii* in weight, (which *Salmaſius* calls *drachmes*) for ſo it always did under the later conſuls, and firſt emperors, but becauſe the *aureus* was then firſt divided into two parts; that is, into the *ſemiſſes* and *tremiſſes*, and ſo relatively to theſe the whole *aureus* was rightly called *ſolidus*. Of the ſame opinion is [d] *Agricola: Quos aureos, cum reſpectum ad ſemiſſes & tremiſſes haberent, tunc primo dixerunt ſolidos, quod ſemiſſes ex dimidia eorum parte, tremiſſes ex tertia conſtarent.*

The *ſemiſſis* and *tremiſſis* of the other emperors, at ſome diſtance after *Severus*, came to be leſs in the ſame proportion, as the *aurei* were leſſened. For the *aurei* of *Severus* were double to the *denarii Cæſarei*, and therefore but forty eight in the pound, and not fifty, as *Heliogabalus* made, whoſe error *Severus* corrected. But when the later emperors made ſeventy two *aurei* out of the *Roman* pound, the *ſemiſſes* came alſo to be diminiſhed, and were half of theſe new *aurei*, and not of the former, and the *tremiſſes* the third part. And here the *aurei* loſt that proportion which they kept before, of being double to the *denarii*. Of theſe *tremiſſes* is *Juſtinian* to be underſtood, *L. FORTISS. MILITIBUS. COD. DE MILITARI VESTE. Fortiſſimis militibus noſtris per Illyricum non binos tremiſſes pro ſingulis clamydibus, ſed ſingulos ſolidos dare præcipimus.* And this may be farther proved by a fair [e] *tremiſſis* in gold of mine own of *Juſtinian*, with the inſcription D. N. JUSTINIANUS, weighing twenty one grains *Engliſh*, and therefore wanting only three grains ½, which it may have loſt by time: otherwiſe it would be exactly the 216th part of the *Roman* pound; that is, the third part of the *aureus*, or *ſolidus* of thoſe times: whereas if it had been coined to the proportion of the *aureus*, when there were forty eight in the pound, it ſhould have weighed 36 grains ½, ſo that it muſt have loſt 15 ½, a difference ſo great in a piece of gold ſo fair, and withal of ſo ſmall a quantity, altogether improbable. And therefore this coin alone, if no more were extant, would confute their opinion, who maintain that the *tremiſſis* of *Juſtinian* differed not from the *tremiſſis* of *Severus*, and conſequently the *aurei* of them both, better than the reaſons produced by [f] *Covarruvias* to the contrary have done. GREAVES

[a] Iſidorus, l. 16. orig. c. 24. [b] Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtrib. [c] *Hinc & ſolidum aureum dixere Romani, ubi idem pondus habere cœpi in auro, quod ſolidus, id eſt, as haberet in ære, duarum nempe drachmarum.* Salmaſ. de modo Uſur. [d] Agricola, l. 2. de pond. & temp. monetarum.

[e] I have ſince peruſed another *Tremiſſis* in gold, a very fair one, with this inſcription, D. N. JUSTINUS. P. F. AUG. weighing twenty two grains, and better; which formerly belonged to the learned geographer, *Ortelius*. Beſides a third, of *Majorianus*, with CONOB ſuperſcribed (which ſignifies, *Conſtantinopolitanum Obrizum*, or *Conſtantinopoli Obſignatum*) weighing likewiſe twenty two grains. And a fourth, of *Juſtinian*, weighing twenty three. [f] Covarruvias, tom. 1. c. 3. paragr. 1, & 2. de vet. aureis, & argenteis nummis.

The Weight of ſome of the faireſt AUREI *of the* Roman *Emperors, from* Nerva *to* Heraclius.

On the fore-part of the AUREI *are theſe characters:*	*On the reverſe, theſe:*	Eng. Grains.
IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. IIII. P. P.	FIDES. EXERCITVS——	111½
IMP. TRAIANVS. AUG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P.	DIVVS. PATER. TRAIANI——	110½
IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG.	COS. II. P. M. TR. P. P. AVG —	121½
ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. XII.	COS. IIII——	119⅛

		Eng. Grains.
Greaves. ANTONINVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS.	P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. *in scuto victoriæ*. VIC. AVG.	118 7/8
IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG.	CONCORDIAE. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. II. COS. II.	117 1/4
L. VERVS. AVG. ARM. PARTHI. MAX.	TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II.	113 1/8
M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. P. P.	IOVI VLTORI	114
SEVER. P. AVG. P. M. TR. P. X. COS. III	FELICITAS. SAECVLI	114 1/2
IMP. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG	CAESAR. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG	114
Trebonianus Gallus.	P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P	75 1/4
Gallienus.	P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P	74 1/2
IMP. PROBVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIOSO. SEMPER	106
IMP. C. CARINVS. P. F. AVG.	SPES. AVGG	72 1/2
DIOCLETIANVS. P. F. AVG. MAXIMIANVS.	IOVI. CONSERVAT. AVGG	77 1/2
CONSTANTINVS. MAX. AVG	VIRTVS. MILITVM T.	74 1/4
	SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE *Infra* T. R.	70 1/2
CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG	VIRTVS. AVGVSTI. N	68
CONSTANTIVS	GLORIA. REIPVBLICAE. VOT. XXX. MVLTIS. XXXX. *infra* SNNS	70
IM. CAE. MAGNENTIVS. AVG	VICTORIA AVGG. LIB. ROMANOR *Infra* TR	70 1/4
FL. CL. IVLIANVS. P. F. AVG	VOT. X. MVLT. XX. *infra* ANT	68 1/4
D. N. IOVIANVS. P. F. PERP. AVG	SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE VOT. V. MVLT. X. *infra* COS. P	68
D. N. VALENS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIP. *infra* ANTO	68 1/4
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIPVBLICAE	69 1/4
A second		69
D. N. GRATIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIAE. AVGG. *infra* TROES	69
A second		68 3/4
D. N. THEODOSIVS. P. F. AVG.	VICTORIA. AVGG. *infra* CON	68
A second		69 1/4
D. N. ARCADIVS. P. F. AVG	NOVA. SPES. REIPVBLICAE *Intra Corollam* XX. XXX. *Infra* CONOB	67 1/2
A second		68
D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG.	VICTORIA. AVGGG *Statua, cui inscripit.* R. V. *infra* CONOB	69 1/4
A second		69 1/4
A third, D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. N. D. *infra* CONOB	68 1/4
D. N. THEODOSIVS. P. F. AVG	IMP. XXXXII. COS. XVII. P. F. *infra* CONOB.	69 1/2
D. N. PLA. VALENTINIANVS	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. AVG.	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	69 1/4
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG.	VICTORIA. AVGG. *infra* TROES	68
D. N. IVL. NEPOS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. A. *infra* CONOB	69 1/4
D. N. ANASTASIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68 1/2
D. N. IVSTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA AVGGG. A. *infra* CONOB	69
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68 1/4
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG HERACLIVS	VICTORIA. AVG. *infra* CONOB	69 1/4
A second		69 1/4
		69 1/2

And

And thus much of the *aurei* under the former and later emperors, as they ſerve to illuſtrate and prove the weight of the *denarii Cæſarei*, which is our next and principal enquiry.

The *denarii* under the *Cæſars* were almoſt as various and unconſtant as the *aurei*, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs; and if they had not been ſo, they could not have kept that proportion to the *aurei* of the former emperors, which we aſſigned. From *Auguſtus*'s time to *Veſpaſian*, as I find by examining many of them, they continually almoſt decreaſed, till from being the ſeventh part of the *Roman* ounce, they came now to be the eighth part: and therefore ninety ſix were coined out of the *Roman libra*, whereas before under the conſuls eighty four. From *Veſpaſian* to *Alex. Severus*, as far as I have obſerved, the ſilver continued at a kind of ſtay in reſpect of weight, excepting only ſuch coins, as upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, both then, and in the firſt emperor's time, were ſtamped either in honour of the prince, or of the empreſs, and *Auguſta Familia*, or elſe in memory of ſome eminent action. Theſe laſt, moſt uſually, were equal to the *denarii conſulares*, and many of them had theſe characters, *E. X. S. C.* or elſe *S. P. Q. R.* Under *Severus* and *Gordianus*, the *denarii* began to recover their primitive weight, and came to be equal to the *denarii conſulares*, the half of which alſo were exactly the *quinarii*; and ſo continued during the ſucceeding emperors, till *Juſtinian*, with little diminution, but moſt commonly with a notable abaſement and mixture of allay. After *Juſtinian* there happened ſuch a deluge of barbarous nations, which overflowed the greateſt part of *Europe*, that not only the coins, but even the liberal arts and ſciences, began with the majeſty of the empire to decline from their firſt luſtre and perfection.

Wherefore I ſhall not ſpeak of the μιλιαρήσιον, or μιλιαρέσιον, a ſort of ſilver coin in uſe before, and after *Juſtinian* which ſome collect out of [a] *Cedrenus* to have been the eighth part of the ounce, and therefore equal to the *denarius* in the loweſt valuation; tho' [b] *Suidas* renders, μιλιαρήσιον τὸ τοῦ νομίσματος δέκατον, and the *Scholiaſtes Baſilic. eclog.* 23. δωδέκατον, and to contain twenty four φόλλεις. But I ſhall not poſitively determine either the weight of this, or of the κερατίον, or *ſiliqua* in ſilver, both coined when the imperial ſeat was tranſlated to *Byzantium*, unleſs I had examined ſome of the faireſt of them. And for the ſame reaſon I ſhall not define the *Hebrew denarius*, mentioned by *Elias* the *Thiſbite*, in the word דינר and by [c] *Moſes Gerundenſis* upon *Exodus*, and by the *Chaldee paraphraſe*, 2 *Reg.* v. 5. which I imagine to have been no other than the *Roman denarius*, uſed by the *Jews*: neither ſhall I determine the *Arabian dinar*, and *derham*; the former of which the Rabbins call דינרא עירבאי uſed by *Rhaſis*, *Avicen*, *Meſue*, and by ſeveral other *Arabians*, both phyſicians and hiſtorians. All that can certainly be concluded is this, that by the *dinar*, when we ſpeak of a coin, is meant ſometime the *denarius*, and ſometime the *aureus*: but when we ſpeak of a weight, always the *aureus* is underſtood; as by the *derham*, the δραχμὴ, or ſilver drachme. But ſurely the quality of the thing is different from the name: the ſilver drachme of the *Arabians*, as it is generally now uſed in the *Mahometan dominions* in the *Eaſt*, conſiſting of XLVII $\frac{4}{5}$ grains *Engliſh*, (as I have found by weighing many of them) which is much leſs than either the *drachma Attica*, or the *denarius Conſularis*; and ſomewhat leſs than the *denarius Cæſareus*. And yet it is not improbable but that this may have continued with them without any diminution, for ſix or ſeven hundred years to our times, as well as the *Roman* pound and ounce have continued entire ſixteen hundred years and better. But to omit any farther proſecution of the *dinar* and *derham* of the *Arabians*, which may hereafter more fully be diſcuſſed, when we ſhall handle their meaſures and weights, and to go on with our diſcourſe of the *Roman denarius*. After the breaking in of ſo many barbarous nations, as of a torrent, into the *Roman* empire, the *denarius* began generally to be diſuſed; every one almoſt of theſe, as an argument of their ſovereignty and conqueſts, making new coins of their own: or elſe ſuch as continued the former, either by allays ſo abaſed the fineneſs, and valuation of the coins, or by ſeveral diminutions ſo impaired the weight, that the *denarius* totally fell, and at laſt almoſt vaniſhed into nothing. Neither will this ſeem ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, that the like alteration, in reſpect of weight, hath happened by the revolution of a leſs time, in our own coins. I ſhall inſtance in our *denarius* or penny, which in *Ethelred*'s time, that is, a little more than 100 years ſince, was the twentieth part of the Troy, or ſilver ounce: as [d] M. *Lambard*, in his *Saxon* Gloſſary obſerves, and as by experience I have found (and the ſame proportion was anciently obſerved by the [e] *French*, in their *denier*.)

GREAVES

[a] Cedrenus in hiſtor. compend. [b] Suidas in voce μιλιαρήσιον. [c] P. 72. col. 4.
[d] Lambardi Gloſſarium Cantabrig. 1644. [e] *In appendice libri de limit. agrorum: Juxta Gallos vigeſſima pars unciæ denarius eſt, & XII denarii ſolidum reddunt.*

GREAVES This proportion continued ſucceſſively to *Edward* the firſt, in whoſe time we find the weight of the *denarius* by [f] ſtatute to be thus defined: *Per ordinationes totius regni Angliæ denarius Angliæ, qui vocatur Sterlingus, rotundus, ſine tonſura, ponderabit* XXXII *grana frumenti in medio ſpicæ, &* XX *denarii faciunt unciam, &* XII *unciæ faciunt libram.* Under [g] *Edward* the third it came firſt to be diminiſhed to the twenty ſixth part of the Troy ounce; and under [h] *Henry* the ſixth it fell to the two and thirtieth; in [i] *Edward* the fourth's time it came to be the fortieth; under [k] *Henry* the eighth at firſt it was the fortieth, then the forty fifth. Afterward ſixty pence were coined out of the ounce in the ſecond year of [l] queen *Elizabeth*; and during her reign ſixty two: which proportion is obſerved in theſe times. So that it is evident that *Ethelred*'s penny was bigger than three of ours. And after times may ſee this of ours, as well as the *Roman denarius*, to be quite diminiſhed, and brought to nothing. For if either our own exigencies, or the exigencies of foreign ſtates with whom we have commerce, cauſe us or them (as occaſions will never be wanting) to alter the proportions of the gold and ſilver coins, either in reſpect of weight, or in reſpect of purity, or laſtly, in reſpect of the valuation the gold bears to ſilver; by all, or ſome of theſe cauſes, there will inevitably happen ſuch a diminution of the penny (and proportionably of our other coins) that at length it will not be worth the coining. But I leave this ſpeculation to ſuch, whom it doth more nearly concern. And certainly it is a conſideration not of the leaſt importance; money being as the ſinews and ſtrength of a ſtate, ſo the life and ſoul of commerce: and if thoſe advantages which one country may make upon another, in the myſtery of exchanges, and valuation of coins, be not throughly diſcovered, and prevented, by ſuch as ſit at the helm of the ſtate, it may fare with them after much commerce, as with ſome bodies after much food, that inſtead of growing full, and fat, they may pine away, and fall into an irrecoverable conſumption. But I return to the *Roman denarius*, which we have brought ſo low, that there is nothing now left of it, but only the name; and that alſo ſuffered an [m] alteration: for the later *Greeks* inſtead of the δηνάριον, called it the δηνάριον: and both *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſometimes the *Arabians*, took it not in the ſame ſenſe, as it paſſed for in the firſt inſtitution; that is, for a ſilver coin, worth in valuation ten or ſixteen *aſſes*, but for any ſort of coin whatſoever. And therefore [n] *Meurſius*'s obſervation, in his *Gloſſarium Græco-Barbarum*, is worth our conſideration. *Poſtea* δίωβέλιον *dixerunt ævo corruptiore, & generaliter pro quavis pecunia. Sicut Itali denaro. Galli denier. Hiſpani dinero. Anonymus de bello ſacro.*

Δίωβέλια ἔχετε πολλὰ, δῶτε τῷ ταβερνάρῃ,
Ἐπάρχῳ πολλῶ κερσὶ ἢ πίνελε μετ' αὐτοῦ.

Whence the learned [o] *Joſ. Scaliger* rightly obſerves, that, *Ultimis temporibus denarii pro exigua ſtipe uſurpati ſunt, ut hodie in Gallia. Imperator Aurelianus: Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, æris denarios centum. Eos Vopiſcus in Bonoſo ſeſtertios æris vocat. Macrobius de nummo ratito loquens, qui erat æreus:* Ita fuiſſe ſignatum hodieque intelligitur in aleæ luſu, cum pueri denarios in ſublime jactantes, capita, aut navia luſu teſte vetuſtatis exclamant. *In Evangelio ſecundum Marcum* XII. λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης. *Hilarius, duos denarios viduæ inopis Deo acceptiores. Luc.* X. ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια, *Ambroſius, duo æra. Vetuſtiſſimus eſt igitur denarii uſus,* ἀντὶ τοῦ χαλκισμοῦ, *vel ſtipe.* Thus far *Scaliger.*

Such an uncertainty being then, as we have mentioned, both of the *aurei* and *denarii*, under the firſt *Cæſars*, in whoſe times the pureſt coins, and the beſt wits moſt flouriſhed, and ſuch an abaſement and impureneſs of the ſilver under the later emperors, no reaſonable man can imagine, that either the ancient grammarians, poets, orators, hiſtorians, or eſpecially phyſicians, whom it did moſt concern to be preciſe, and moſt of which lived under the former emperors, did ever allude to the weight of the *denarius Cæſareus*, but rather to the *Conſularis*. And to this only, and to no other, did the *Attick drachme* mentioned by *Dioſcorides*, *Cleopatra*, *Galen*, *Julius Pollus*, *Oribaſius*, and the reſt of the *Greek* authors correſpond. And thus have we finiſhed our diſcourſe concerning the *denarius*, in the notion and acception of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*.

Our next labour ſhould be to compare it with the ſtandards for weights of divers nations uſed in theſe times: for which I had recourſe to the publick *Zygoſtatæ*, and *Ponderatores*, in my travels abroad; and for my obſervations I muſt refer the reader to this enſuing table.

[f] Stat. 31. Edov. 1. [g] Stat. 9. Edov. 3. [h] Stat. 2. Hen. 6. [i] Stat. 5. Ed. 4.
[k] Stat. 36. Hen. 8. [l] Stat. 2. Eliz.

[m] In the ſame manner the *ſolidus*, or *aureus*, as it loſt its valuation, ſo ſuffered an alteration in the *Greek* name: for inſtead of χρυσῆς, we find the gloſſes to render it χρύσιν@. *Gloſſæ*, χρύσιν@ *ſolidus*: and in the ſame gloſſes we read δίωνάρια interpreted *biniones*, and δίωνάριον *ſeſtertium*, and δίωνάριον λάϊκὸν *alprum*.

[n] Meurſii Gloſſarium Græco. Barbar. in voce δίωνάριον. [o] Scalig. de re num.

A Table

A TABLE of the gold and ſilver [a] Weights of ſeveral Nations: Taken from their Standards, and compared with the Denarius.

GREAVES

	Eng. Grains.
SUCH parts, or grains of the *Engliſh* ſtandard for gold and ſilver (or of the *Troy* weight) as the *denarius Conſularis* containeth ſixty two, according to the weight of the beſt coins, or according to the weight of the *congius* of *Veſpaſian*	62 5/7
The ancient and modern *Roman* ounce containeth	438
The ancient and modern *Roman* pound, conſiſting of twelve ounces, containeth	5256
The *Troy* pound, or *Engliſh* ſtandard of gold and ſilver, conſiſting of twelve ounces, containeth	5760
The *Troy*, or *Engliſh* ounce, (to which five ſhillings two pence of our money, in theſe times are equal) containeth	480
The *Paris* pound, or ſtandard for gold and ſilver, of ſixteen ounces	7560
The *Paris* ounce	472 1/2
The *Spaniſh* pound, or ſtandard, for gold and ſilver, of ſixteen ounces, taken by me at *Gibraltar*	7090
Another weigh'd by me at *Gibraltar*	7085
The *Spaniſh* pound in *Villalpandus*, is (I know not by what error) but	7035
The *Spaniſh* ounce at *Gibraltar* (the pound conſiſting of 7090 grains *Engliſh*	443 1/2
The *Venetian* pound, or ſtandard, for gold and ſilver, of twelve ounces	5528
The *Venetian* ounce	460 2/3
The *Neapolitan* pound, or ſtandard, for gold and ſilver, of twelve ounces	4950
The *Neapolitan* ounce	412 1/2
The pound, or ſtandard, for gold and ſilver, of twelve ounces, at *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Leghorne*	5286
The ounce at *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Leghorne*	440 1/2
The pound, or ſtandard, at *Siena*, for gold and ſilver, of twelve ounces	5178
The ounce at *Siena*	431 1/2
The ounce at *Genoa*, for gold and ſilver	405 1/2
The *Turkiſh okeh*, or *oke*, at *Conſtantinople*, conſiſting of four hundred ſilver drams	19128
The ſilver dram generally uſed in the *Great Turk*'s dominions: as alſo in *Perſia*, and in the *Mogul*'s countries, if I be not miſinformed	47 41/50
The *Turkiſh ſultani*, or *Ægyptian ſherif*, being a gold coin, with which the *Barbary* and *Venetian chequeen*, and *Norimberg* ducat, within a grain more or leſs, agree	53 1/2
The *ratel*, or *rotulo*, for gold and ſilver of a hundred forty four drams at *Cairo*	6886 2/5
The *ratel*, or *rotulo*, for ſilk of ſeven hundred and twenty drams at *Damaſcus* (with which I ſuppoſe they there formerly weighed their gold and ſilver; becauſe moſt countries uſe the ſame weights for ſilks, gold, and ſilver	34430 4/5

[a] The weights (excepting *the rotulo of Damaſcus*) were diligently compared with the originals and ſtandards; in like manner as I examined the meaſures above deſcribed. In both which, if any ſhall find ſome little difference from ſome originals, as five or ſix grains in the *Engliſh* pound, and it may be one or two parts of a thouſand in the *Engliſh* foot, different from *the ſtandards in the Exchequer, or the Tower, or at Winchеſter*, or ſome other place, it is not much to be wondered: for I have found as great differences in collating the *Engliſh* ſtandards themſelves: and have heard *Gaſparo Berti* (one of the exacteſt men in this kind that I have known) to complain of the ſame diverſity at *Rome*. And tho' it be a ſhame, that in any well-governed kingdom, or common-wealth, the ſtandards, which are the rules of *commutative juſtice*, ſhould be unequal, and therefore unjuſt; yet unleſs more art and circumſpection be uſed, than hitherto hath been put in practice, it is impoſſible but ſuch inequalities will creep in.

But this obſervation of mine, by ſome, may be thought too nice and curious. That which follows, I am certain, is as neceſſary, as the preſervation of the life of many a man. And that is, that ſome phyſicians erroneouſly imagine the *granum auri* to be alike in all nations. And therefore *Fernelius*, a very able man (who, I think, was the firſt author of that opinion) writes thus: (*Fern. l. 4. c. 6. Method. medendi*) *Granum, cui tanquam baſi reliqua innituntur pondera, ratum conſtanſque eſſe decet; neque id granum eſſe hordei, neque tritici, neque ciceris, neque frugis ullius, aut leguminis, quod nullius par ſit ubique gentium pondus. At vero nummarium minutum, quod aurifabri granum appellant, & Latinè momentum dici poteſt, omnibus mundi nationibus unum idemque eſt, & ſtabile, quod auri ſacra fames, & opum furioſa libido, inviolatè & incorruptè ſervat, idque ſignis & exemplaribus undique identidem collatis.* Indeed it was an uſeful fancy of his to think of ſome common meaſure, in which all nations might concur; tho' it is more to be wiſhed for, than ever to be expected. But that aſſeveration of his, *Inviolatè, & incorruptè ſervat, idque ſignis & exemplaribus undique identidem collatis*, from a man of ſuch rare abilities, I cannot but extremely wonder at: for if we ſhall go no farther to confute his aſſertion, than to compare our *grana aurei* with thoſe of *Paris*, which *Fernelius* uſed, we ſhall find ours much bigger; XXIX *Engliſh* grains almoſt equalling XXXVI of *Paris*. Or if we ſhall compare the *Spaniſh grana aurei*, with his, we ſhall find thoſe much leſs; XXXVI *Spaniſh* grains weighing but XXVIII and a half of his at *Paris*. The like could I demonſtrate in thoſe of other countries. By which dangerous and notable error, for want either of due care, or an exact balance, we may conceive that whatſoever alſo is delivered by the ancients, in the like nature, is not preſently without due examination to be credited.

In this table I judged it much fitter to compare the *denarius* with the ſtandards for gold and ſilver of ſeveral nations, than with their gold and ſilver coins now current. Becauſe the pounds and ounces of the ſtandard continue alway the ſame; whereas the gold and ſilver coins being cut in ſeveral proportions, according to the exigencies of the ſtate, admit of ſeveral alterations and diminutions.

The CONCLUSION.

GREAVES IT was my intention from the *pes Rom.* and *denarius*, together with the *congius of Veſpaſian*, to have deduced the other weights and meaſures, uſed by the *Romans*; and from thoſe of the *Romans*, by ſuch teſtimonies as are upon record in the writings of the ancients, to have inferred thoſe of the *Hebrews*, *Babylonians*, *Ægyptians*, *Grecians*, *and of other nations*. A work, I confeſs, intricate and full of difficulties; wherein I could expect neither to give my ſelf, nor others ſatisfaction, without firſt laying ſome ſure and ſolid principles for the *baſis* and foundation. Therefore that occaſioned me to inſiſt the more largely in the proſecution of the *pes Rom.* and *denarius*, and to examine all the ways I could poſſibly imagine, for the evident proof and confirmation of them. What in this kind I have done, and with how much truth and diligence, I leave to the impartial teſt of after-times, the reſt at more leiſure may be perfected. Yet theſe following obſervations, as a *coronis* to the whole work, I thought would not be unacceptable, if by way of anticipation I communicated them to the world: And thoſe are how the originals and ſtandards of weights and meaſures, notwithſtanding the revolutions and viciſſitudes of empires, may be perpetuated to poſterity. Amongſt ſeveral ways, which I have thought of, I know none more certain and unqueſtionable, than to compare them with ſome remarkable and laſting monuments, in remote countries, that have ſtood unimpaired for many hundred years, and are like to continue as many more. In which kind I made choice of the *firſt and moſt eaſterly of the three great pyramids in* Ægypt; *of the baſis of that admirable* Corinthian *pillar*, erected (as I ſuppoſe) by one of the *Ptolemys*, *a quarter of a mile diſtant to the ſouth from* Alexandria, being one vaſt and entire marble-ſtone: *of the rock at Terracina* or *Anxur*, where it adjoins to the *Via Appia*, and almoſt touches the *Tyrrhene* ſea: *of the gate or entrance into the Pantheon*, or temple of *Agrippa*, dedicated by him to all the gods, and by the Chriſtians to all ſaints: *of the Porta Sancta*, in that new and exquiſite ſtructure of St. *Peter's church in Rome*. If the like had been attempted by ſome of the ancient mathematicians, our times would have been freed from much uncertainty, in diſcovering the weights and meaſures of the *Greeks* and *Latines*.

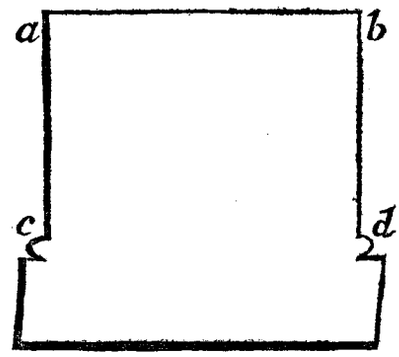
The firſt and moſt eaſterly of the three great pyramids in *Ægypt*, hath on the north-ſide a ſquare deſcent, when you are enter'd a little paſt the mouth of it, there is a joint, or line, made by the meeting of two ſmooth and poliſhed ſtones over your head, which are parallel to thoſe under your feet, the breadth at that joint, or line, is three feet and $\frac{444}{1000}$ of the *Engliſh* foot.

Within the pyramid, and about the midſt of it, there is a fair room, or chamber, the top of which is flat, and covered with nine maſſy ſtones; in it there ſtands a hollow tomb of one entire marble-ſtone: the length of the ſouth-ſide of this room at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond rows of ſtone meet, is thirty four feet $\frac{110}{1000}$.

The breadth of the weſt-ſide of the ſame room at the joint or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is ſeventeen feet $\frac{120}{1000}$.

The hollow or inner part of the marble tomb, near the top, on the weſt ſide of it, is in length ſix feet $\frac{411}{1000}$.

The hollow, or inner part of the marble tomb, near the top of it, on the north ſide, is in breadth two feet $\frac{211}{1000}$.



The baſis of the vaſt *Corinthian* pillar, about a quarter of a mile from *Alexandria* to the ſouth, on the weſt-ſide of the pillar at *a b*, is in breadth twelve feet $\frac{112}{1000}$. At *c d* it is fourteen feet $\frac{417}{1000}$.

The rock at *Terracina*, or *Anxur*, near the *Via Appia*, cloſe by the *Tyrrhene* ſea, hath theſe figures, beſides ſeveral others in the ſame perpendicular, very deeply engraven.

The uppermoſt line *b c*, over the figures CXX, in the innermoſt, and deepeſt part of the engraving, is in length four *Engliſh* feet, and $\frac{7}{1000}$.

The

The lowermoſt line *d a* in the innermoſt, and deepeſt part of the engraving, is in length four feet $\frac{622}{1000}$.

The ſtately gate or entrance into the *Pantheon*, or temple, built by *Agrippa* in *Rome*, the jambs, and top and bottom of it, being all of one entire marble-ſtone, is in breadth between the jambs, or ſides, ſome three inches above the bottom, and ſome nine inches within, nineteen feet $\frac{622}{1000}$.

The *Porta Sancta*, on the right-hand of the frontiſpiece of St. *Peter*'s church in *Rome*, is in breadth on the pavement, or threſhold, between the jambs or ſides of the entrance, eleven feet $\frac{222}{1000}$.

The great gate, or entrance, which is the middlemoſt of the five in the frontiſpiece of St. *Peter*'s church in *Rome*, the doors of which are covered with leaves of braſs, with very fair and exquiſite figures, is in breadth, on the pavement, or threſhold, between the jambs, or ſides of it, eleven feet $\frac{242}{1000}$.

The meaſures being fixed, we may likewiſe fix the weights in this manner; by making a veſſel of a cubical figure, anſwerable to the proportion of any one of theſe feet, or palms, or braces, which are deſcribed in the table at the end of the firſt treatiſe. This cubical veſſel being filled with clear fountain-water, we are to weigh it with an exact ballance, and to expreſs the weight of it by ſome one of thoſe weights, which we have placed in a table at the end of the ſecond treatiſe. The ſide of this cube being known, and the weight of it in water defined, the reſt of the weights in the ſecond table, by way of conſequence, by thoſe proportions which we have aſſigned, may be diſcovered. Thus for example: the *Roman* foot deſcribed by *Villalpandus*, is nine hundred eighty ſix parts, ſuch as the *Engliſh* foot contains a thouſand: this being cubed (ſaith he) weighs of fountain-water eighty *Roman* pounds. If therefore there be given nine hundred eighty ſix parts of a thouſand of the *Engliſh* foot, the cube of this will give us eighty *Roman* pounds in fountain-water; and conſequently the other meaſures will be diſcovered by thoſe proportions we have aſſigned to them, in reſpect of the *Roman* pound. Again, eighty *Roman* pounds of water being given, if we reduce this into a cubical body, the ſide of it will give the *Roman* foot deſcribed by *Villalpandus:* and conſequently the other meaſures may be deduced by thoſe proportions we have given them in a peculiar table. Whereby it appears, that as *by meaſures* weights may be preſerved, ſo on the contrary, *by weights* meaſures may be reſtored. GREAVES

Some Directions to be obſerved in comparing the Valuations of COINS.

IN comparing the valuations either of ancient coins with modern, or of modern one with another, we are to conſider: firſt, the *intrinſick* of them, and then the *extrinſick:* the intrinſick is either the *fineneſs* of the coin, in reſpect of metal, or the *gravity* in reſpect of weight. The extrinſick I term, firſt, the *character* imprinted on the coin. And, ſecondly, the *valuation* enjoined by the prince, or ſtate: by which character and valuation, what *originally* and *materially* was but common metal, or plate, comes now *legally* and *formally* to be current money. With theſe limitations, if we ſhall compare ancient coins with modern, and modern one with another, it will be no difficult matter to proportion out their ſeveral reſpective valuations; and withal to reconcile the ſeeming repugnancies, either of ancient coins now found, differing from the traditions of ancient authors, or the traditions of ancient authors differing among themſelves.

I ſhall firſt give an inſtance of modern coins compared with modern, in our *Engliſh* money compared with that of *Spain*, as being moſt familiar to us; the application of which will by analogy ſerve for all other diſtinct ſtates and times, uſing diſtinct coins.

In comparing therefore *Engliſh money with Spaniſh* money in *England*, or *Spaniſh money with Engliſh* in *Spain*, we are thus to proceed: Firſt, We are to examine whether they be of a like fineneſs for the *intrinſick*; if they be, then an ounce of *Engliſh* money, and an ounce of *Spaniſh* (ſuppoſing the weight of the ounce to be alike) will be of like value in any other country out of *England* and *Spain*; where neither are current, but only conſidered as ſo much metal, or plate. Secondly, We are to conſider the *extrinſick*, that is, the form and ſtamp of the coin, with the valuation of it by the injunction of the prince of either ſtate; and here that which before was *equal*, comes now to be *unequal:* for an ounce of *Engliſh* money in *England* comes to be more worth than an ounce of *Spaniſh* money in *England*; becauſe this wants the character, ſtamp, and valuation of our princes, whereby it is current: and for the ſame reaſon will an ounce of *Engliſh* money be leſs in valuation than the ounce of *Spaniſh* money in *Spain*, ſuppoſing (as I ſaid) the ounce in both countries to be exactly one and the ſame.

The ſame analogy will be, if we compare ancient coins, as thoſe of the *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, with our *modern coins*.

We

GREAVES We are firſt to conſider the *intrinſick* of them, whether they be of a like weight and fineneſs for the metal with ours: and this is the *natural or phyſical conſideration.* From whence we may conclude, that if, for example, ſo many *Attick tetradrachmes* do equal in pureneſs and weight, ſo many of our *Engliſh* ſhillings, newly brought from the mint, or ſo many of our *Troy or ſilver ounces*, taken from the ſtandard, then are they to be balanced with theſe in the acception of them as plate; and a ſilverſmith, abſtracting from the *extrinſick*, that were to melt them both, would give a like value for them both. But if we, ſecondly, look upon them with the image and character of the ſtate, and in the notion of money, which is *the politick conſideration*, then that which before in the *trutinâ*, and ſcale, was equal, in the *foro*, and in commerce, comes to be unequal: and an ounce of *Engliſh* money ſhall paſs for more than an ounce in *Attick tetradrachmes*, with reference to the expences of the mint, and to the civil valuation, depending upon a mandate, or law, enacted by the prince.

In like manner will it be, if we compare ancient coins with ancient, made in different ſtates, as it is in comparing ancient coins with modern.

Upon theſe grounds of reaſon it will follow, that whereas the *Roman* authors make the *denarius conſularis* to be equal to the *drachma Attica*, and the *Greeks* equal the *drachma Attica* to the *denarius conſularis*, that both ſay true; and yet both of them, if we ſpeak ſtrictly and exactly, may be deceived. For the *denarius conſularis* examined by *the balance, which is the beſt judge of the intrinſick*, (I ſpeak of the *intrinſick in reſpect of weight*, and not the *intrinſick in reſpect of fineneſs*, that being beſt diſcovered by the *ſcale*, and this by the *teſt*: which laſt, for the more clearneſs of my diſcourſe, I ſuppoſe in all theſe coins to be alike.) I ſay, the *denarius conſularis* is found by me, contrary to the opinion of all modern writers, to be lighter than the *drachma Attica*: and therefore to ſpeak ſtrictly, and preciſely, cannot be equal to it in the *intrinſick*. But again, if we look upon the *extrinſick* of the *drachma Attica*, and *denarius conſularis*, that having the ſtamp of *Athens*, and this of *Rome*, here reaſon muſt be our balance, and not the *trutina*. For the *Athenian* coin being a foreigner, and not current in *Italy*, in the way of exchange and commerce, will loſe of its primitive valuation it had at *Athens*, and for want of the *extrinſick* of the *Roman* ſtamp, neceſſarily rebate in the *intrinſick*. And therefore both *Greeks* and *Romans* writing in *Italy*, might truly ſay, that the *denarius conſularis*, and *drachma Attica*, were equal, that is, ſpeaking in *civil commerce*, and *popular eſtimation*: altho' they were unequal *in the intrinſick* and *natural valuation*.

But if we ſhall change the ſcene, and carry the *denarius conſularis* to *Athens*, the caſe will be quite altered. For the *denarius* being a ſtranger, and the *drachma Attica* a denizon, that cannot have the ſame privileges with this: and therefore the *extrinſick* of the *denarius* being there of no uſe, and the *intrinſick* in reſpect of weight falling ſhort of the *drachma*, it muſt neceſſarily be much leſs in valuation at *Athens* than the *drachma*: and I think no adviſed *Athenian*, writing in *Attica*, would make them equal, I am certain no *nummularius* would.

The ſame may be ſaid of the *Hebrew ſhekel*, and the *Attick tetradrachme*, and of all other coins of diſtinct ſtates, mention'd in claſſical authors. Thus *Philo* and *Joſephus*, in *Judea*, both truly equal the *ſhekel* to the *Attick tetradrachme*, that is in way of *commerce*; tho' the *ſhekel* be unequal, and leſs than the *tetradrachme*, (as I have found by examining many of them) in a juſt notion of weight. The reaſon is evident by what hath been expreſſed before: for in *Judea* the *extrinſick* makes amends for what the *ſhekel* wants in the *intrinſick*; and on the contrary, what the *tetradrachme* exceeds in the *intrinſick*, is diminiſhed for want of the *extrinſick*, till at length in a popular eſtimation they come to be equal. But the quite contrary would happen, in the tranſportation of *ſhekels* from *Jeruſalem* to *Athens*. Here the *ſhekel* would neceſſarily fall from its primitive valuation, and the *tetradrachme*, being conſidered now no longer as a foreigner, would recover what it loſt in *Judea*, and conſequently riſe above the *Hebrew ſhekel*; as having a double advantage in the *extrinſick* from the ſtate, and in the *intrinſick* from its weight.

But what need we to go ſo far for examples, when as we inſtanced before, we have them nearer home? The *Spaniſh* quarters of the *dollar*, or *double rials*, paſs ordinarily in our ſea-towns but for *ſhillings*, (whereas they are worth in the *intrinſick* thirteen pence farthing) and our *ſhillings* paſs in *Spain* ſcarce for a *rial* and an half. For theirs wanting in *England* our *extrinſick*, and ours in *Spain* wanting their *extrinſick*, muſt reſpectively riſe and fall in their valuation.

AN ACCOUNT OF *COCHIN-CHINA.*

In TWO PARTS.

The FIRST Treats
Of the TEMPORAL STATE *of that Kingdom.*

The SECOND,
Of what concerns the SPIRITUAL.

Written in ITALIAN,
By the R. F. *CHRISTOPHER BORRI*, a *Milaneze*, of the SOCIETY of JESUS, who was one of the First MISSIONERS in that Kingdom.

To the READER.

BORRI.

THIS account is so short, it requires not much preface, or to say the truth, any at all; a little time sufficing the curious to inform himself of the value and contents of it. Who the author was appears by the title, and what the cause of his going into that kingdom, his profession and only business being to preach Christianity to the infidels: he lived five years among them, and learn'd their language to perfection; and therefore his relation is not like those of travellers, who just pass through a country; or merchants, that touch at ports upon the business of trade, and consequently deliver very fabulous accounts, either to make their travels the more surprizing, or for want of knowing better, taking things upon hear-say, and not understanding their language to get certain information. This father on the contrary frequently conversing with all sorts of people, and having a settled residence there for years, had the opportunity of knowing what he writ. He gives the description of the kingdom, a considerable part whereof he travell'd over: he speaks of its product, which he had the benefit of for sustenance and cloathing: he tells us the temper and seasons of the air, which he several times felt: he relates the inundations which he often saw: he gives an account of their sects, which he learn'd from their priests, or omsays, *whom he converted to Christianity: he sets down the power and government of the kingdom which he could be no stranger to, being familiar with several men in great authority: and to conclude, he particularizes how far the christian faith has been there propagated; which he well knows, as having been himself a labourer in the vineyard for the first five years; and after that, receiving it from those that succeeded him. In fine, the relation is curious, tho' short, and seems to carry all the air of truth imaginable, besides the general approbation it has always received in all parts, which is the greatest commendation that can be given it.*

AN ACCOUNT OF *COCHIN-CHINA.*

The FIRST PART.

OF THE Temporal State of the Kingdom of *Cochin-China.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of this Kingdom.

BORRI. Name of *Cochin-China.*

Cochin-China, ſo call'd by the *Portugueſes*, is by the natives call'd *Anam*, ſignifying a weſtern country, becauſe it lies weſt of *China*; for which ſame reaſon the *Japoneſes* in their language give it the name of *Cochi*, ſignifying the ſame as *Anam*, in the *Cochi-Chineſe* Language. But the *Portugueſes* having by means of the *Japoneſes* been admitted to trade in *Anam*, of the *Japoneſe* word *Cochi*, and this other word *China*, compounded the name *Cochin-China*, applying it to this kingdom, as if they call'd it *Cochin* of *China*, the better to diſtinguiſh it from *Cochin* the city in *India*, inhabited by the *Portugueſes*; and the reaſon why in the maps of the world we generally find *Cochin-China* ſet down under the denomination of *Cauchin-China*, or *Cauchina*, or the like, is no other but the corruption of the right name, or that the authors of thoſe maps would ſignify, that this kingdom was the beginning of *China*.

Its bounds

This kingdom on the ſouth borders upon that of *Chiampá*, in 11 degrees of north latitude, on the north ſomewhat inclining eaſt-ward with *Tunchim*, on the eaſt is the *Chineſe* ſea, and on the weſt north weſt the kingdom of *Lais*.

Extent.

As to its extent, I ſhall here ſpeak only of *Cochin-China*, which is part of the great kingdom of *Tunchim*, uſurp'd by a king who was grandfather to him now reigning in *Cochin-China*, who rebell'd againſt the great king of *Tunchim*: for as yet the *Portugueſes* have traded only in this province; and here only the fathers of the ſociety have been converſant, in order to introduce Chriſtianity: yet at the end of this account, I ſhall diſcourſe concerning ſome particulars of *Tunchim*, where our fathers got footing ſince my return into *Europe*.

Cochin-China extends above a hundred leagues along the ſea, reckoning from the kingdom of *Chiampá*, in the aforeſaid 11 degrees of north latitude, to the gulf of *Ainam*, in the latitude of 17 degrees, or thereabouts, where the king of *Tunchim*'s dominions begin. The breadth is not much, being about twenty miles, all the country plain, ſhut up on the one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by a ridge of mountains inhabited by the *Kemois*, which ſignifies a ſavage people; for tho' they are *Cochin-Chineſes*, yet they no way acknowledge or ſubmit to the king, keeping in the faſtneſſes of the uncouth mountains, bordering on the kingdom of *Lais*.

Diviſion.

Cochin-China is divided into five provinces, the firſt bordering on *Tunchim*, where this king reſides, is call'd *Sinuvá*; the ſecond *Cachiam*, here the prince, the king's ſon reſides and governs; the third, *Quamguya*; the fourth *Quignin*, by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Pullucambi*; and the fifth confining on *Chiampá*, is *Renran*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Climate, and Nature of the Country of Cochin-China.

THO' this kingdom, as has been ſaid, lies between 11 and 17 degrees of north latitude; hence it follows of courſe, that the country is rather hot than cold, and yet it is not ſo hot as *India*, tho' it be in the ſame latitude, and within the torrid zone. The cauſe of the difference is, becauſe in *India* there is no diſtinction of the four ſeaſons of the year, ſo that the ſummer laſts there nine months without intermiſſion, without ſeeing ſo much as a cloud either day or night, and therefore the air is continually, as it were, inflamed with the great reflection of the ſun-beams. The other three months are call'd winter, not becauſe there is any want of heat, but becauſe at that time it generally rains day and night; and tho' to appearance, ſuch continual rains ſhould naturally cool the air, yet they falling in the three months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the ſun is in its greateſt elevation, and in the *zenith* of *India*, and no winds blowing but what are hot, the air continues ſo inflam'd, that ſometimes the heat is more intenſe than in ſummer, when for the moſt part there are pleaſant winds blowing from the ſea, which cool the ground, wherewith, if Almighty God did not relieve thoſe countries, they would be uninhabitable.

Great heat of *India*.

But *Cochin-China* enjoying the diſtinction of the four ſeaſons, tho' not in ſo perfect a manner as *Europe*, is much more temperate: for tho' its ſummer, which comprehends the three months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, be violent hot; becauſe it lies within the torrid zone, and becauſe the ſun is then in its zenith, yet in *September*, *October*, and *November*, the autumn ſeaſon, the heat ceaſes, and the air becomes very temperate by reaſon of the continual rains, which at this time uſually fall upon the mountains of the *Kemois*, whence the waters running down in abundance do ſo flood the kingdom, that meeting with the ſea, they ſeem to be all of a piece. Theſe inundations during theſe three months, for the moſt part happen once a fortnight, and laſt three days at a time. They ſerve not only to cool the air, but to fertilize the earth, making it fruitful and abounding in all things, but particularly in rice, which is the moſt common and univerſal food of all the kingdom. During the other three winter months, which are *December*, *January*, and *February*, there are cold northerly winds, bringing cool rains, and ſo ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing the winter from other ſeaſons. To conclude, in *March*, *April*, and *May*, the effects of ſpring appear, all things being green and bloſſoming.

Four ſeaſons in *Cochin-China*.

BORRI.

Now ſince we have ſpoke of theſe inundations, I will not conclude this chapter without firſt obſerving ſome curioſities that occur on occaſion of them.

Notable inundations.

The firſt is, That all men in general wiſh for them, not only that they may cool the air, but much more for the fertilizing of the earth: for which reaſon as ſoon as they appear, all the people are ſo pleas'd and joyful, that they expreſs it by viſiting, feaſting, and preſenting one another, all of them crying, and often repeating, *Daden Lut*, *Daden Lut*; that is, the inundation is come, it is here: and this is done by perſons of all degrees, even to the king himſelf.

And in regard the inundations often come ſo unexpectedly, that very often when they do not think of it at night, they find themſelves the next morning ſurrounded with water; ſo that they cannot go out of their houſes, throughout the whole kingdom, as has been ſaid: hence it is that abundance of cattle are drowned, for want of time to retire to the mountains, or higher grounds. For this reaſon there is a pleaſant ſort of law throughout the kingdom; which is, that if oxen, goats, ſwine, or other beaſts, are drowned, the owner loſes them, and they belong to him that firſt takes them: which cauſes much ſport and jollity; becauſe when the *Lut* happens, they all go out in boats, to ſeek the drowned cattle; upon which they afterwards feaſt and treat one another.

A pleaſant law.

Nor are the younger ſort without their paſtime; for there being in thoſe fields of rice, an infinite number of rats, their neſts filling with water, they are forced to ſwim out, and get upon the trees to ſave themſelves: and it is pleaſant to ſee the boughs loaded with rats, like fruit hanging on them. Then do the boys run out in their boats, ſtriving to out-do one another, in ſhaking the trees, that the rats may fall and be drowned: which childiſh paſtime is wonderful beneficial to the country, delivering it from thoſe miſchievous creatures, that otherwiſe, by degrees, would devour all the harveſt.

Beneficial ſport.

In ſhort, the *Lut* cauſes another conſiderable advantage: which is, that it affords every body the opportunity of furniſhing his houſe with all neceſſaries, becauſe the country being all navigable, during theſe three days, commodities are very eaſily convey'd from one city to another, and therefore then are held the greateſt fairs and markets,

Markets and fairs on the water.

Borri. kets, and with greater concourſe of people than at any other time in the year. Then alſo it is, that they lay in proviſion of wood to burn and build, bringing it from the mountains in boats; which to this purpoſe come into the ſtreets, and into the very houſes, built for this purpoſe upon high pillars, that water may have free paſſage, the people living during that time in the upper floors; to which it were a wonder if the *Lut* ſhould ever riſe, they being built according to the ſituation of the place, to ſuch a height as they know by long experience, is ſufficiently above the waters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Fruitfulneſs of the Country.

IT is an eaſy matter to conceive the fertility of *Cochin-China*, by the advantages accruing from the *Lut*; yet we will mention ſome other particulars relating to it. The Rice. *Lut* leaves the land ſo fruitful, that rice is gathered three times a year, in ſuch great plenty and abundance, that there is no body will work for gain; all perſons having enough to live on plentifully.

Oranges. There are great quantities of fruit of ſeveral ſorts, all the year about; and they are the ſame with thoſe in *India*, *Cochin-China* being within the ſame climate. But to come to particulars; the oranges there are bigger than ours in *Europe*, and very full; the rind of them is thin, tender, and ſo well taſted, that it is eaten with the juice, which has a pleaſant reliſh like limons in *Italy*.

Banana's. There is a ſort of fruit which the *Portugueſes* call *banana's*, and others *Indian* figs; tho', in my judgment, the name of a fig is neither proper to thoſe in *India*, nor in *Cochin-China*, becauſe neither the tree nor fruit has any reſemblance with our figs, the tree being like that we call *Indian Wheat*, but higher, and the leaves ſo long and broad, that two of them would ſerve to wrap a man in quite round, and from head to feet. Hence ſome have taken occaſion to ſay, that this was the tree in paradiſe, with the leaves whereof *Adam* cover'd himſelf. This tree at the top produces a cluſter of twenty, thirty, or forty of theſe *banana's* together; and each of them is in ſhape, length, and thickneſs, of an indifferent citron in *Italy*. Before the fruit is ripe, the rind is green; but afterwards yellow, as the citrons are. There is no need of a knife to pare this fruit, for the rind comes off as we ſhell beans. This fruit has a moſt fragrant ſmell; the pith or fleſh of it is yellow, and firm, like that of a *bergamot* pear, when full ripe, that melts in the mouth. By this it appears to be no way like our fig, except in the taſte and ſweetneſs. There is another ſort of them, which is only eaten roaſted, and with wine: the ſtem dies every year, when it has produc'd the fruit, and leaves a young ſprout at the foot, which grows up againſt the next year. That which in *Italy* they call an *Indian* fig, is nothing like the plant, or fruit of this *banana*, we now ſpeak of; nor is this which we have in *Italy* call'd an *Indian* fig, in thoſe parts. This fruit is common throughout all *India*. There is another ſort in *Cochin-China*, that is not found in *China*, nor *India*: it is as big as the largeſt citrons we have in *Italy*; ſo that one of them is enough to ſatisfy a man. Theſe are nouriſhing, very white within, and full of black round ſeeds, which chew'd together with the white ſubſtance, are of a delicious taſte, and a good medicine againſt the flux.

There is another fruit in *Cochin-China*, which I have not ſeen in any other country of *India*; and this they call *Can*: the outward form and nature of the rind is like our pomegranate; but within it contains a ſubſtance almoſt liquid, which is taken out, and eaten with a ſpoon; the taſte is aromatick, and the colour like that of a ripe medlar. *Can.*

They have another peculiar to the country, that grows, and is like our cherries, but taſtes like raiſins, and is call'd *gnoo*. *Gnoo.*

There are alſo melons, but not ſo good as ours in *Europe*; nor are they eaten without ſugar or honey. The water-melons are large and delicate. Melons.

There is a fruit they call *giacca*, which is common to the other parts of *India*, but much larger in *Cochin-China*: It grows on a tree as high as the walnut, or cheſnut, and has much longer prickles than the *jubeb*. It is as big as a very large pompion in *Italy*, ſo that one of them is a man's load. The out-rine is like that of a pine-apple, but ſoft and tender within. This fruit is full of certain yellow round kernels, like a ſmall piece of coin, that is round and flat; and in the middle of every one of them, is a ſtone that is thrown away. There are two ſorts of this fruit; one in *Portugueſe* is call'd *giacca barca*: the ſtone of this is thrown away, and the pulp is ſtiff; they do not take out the ſtone of the other; nor is the pulp hard, but ſoft as glue: both theſe in taſte ſomewhat reſemble that delicious fruit called the *durion*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak next. *Giacca.*

This *durion* is one of the moſt delicious fruits in the world, and only found in *Malaca*, *Durion.*

laca, *Borneo*, and the adjacent iſlands. The tree differs little from the *giacca* laſt mentioned, and the fruit it ſelf is like it without, and that reſembles the pine-apple, even in the hardneſs of the rind. The meat within is very white about the bone, to which it ſticks like glue, and taſtes very like our *mangiare bianco* (a dainty among the *Italians*.) This meat and liquor is divided into ten or twelve little apartments, in each of which the fleſh and moiſture is about its ſtone, which is as big as a large cheſnut. And it is to be obſerv'd, that when they break open the ſhell of this fruit, there comes from it an ill ſcent, like that of a rotten onion, all the ſubſtance within remaining of a moſt ſweet and unexpreſſible favour, whereupon I will relate what happened in my preſence: a prelate arrived at *Malacca*, and one there opened a *durion* before him to give him a taſte; the prelate was ſo offended at that nauſeous ſmell that came from it when broke, that he would not taſte it by any means. Being afterwards ſet down to dinner, they gave the reſt of the company *mangiare bianco*; but on this prelate's plate they laid the white ſubſtance of this fruit, which is ſo like the *mangiare bianco*, that he could not diſtinguiſh the difference by the ſight. The prelate taſted it, and thought it ſo much more delicious than uſual, that he ask'd, what cook dreſs'd it ſo rarely? Then he that had invited him to dinner, ſmiling, told him, It was no other cook but GOD himſelf, who had produc'd that fruit, which was the very *durion* he would not taſte. The prelate was ſo aſtoniſh'd, that he thought he could never eat enough; and they ſo dear, that even at *Malacca*, where they grow, they ſometimes coſt a crown apiece.

Ananas. *Cochin-China* abounds in another ſort of fruit, by the *Portugueſes* call'd *ananas*; which tho' it be common to all *India*, and *Brazile*, yet becauſe I have not found it well deſcrib'd by thoſe that have writ of it, I would not paſs it by. This fruit does not grow on a tree, nor from a ſeed, but on a ſtalk, like our artichokes, and the ſtem and leaves are much like thoſe of the thiſtle or artichoke. The fruit is like a cilinder, a ſpan long, and ſo thick that it requires both hands to graſp it. The pulp within is cloſe, and like a radiſh, the rind ſomewhat hard, ſcaly like a fiſh. When ripe, it is yellow both within and without, is par'd with a knife, and eaten raw, the taſte of it an eager ſweet, and as ſoft as a full-ripe *bergamot*-pear.

Areca. There is beſides, in *Cochin-China*, a fruit peculiar to that country, which the *Portugueſes* call *areca*. The trunk of it is as ſtrait as a palm-tree, hollow within, and produces leaves like thoſe of the palm, only at the top among theſe leaves, there grow ſome ſmall boughs, which bear the fruit in ſhape and bigneſs like a walnut, green without juſt as the nut is; within it is white and hard like a cheſnut, and has no taſte at all. This fruit is not eaten alone, but is wrapp'd up in leaves of *betle*, well known in *India*, which are like our ivy-leaves in *Europe*, and the plant it ſelf clings to trees like the ivy. Theſe leaves are cut in pieces, and in them they wrap a bit of *areca*, each of them making four or five morſels; and with the *areca* they put ſome lime, which is not there made of ſtone, as in *Europe*, but of oiſter-ſhells; and as among us there are cooks and caterers, *&c.* ſo in *Cochin-China* there is one in every family, whoſe buſineſs is to wrap up theſe morſels of *areca* in *betle*, and theſe perſons being women, are call'd *Betleres*. They fill their boxes with theſe morſels, and chew them all day, not only when they are at home, but when they are walking, or talking, at all times, and in all places, never ſwallowing, but ſpitting them out when they are well chew'd, retaining nothing but the reliſh and vertue of it, which wonderfully comforts the ſtomach. Theſe morſels are ſo much in uſe, that when one of them goes to make a viſit, he carries a box full of them, and preſently preſents ſome of the party viſited, who claps it into his mouth; and before the viſitor departs, he that is viſited ſends to his *Betler*-woman for a box of the ſame, and preſents it to the viſitor, to return his kindneſs; and theſe morſels muſt be ſtill making. And there is ſo much of this *areca* us'd, that the greateſt revenues of that country come from the fields of it, as among us of olive-gardens, and the like. BORRI.

Tobacco is alſo u'd there, but not ſo much as *betle*. The country alſo abounds in all ſorts of pumpions and ſugar canes. The *European* fruits are not yet come thither; but I believe grapes and figs would take very well. Our herbs, as lettice, endive, colworts, and the like, come up well in *Cochin-China*, as they do throughout all *India*: But they grow into leaf, without producing any ſeed, ſo that it muſt be ſtill ſupplied out of *Europe*. Other growth.

There is alſo great plenty of fleſh, by reaſon of the great multitude not only of tame cattle, as cows, goats, ſwine, buffaloes, and the like; but of wild, ſuch as deer, much bigger than thoſe of *Europe*, wild boars, *&c.* and of hens both tame and wild, of which ſort the fields are full, turtles, pigeons, ducks, geeſe, and cranes, which are ſavory enough; and in ſhort, other ſorts, which we have not in *Europe*. Cattle and fowl.

Their fiſhery is very great, and fiſh ſo delicious, that tho' I have travell'd ſo many Fiſh.

BORRI. countries, I do not think I have met with any to compare to that of *Cochin-China*. And the country, as was ſaid before, lying all along upon the ſea, there are ſo many boats go out a fiſhing, and they bring in ſo much fiſh to all ports of the kingdom, that it is really very remarkable to ſee the long rows of people continually carrying fiſh from the ſhore to the mountains; which is duly done every day, for four hours before ſun-riſing. And tho' generally among the *Cochin-Chineſes*, fiſh is more valu'd than fleſh, yet the main reaſon why they apply themſelves ſo much to fiſhing, is to furniſh themſelves with a kind of ſauce, which they call *balachiam*, which is made of ſalt fiſh macerated and ſteeped in water. This is a ſharp liquor, not unlike muſtard, whereof every body lays in ſuch ſtore, that they fill barrels and tubs of it, as many in *Europe* lay in their ſtocks of wine. This of it ſelf is no food, but ſerves to ſharpen the appetite to the rice, which they cannot eat without it. For this reaſon, tho' rice be the general and moſt common ſuſtenance in *Cochin-China*, there muſt be vaſt quantities of *balachiam*, without which it is not eaten, and conſequently there is continual fiſhing. There is no leſs plenty of ſhell-fiſh, oiſters, and other product of the ſea, eſpecially of one ſort, which they call *cameron*. (I ſuppoſe this to be the *Portugueſe* word *camerano*, ſignifying ſhrimps, or prawns.)

Balachiam

Beſides all this, providence has furniſh'd them with a ſort of food ſo rare and delicate, that in my opinion it may be compar'd to the *manna*, wherewith the choſen people of GOD were fed in the deſart. This is ſo peculiar to *Cochin-China*, that it is no where elſe to be found: and I will give an account of what I know of it by experience, and not by hear-ſay, having ſeen and eaten of it ſeveral times.

Wonderful neſts.

In this country there is found a ſmall bird like a ſwallow, which faſtens its neſt to the rocks, the ſea-waves break againſt. This little creature with its beak, takes up ſome of the foam of the ſea, and mixing it with a certain moiſture it draws from its own ſtomach, makes a ſort of ſlime, or bituminous ſubſtance, which ſerves to build its neſt, which when dry and hardened, remains tranſparent, and of a colour between green and yellow. The country people gather theſe neſts, and being ſoften'd in water, they ſerve to ſeaſon meat, whether fiſh, fleſh, herbs, or any ſort whatſoever; and give every thing ſo different a reliſh, and ſo proper to it, as if they had been ſeaſon'd with pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and the richeſt ſpice; this neſt alone being enough to ſeaſon all ſorts of proviſions, without ſalt, oil, bacon, or any other addition; and therefore I ſaid I thought it like manna, which had in it the taſte of all the moſt delicious meats; ſaving that this is the work of a ſmall bird, and that was made by GOD's angels. And ſuch great ſtore of them is found, that I my ſelf ſaw ten ſmall boats loaden with neſts, taken among the rocks, in not above a mile's diſtance. But they being ſo precious a commodity, only the king deals in them, they being all kept for him; and his greateſt vent is to the king of *China*, who values them at a great rate.

They eat no ſort of white meats, looking upon it as a ſin to milk the cows, or other creatures: and the reaſon they give for this nicety, is, that milk was by nature appointed for ſuſtenance of the young ones: as if the owner of the young ones could not diſpoſe of their ſuſtenance. They eat ſome things which we loath, and count venomous, as camelions, which are here ſomewhat bigger than thoſe that are ſometimes brought dry'd up into *Italy*, out of other countries. I ſaw a friend buy ſome ty'd together in a cluſter, and lay them upon the live coals, which having burn'd the ſtring, they walk'd about gently, as they uſed to do till they felt the heat of the fire; which being of a violent cold nature, they reſiſted a-while, but were at laſt broil'd: my friend took them up, and ſcraping off the burn'd ſkin with a knife, the fleſh remain'd extraordinary white; then he bruis'd and boil'd them in a certain ſort of ſauce like butter, and then eat them as a great dainty, inviting me to bear him company: but I had enough with the ſight of it.

Camelions eaten.

Cochin-China abounds in all other things neceſſary for the ſupport of human life; and in the firſt place for cloathing: there is ſuch plenty of ſilk, that the peaſants and mechanicks generally wear it; ſo that I was often pleas'd to ſee men and women at their labour, carrying ſtone, earth, lime, or the like, without the leaſt fear of tearing or ſpoiling the rich cloaths they had on. Nor will they wonder at it, who ſhall know, that the mulberry-trees, whoſe leaves feed the ſilk-worms, grow in vaſt plains, as hemp does among us, and run up as faſt; ſo that in a few months the ſaid worms appear upon them, and feed in the open air, ſpinning their thread at the proper time, and winding their bottoms in ſuch plenty, that the *Cochin-Chineſes* have not only enough for their own uſes, but they furniſh *Japan*, and ſend it into the kingdom of *Lais*, whence it afterwards ſpreads as far as *Tibet*; this ſilk being not ſo fine and ſoft, but ſtronger and more ſubſtantial than that of *China*.

All wear ſilk.

The ſtructures the *Cochin-Chineſes* uſe of wood, are nothing inferior to thoſe of any other part of the world; for without falſifying,

Buildings.

falſifying, this country has the beſt timber in the univerſe, in the opinion of all that have been there to this time. Among the variety and multitude of their trees, there are two that moſt uſually ſerve for building, and are ſo incorruptible, that they do not decay in the leaſt, either under ground, or under water; and they are ſo ſolid and heavy, that they do not ſwim upon the water, and a log of them ſerves inſtead of an anchor to a ſhip. One of them is black, but not ſo as ebony; the other is red, and both of them, when the bark is taken off are ſo ſmooth and ſlick, that they ſcarce need any plaining. Theſe trees are call'd *tin*; and they would not deviate much from the truth, who ſhould ſay, they were that incorruptible wood, which *Solomon* made uſe of for building the temple: for we know the ſcripture gives them a name much like this, calling them *ligna thyina*. The mountains of *Cochin-China* are all full of theſe trees, all ſtrait, of ſuch a prodigious height, that they ſeem to touch the clouds, and ſo thick that two men cannot fathom them. Of this timber the *Cochin-Chineſes* build their houſes, every man being free to cut down as many as he pleaſes.

Incorruptible trees call'd *tin*.

The houſes.

The whole fabrick of their houſes reſts upon high, ſolid, and well ſettled pillars, between which they place boards to remove at pleaſure; either to exchange them for cane-lattices, which they weave neatly, to let in the air in hot weather; or to leave a free paſſage for the water and boats, at the time of the inundation, as we obſerv'd above. They have alſo a thouſand curious inventions, and ingenious contrivances to ſet off their houſes, with carving, and other works on wood, which are a very great ornament.

Aquila, and *calamba*, odoriferous wood.

Since we have begun to talk of the trees, before we proceed upon any other matter, I will here mention ſomething of a ſort of wood, accounted the richeſt commodity that can be carried out of *Cochin-China* to other parts; which is the moſt famous wood call'ed *aquila*, or eagles-wood, and *calamba*; which are the ſame thing as to the tree, but differ in their value and vertue. Of theſe trees, which are thick and high enough, the *Kemois* mountains are very full; if the wood be cut off a young tree, it proves *aquila*, or eagle-wood, and this there is moſt plenty of, every one cutting as much as he can: but when the wood is of an old tree, that proves *calamba*; which were very hard to be found, had not nature it ſelf provided for it, cauſing theſe ſame trees to grow on the tops of unacceſſible mountains, where growing old without being expos'd to deſtruction, ſome boughs of them now and then drop down, breaking off either for want of moiſture, or through age, and are therefore found rotten and worm-eaten, infinitely exceeding the common *aquila*, or eagle-wood, in vertue and ſweet ſcent; and this is the ſo highly valu'd and famous *calambá*. The *aquila* is ſold by any body, but the *calamba* belongs only to the king, becauſe of the high value of its perfume and vertue. And to ſay the truth, it is ſo ſweet where they gather it, that ſome pieces being preſented me, for a trial, I buried them above a yard and a half under ground, and yet they diſcovered themſelves by their fragrancy. The *calamba*, where taken, is worth five ducats a pound; but in the port of *Cochin-China*, where the trade is, it bears a much greater price, and is not ſold under ſixteen ducats a pound. In *Japan* it is worth two hundred ducats a pound; but if there be a piece big enough for a man to lay his head on like a pillow, the *Japoneſes* will give after the rate of three or four hundred ducats a pound: the reaſon of it is, becauſe they inſtead of a ſoft down-pillow, when they ſleep, lay their head on ſome hard thing, and generally it is a piece of wood, which every one according to his ability endeavours to have of as great value as can; and a piece of *calamba* is look'd upon as a pillow fit for none but a king, or ſome great lord. Yet the *aquila*, tho' of leſs price and eſteem than the *calamba*, is ſo conſiderable, that one ſhip's load of it, enriches any merchant for ever: and the beſt advantage the king can allow the governor of *Malacca*, is to grant him one voyage of *aquila*; becauſe the *Brachmans* and *Banians* of *India*, uſing to burn their dead with this ſweet wood, the conſumption of it is continually very great.

BORRI.

Great wealth of *Cochin-China*.

To conclude, *Cochin-China* abounds in rich mines of the moſt precious metals, eſpecially of gold: and to reduce to a few words, what might be ſaid more at large of the plenty of this country, I will conclude with that which the *European* merchants trading thither commonly ſay of it; which is, that in ſome meaſure the wealth of *Cochin-China* is greater than that of *China* it ſelf; and we all know how rich that country is in all reſpects.

I ought in this place to ſay ſomething of the beaſts, whereof we before obſerv'd there was great variety and numbers in *Cochin-China*: but that I may not dilate too much, I will only treat of the elephants and abadas, or rhinocero's, chiefly found here; of which many curious things may be ſaid, which perhaps very many have not heard of.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Elephants and Abadas, or Rhinocero's.

BORRI. THERE are abundance of elephants in the woods of *Cochin-China*, which they make no uſe of, becauſe they know not how to take, or tame them: therefore they bring them tame and well taught from *Cambogia*, a neighbouring kingdom. Theſe are twice as big as thoſe of *India*, the round print of their feet they leave behind them, is not leſs than half a yard diameter; the two teeth ſtriking out of the mouth, whereof ivory is made, are very often four yards and a half long; that is, thoſe of the males, for thoſe of the females are much ſhorter; by which it is eaſy to compute, how much thoſe elephants of *Cochin-China* are bigger than thoſe ſhewn about in *Europe*, whoſe teeth are not above three quarters of a yard long. The elephants live many years; and I asking, how old one might be? The driver of it told me, It was ſixty years old before it came from *Cambogia*, and had lived forty in *Cochin-China:* and having my ſelf ſeveral times travell'd upon elephants in that kingdom, I can relate many things that will ſeem ſtrange, but yet are very true.

Elephants their age.

They carry by land and water.

An elephant generally carries thirteen or fourteen perſons, who are thus diſpos'd of: as we lay a ſaddle on a horſe, ſo they clap a certain machine upon the elephant, which is like a coach, wherein there are four ſeats; it is faſtned with chains under the elephant's belly, as a horſe's ſaddle is girt. The coach has two doors on the ſides, where ſix perſons ſit, three on a ſide; and another behind, where there are two more; and laſtly, the *nayre*, who ſupplies the place of a choachman, ſits over the elephant's head, and guides him. Nor have I travell'd in this manner by land only, but very often by ſea too, croſſing arms of it above a mile over: and it was wonderful to any body that knew it not before, to ſee ſuch a vaſt great lump of fleſh ſwimming under ſuch a weight, ſo that it look'd like a boat rowing. True it is, the beaſt groan'd under the toil, occaſion'd by the unreaſonable bulk of its own body, and the difficulty of breathing; and therefore to eaſe it ſelf in that pain, it ſuck'd in water with the trunk, and ſpouted it out ſo high, that it look'd like ſome great whale gliding along the ocean.

They help up paſſengers.

For the ſame reaſon of its mighty corpulency it finds much difficulty in ſtooping down; and this being abſolutely neceſſary for the conveniency of paſſengers to get up to, or down from the coach, he does it not but when commanded by the *nayre*; and if when he is kneeling, any one ſtops but never ſo little, upon ceremony, or any other account, he riſes up, not having patience to continue in that poſture, it is ſo painful.

Nor is it leſs worderful to behold, how at the *nayre*'s command, he makes, as it were, a ladder of his limbs, for the greater conveniency of thoſe that are to get up into the coach: the firſt ſtep is his foot, which is high enough; for the ſecond, he turns out the firſt joint above the ſame foot, diſtant enough from the other; for the third, he bends his knee; for the fourth, his hip-bone, ſticking out to that purpoſe; and from whence, he that gets up, lays hold of a chain faſtned to the coach it ſelf, where he ſeats himſelf.

By this it plainly appears, how much they are miſtaken, who ſay and write, that the elephant can neither kneel nor bow down; and that the only way to take him, is to cut the tree he leans againſt to ſleep: for that falling together with the falſe ſupport, and not being able to riſe, he becomes a certain prey to him that lies in wait: which is all a fable, tho' it be true that he lies not down to ſleep, that being an uneaſy poſture to him, as has been ſaid, but ſleeps always ſtanding, with a continual agitation of his head.

How they ſleep.

Their vaſt ſtrength.

Upon occaſion of war or battle, they take off the roof of the coach, whence, as it were from a tower, the ſoldiers fight with muſkets, arrows, and ſometimes a ſmall piece of cannon, the elephant being ſtrong enough to carry it, his ſtrength being anſwerable to all the reſt: and I have ſeen one my ſelf, that would carry vaſt weights upon his trunk; and another that lifted up a great piece of cannon with it; and another, who by himſelf launch'd ten galliots one after another, taking hold of them very dexterouſly with his teeth, and ſhoving them into the ſea. I have ſeen others pull up large trees with as much eaſe we do a cabbage, or a lettice: with the ſame eaſe they throw down houſes, levelling whole ſtreets when they are commanded, either to do harm to an enemy in war, or to ſtop the fury of the flames upon occaſion of any fire.

The trunk

The trunk's length is proportionable to the height of the reſt of his body, ſo that he can take up any thing off the ground without ſtooping. It is made of abundance of ſmall ſinews knit together, which makes it ſo pliable, that he can take up the leaſt thing, and yet ſo ſtrong and firm as we have ſhewn.

All the body is covered with a rough aſh-colour ſkin. An elephant's uſual day's journey is twelve leagues, and his motion has the ſame effect upon thoſe that are not uſed to it, as that of a ſhip has at ſea.

Great ſenſe of the elephant.

I ſhall ſay nothing more wonderful concerning the elephant's docility, or aptneſs to learn, than what is generally reported; by which it will appear, there was reaſon to ſay, *No beaſt was more ſenſible than the elephant*: for it does ſuch things as ſeem to be the acts of prudence and underſtanding. In the firſt place, though the *nayre* makes uſe of a certain inſtrument of iron a yard long, which has a hook at one end, wherewith he ſtrikes and punces him, that he may be watchful, and mind what he bids him do, yet for the moſt part, he governs him only by words: by which it appears he underſtands the language very well; and ſome of them underſtand three or four that are very different, according to the ſeveral countries they have lived in. Thus he that I travelled on, ſeemed to underſtand the language of *Cambogia*, whence he came, and that of *Cochin-China*, where he was. And who would not admire to hear the *nayre* diſcourſe with his elephant, tell him the way and road he is to take, what place he is to paſs by, what inn they are to lie at, what they ſhall there find to eat; and in ſhort, give him an exact account of all that is to be done during the journey? and to ſee the elephant perform what he expects from him, as regularly as any man of good ſenſe could do: inſomuch, that when the elephant ſeems to have underſtood what place he was to go to, he takes the ſhorteſt cut to it, without minding the beaten road, rivers, woods, or mountains, but goes on, not doubting to overcome all difficulties, as in effect he does: for if any rivers be in the way, he either fords or ſwims them; if woods, he breaks the boughs of the trees, pulls them up whole, or cuts them with a ſharp iron like a ſcithe, which to this purpoſe is faſtened to the fore-part of the top of the coach, wherewith upon occaſion having firſt laid hold of the boughs, he cuts them with his trunk, and makes himſelf way, cutting through the thickeſt foreſt, where it is eaſily known to have been an elephant that made the way: and all this he does with great eaſe and expedition, in obedience to the *nayre*.

The elephant underſtands what is ſaid.

One only thing diſturbs this creature, and puts it to great pain; which is, when a thorn, or ſuch like thing, runs into the bottom of his foot, which is extraordinary ſoft and tender, and therefore he treads very cautiouſly, when he goes thro' places where there may be danger of ſuch an accident. I went a journey once with ſeven or eight elephants in a company, and heard the *nayres*, every one warn his own beaſt, to look out carefully where he ſet his feet: for they were to paſs over a ſandy place about a mile in length, where thorns grew up among the ſand; upon this intimation all the elephants held down their heads, and looking out, as it were, for ſome ſmall thing that is loſt, they walk'd that mile very cautiouſly, ſtep by ſtep; till being told there was no more to fear, they lifted up their heads, going on as they had done at firſt. Being come at night to the inn, the *nayres* ſent the elephants to the wood to feed, without taking the coach off their backs; and I aſking, why they did not take it down: They anſwered, That the elephants fed on the boughs of trees, and therefore they left the coach on their backs, that they might cut them with that iron we ſaid was before it. The next day being come where there was no wood, every *nayre* carried a large bundle of green boughs for his elephant. I took particular ſatisfaction to obſerve one, who more nimbly than the reſt, laying hold of thoſe boughs with his trunk, barked them with his teeth, and then eat them up as quick, and with as good a guſt, as we would a fig, or any other ſort of fruit. Diſcourſing the next day with my fellow-travellers, who were about twenty, I told them, how much I was pleaſed to ſee that elephant eat the boughs ſo cleverly. Then the *nayre*, by order of the elephant's maſter, called him by his name, which was *Gnin*, he being at ſome diſtance, but preſently lifted up his head to give ear to what was ſaid to him. *Remember*, ſaid the *nayre*, *that father, the paſſenger that looked upon you yeſterday, when you was eating; take ſuch a bough as one of them was, and come before him, as you did yeſterday.* No ſooner had the *nayre* ſpoke the words, but the elephant came before me with a bough in his trunk, ſingling me out among all the company, ſhew'd it me, bark'd, and eat it; then inclining himſelf very low, he went away, as it were, laughing, making ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction; leaving me full of aſtoniſhment, to ſee that a beaſt ſhould be ſo apt to underſtand, and do what it was commanded. Yet the elephant is obedient to none but the *nayre*, or his maſter; and he will only endure to ſee them get upon him: for if he ſhould ſee any other perſon mount, there were danger that he would throw down the coach with his trunk, and kill him: and therefore when any body is to get up, the *nayre* generally covers his eyes with his ears, which are very large and ill ſhap'd.

Borri.

How they are corrected.

If at any time the elephant does not obey ſo readily as he ſhould, the *nayre* beats him cruelly on the middle of his forehead,

BORRI. ſtanding himſelf all the while upright on his head: One time when I was upon him, with ſeveral others, the *nayre* beat him, as has been ſaid, and every ſtroke he gave him, it looked as if we ſhould have been all thrown down headlong. Generally they give him ſix or ſeven ſtrokes on the middle of the forehead; but with ſuch force, that the elephant quakes and yet bears all patiently. There is only one time when he obeys neither the *nayre*, nor any other body; which is when on a ſudden he is inflamed with luſt: for then, being quite beſides himſelf, he bears with no body, but lays hold of the coach with all that are in it, killing, deſtroying, and beating every thing to pieces. But the *nayre* by certain ſigns diſcovers it a little before it comes, and getting down ſpeedily with all the paſſengers, unloads him, taking down the coach, and leaves him alone in ſome by-place, till that fury be over: after which, being ſenſible of his error, and as it were aſhamed of himſelf, he goes with his head low to receive the blows that are to be given him, thinking he has deſerved them.

Now uſeleſs in war

Formerly the elephants were of great uſe in war, and thoſe armies were formidable that carried great troops of them into the field; but ſince the *Portugueſes* found out the way of uſing artificial fireworks to them, they are rather hurtful than otherwiſe: for not being able to endure thoſe ſparks of fire which get into their eyes, they betake themſelves to flight, breaking their own armies, killing and confounding all that ſtands in their way.

The Rhinoceros.

The tame elephant fights with only two creatures, which are the wild elephant, and the abada, or rhinoceros; the latter it overcomes, by the firſt is generally conquered. The rhinoceros is a beaſt of ſhape between a horſe and an ox, but as big as one of the ſmalleſt elephants, covered all over with ſcales, as it were ſo many plates of armour. He has but one horn in the middle of the forehead, which is ſtraight and pyramidal, and his feet and hoofs are like thoſe of an ox. When I was at *Nuocmon*, a city in the province of *Pulucambi*, the governor went out to hunt a *rhinoceros*, that was in a wood near our dwelling place. He had with him above an hundred men, ſome a foot, and ſome a horſeback, and eight or ten elephants. The rhinoceros came out of the wood, and ſeeing ſo many enemies, was ſo far from giving any tokens of fear, that it furiouſly encountred them all; who opened and making a lane, let the rhinoceros run through: It came to the rear, where the governor was a top of his elephant, waiting to kill it: the elephant endeavours to lay hold with his trunk, but could not by reaſon of the rhinoceros's ſwiftneſs and leaping, that ſtriving to wound the elephant with its horn. The governor knowing it could receive no hurt, by reaſon of the ſcales, unleſs they ſtruck it on the ſide, waited till leaping it laid open the naked place, and caſting a dart, dexterouſly ſtruck it through from ſide to ſide, with great applauſe and ſatisfaction of all the multitude of ſpectators; who without any more to do, laid it upon a great pile of wood, ſetting fire to it, leaped and danc'd about, whilſt the ſcales were burning, and fleſh roaſting, cutting pieces as it roaſted, and eating them. Of the entrails, that is the heart, liver, and brain, they made a more dainty diſh, and gave it to the governor, who was upon a riſing ground, diverting himſelf with their merriment. I being preſent obtained the hoofs of the governor; which are looked upon to have the ſame quality and vertue, as the claws of the great beaſt (or the hoof of the elk) and ſo the horn is good againſt poiſon, as is the unicorn's.

CHAP. V.

Of the Qualities, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the Cochin-Chineſes; *of their way of Living, their Habit and Cures.*

Colour and diſpoſition of body of the *Cochin-Chineſes.*

THE *Cochin-Chineſes* are in colour like the *Chineſes*; that is, inclined to an olive-colour: I mean thoſe that are neareſt the ſea; for thoſe up the inland, as far as *Tonchin*, are as white as the *Europeans*. The ſhape of their faces is exactly like the *Chineſes*, with flat noſes, little eyes, but of an indifferent ſtature, not ſo ſmall as the *Japoneſes*, nor ſo tall as the *Chineſes*. Yet they are ſtronger and more active than either of them, and braver than the *Chineſes*, but are out-done by the *Japoneſes* in one thing, which is the contempt of life in dangers and battles; the *Japoneſes* ſeeming to make no account of life, nor to apprehend the leaſt fear of death.

Their civility.

The *Cochin-Chineſes* are naturally the moſt courteous and affable of all the *Eaſtern* nations; and tho' on the one ſide they value themſelves much upon their valour, yet on the other they look upon it as a great ſhame, to ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with paſſion. And whereas all the other *Eaſtern* nations, looking upon the *Europeans* as a profane people, do naturally abhor them, and therefore fly from us when firſt we come among them: in *Cochin-China* it falls out juſt contrary; for they

they ſtrive who ſhall be neareſt us, aſk a thouſand queſtions, invite us to eat with them, and in ſhort uſe all manner of courteſy with much familiarity and reſpect. So it happened to me and my companions when we firſt came there, being, as it were, among friends of an old ſtanding. This is a very good diſpoſition to facilitate the preaching of the goſpel.

Liberality. This loving and eaſy diſpoſition is the cauſe of much concord among them, they all treating one another as familiarly as if they were brothers or of the ſame family, tho' they have never known or ſeen one another before; and it would be look'd upon as a moſt vile action, if one man eating any thing, tho' never ſo little, ſhould not ſhare with all about him, giving every one a bit. They are alſo naturally kind and free-hearted to the poor, to whom it is cuſtomary among them never to deny an alms, when aſked; and it would be reputed a great fault to deny it, as if it were due to them. Thus it happened, that ſome ſtrangers eſcaping from a ſhipwreck in a port in *Cochin-China*, and not knowing the language to make known their want, but learning only this word *doii*, which ſignifies, *I am hungry:* when the natives ſaw ſtrangers at their doors, crying out *doii*, as if the greateſt misfortune in the world had befallen them, every one ſtrove to be before another in giving them to eat; ſo that in a ſhort time they gathered ſo much proviſion, that a ſhip being afterwards given them by the king to return to their country, they took ſuch an affection to that country, where they found all things for their ſuſtenance at ſuch eaſy rate, that not a man of them would go away; ſo that the captain of the ſhip was forced to drive them aboard with many blows and cuts, which he effectually did, loading the ſhip with the rice they had gathered only by going about, crying, *I am hungry.*

But as ready as the *Cochin-Chineſes* are to give, ſo are they as apt, if not more, to aſk any thing they ſee, ſo that as ſoon as ever they caſt their eye on any thing that is new to them, and curious, they ſay, *Schin Mocaii*; that is, *Give me one of theſe things:* and it is ſuch a rudeneſs to refuſe them, tho' the thing be rare and precious, that whoſoever ſhould do it, would be ever after looked upon as a vile perſon; ſo that a man muſt either hide, or be ready to give what he ſhews. A *Portugueſe* merchant diſliking this uncommon cuſtom, as not uſed to it, reſolved, ſince every one aſked of him whatſoever he ſaw, to do the ſame with them: accordingly he came to a poor fiſherman's boat, and laying hold of a pannier full of fiſh, in the country language; ſaid to him, *Schin Mocaii*, the honeſt man made no anſwer, but gave him all the pannier as it was, for him to carry home, as he did, admiring the liberality of the *Cochin-Chineſes*; but taking compaſſion on the poor fiſherman, he afterwards paid him the full value of it. Borri.

The manner of breeding and civility the *Cochin-Chineſes* uſe, is more or leſs the ſame with that of the *Chineſes*, always punctually obſerving all niceties; we know theſe latter obſerve between ſuperiors and inferiors, equals, and the reſpect due to ancient perſons, ever preferring the eldeſt, of what degree ſoever, and giving them preference before the younger. Wherefore ſome of thoſe gentlemen coming often a viſiting to our houſe, tho' the interpreter told them, that a father we had there ſomewhat elder than the reſt, was not our ſuperior: yet they could never be brought to pay their reſpect to the young ſuperior, before the old man. In every houſe, tho' never ſo poor, the *Cochin-Chineſes* have three ſorts of ſeats; the firſt and meaneſt, is a mat upon the bare floor, on which perſons of equal quality ſit, as thoſe that are of the ſame family. The next is, a low ſtool, covered with a very fine mat; which is for perſons of better account. The third, is a couch about three quarters of a yard high, on which only the lords and governors of places ſit, or perſons dedicated to the divine ſervice, and on this they always make our fathers ſit. Their breeding.

This good nature and civility of the *Cochin-Chineſes*, makes them ſo courteous to ſtrangers, whom they allow to live according to their own laws, and to wear what cloaths they pleaſe; and ſo they praiſe their cuſtoms, and admire their doctrine, frankly preferring them before their own; quite contrary to the *Chineſes*, who deſpiſe all but their own cuſtoms and doctrine.

As for their habit, we have before obſerved, that it is the general cuſtom in *Cochin-China* to wear ſilk; it only remains to ſpeak of the faſhion of their clothes. To begin with the women; I think the modeſteſt garb of all *India*; for even in the hotteſt weather, they ſuffer no part of the body to be uncovered: they wear five or ſix petticoats one over another, all of ſeveral colours; the firſt reaches to the ground, which they trail along the ground with ſuch gravity and ſtate, that the tips of their toes are not ſeen: the ſecond is half a ſpan ſhorter than the firſt: the third ſhorter than that; and ſo one over another; ſo that all the ſeveral colours appear: and this is the womens habit from the waſte downwards, for on their bodies they wear doublets checkered, of ſeveral colours; over all they have a veil; but ſo thin, that tho' it covers them, yet it is tranſparent, and ſhews all their gaiety Faſhion of clothes.

BORRI. with modeſty, and makes a beauteous majeſtick appearance. Their hair is looſe, ſpreading over their ſhoulders, ſo long that it reaches to the ground, and the longer the greater beauty it is reckon'd. On their head they wear ſuch a broad cap, that it covers all their faces, ſo that they cannot ſee above four or five paces before them; and theſe caps are interwoven with ſilk and gold, according to the quality of the perſon. The women when met, are not obliged to any other return of civility, but to lift up the brims of their caps, ſo much, as their face may be ſeen. The men, inſtead of breeches, ſwath themſelves with a whole piece of ſtuff, putting on over them five or ſix long and large gowns all of fine ſilk, and of ſeveral colours, with wide ſleeves, like thoſe of the monks of the order of St. *Benedict*; and theſe gowns, from the waſte downwards, are all ſlaſhed curiouſly, ſo that as a man moves, he makes a ſhew of all thoſe ſeveral colours together, and if any wind blows to lift them up, they look like peacocks with their fine feathers ſpread abroad.

Hair and nails never cut.

They let their hair grow as the women do, down to their heels, and wear the ſame ſort of hats, or broad caps. Thoſe who have any beard, and they are but few, never cut it; being in this like the *Chineſes*, as they are in ſuffering the nails of their hands to grow, which the people of note never pare; this being a mark of diſtinction between them and the commonalty, who always keep them ſhort, for the conveniency of their trades; whereas the gentry have them ſo long, that they cannot graſp any ſmall thing in their hands. Nor can they approve of our faſhion of cutting our hair and nails; being of opinion, that they were given by nature, as an ornament to man: ſo that ſome diſcourſe ariſing once concerning hair, they ſtarted an objection, which was not ſo eaſy to anſwer at ſight, ſaying: *If the Saviour of the world, whom in your actions you profeſs your ſelves to imitate, wore his hair long, after the manner of the* Nazarites, *as you your ſelves do affirm, and ſhew by your pictures, why do not you do ſo too?* Adding, *That our Saviour's wearing long hair, demonſtrated it to be the better faſhion.* But at laſt they were ſatisfy'd with the anſwer we made, that this imitation did not conſiſt in the outward dreſs.

The ſcholars.

The ſcholars and doctors are ſomewhat more gravely clad, without ſo many colours and ſlaſhes, and therefore cover all their gowns with one of black damaſk. They alſo wear a thing like a ſtole about their necks, and a blew ſilk maniple on their arms, covering their heads with caps made after the manner of mitres.

Both men and women carry fans in their hands, rather for ornament than uſe, and they are not unlike to thoſe the women in *Europe* uſe. For mourning, as we *Europeans* uſe black, they wear white. They never uncover their heads in ſaluting, that being looked upon as an uncivil action. Wherein they agree with the *Chineſes*, among whom that cuſtom is reputed ſo unmannerly, that to comply with them in this particular, the fathers of the ſociety were forced to obtain leave of pope *Paul* the fifth, to celebrate the holy ſacrifice of the maſs covered. In ſhort, the *Cochin-Chineſes* wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings, only ſaving their feet with leather ſoles faſtened acroſs the toes with ſilk, like ſandals; nor do they think it indecent to go quite barefoot; and though going ſhod or unſhod, they are apt to dirty their feet, they value it not, there being in every houſe at the door of the chief room, a large pan of clean water, in which they waſh their feet, leaving thoſe ſoles or ſandals they uſe there, to take them again when they go away, becauſe they cannot then dirt their feet, all the floors being covered with mats.

The *Cochin-Chineſes* not being ſo fond of their own cuſtoms, as to deſpiſe thoſe of ſtrangers, as the *Chineſes* do, our fathers in thoſe parts have no occaſion to change their habit, wherein they differ but little from the generality of all *India*. They wear a thin cotton caſſock, which they call *Ebingon*, and is generally blew, without any cloak, or other upper-garment. They have no ſhoes, neither after the *European*, nor country faſhion; the firſt they cannot get, becauſe there is no body knows how to make them; and the latter they cannot endure, becauſe of the pain it is to any body that is not uſed to it, to have his toes ſpread at a diſtance from one another, by reaſon of the buttons that faſten them on, and therefore they chooſe as the leſs evil, to go quite barefoot, tho' it expoſes them to continual pains in the bowels, eſpecially at firſt, by reaſon of the dampneſs of the country, and their not being uſed to it. True it is, that in time nature complies, and the ſkin grows ſo hard, that it is no pain to walk upon ſtones or briars. When I returned to *Macao*, I could not endure ſhoes, thinking them a weight and encumbrance to my feet.

Their diet.

The chief ſuſtenance of the *Cochin-Chineſes* is rice; and it is wonderful, that tho' the country abounds in fleſh, fowl, fiſh, and fruit, of ſo many ſeveral ſorts, yet when they eat, they firſt fill their belly with rice, and then taſte of other things, as it were for faſhion-ſake. They make more account of rice than we do of bread, and that it may not clog them, they eat it alone without any ſeaſoning of ſalt, ſugar,

gar, oil, or butter, but boiled in ſo much water as will keep it from burning to, ſo that the grain remains whole, only ſoften'd and moiſten'd. For this very reaſon that the rice is not ſeaſoned, it is the eaſier of digeſtion, and therefore they that live upon rice, as they do in the *Eaſt*, commonly eat it at leaſt four times a day, and a great quantity of it to ſupport nature. The *Cochin-Chineſes* eat ſitting croſs-legged on the ground, with a round table before them breaſt-high, with mouldings, or adorned with ſilver or gold, according to the people's quality or wealth. It is not very large; becauſe the cuſtom is for every man to have one to himſelf; ſo that at a feaſt, as many gueſts as there are, ſo many tables are provided, and the ſame is done when they dine privately; only, ſometimes man and wife, or father and ſon, will make a ſhift with the ſame table. They neither uſe knives nor forks; of the firſt they have no need, becauſe every thing is brought up from the kitchen cut into ſmall bits; the place of the laſt is ſupplied by two little ſticks, wherewith they neatly and very readily take up any thing; nor have they any need of napkins, for they never foul their hands, nor touch any thing with them.

Their treats. There are frequent invitations among neighbours, and at theſe entertainments they provide other ſorts of diſhes than what we have hitherto ſpoke of; for they make no account of rice, ſuppoſing every man has enough of that at home; and tho' he that treats be never ſo poor, he does not come off with credit, unleſs every gueſt's table be ſerved with at leaſt an hundred diſhes; and it being the cuſtom to invite all their friends, kindred and neighbours, there is no feaſt where there is leſs than thirty, forty, fifty, ſometimes a hundred, and even two hundred gueſts: I was once my ſelf at a ſolemn entertainment, at which no leſs than two thouſand were feaſted, and therefore theſe banquets muſt be made in the country, that there may be room for ſo many tables. Nor muſt any body admire that the tables being ſmall, they be furniſhed with a hundred diſhes at leaſt; for upon theſe occaſions they very curiouſly make frames of ſugar-canes on the table, on which they diſpoſe of the ſaid diſhes; and there muſt be in them all the varieties of meat the country produces, as well fleſh as fiſh, and butcher's meat as fowl, wild and tame creatures, with all ſorts of fruit the ſeaſon affords; for if but one were wanting, it would be a great fault in the entertainer, and they would not count it a feaſt. The men of quality that are invited eat firſt, being waited on by their chief ſervants. When the maſters have taſted of all they like beſt, theſe ſame principal ſervants take their places, and eat, being waited on by the inferior ſort: then theſe ſucceed in their places; and becauſe all of them are not able to conſume ſuch plenty, and according to cuſtom all the diſhes muſt be emptied; when theſe are ſatisfied, then the very meaneſt ſervants of every great man come in, and do not only eat their belly full, but put up all the fragments in bags they carry for that purpoſe, and carry them home, where they merrily divide it among the boys, and other mean fry, and ſo the feaſt ends. Borri.

Their drink. *Cochin-China* produces no grapes, and therefore inſtead of wine they drink a liquor diſtilled from rice, which taſtes like brandy, and reſembles it in colour and harſhneſs, ſpirit and briſkneſs, and they have ſuch plenty of it, that all people in general drink as much as they will of it, and are as drunk as people are among us with wine. Graver perſons mix that liquor with ſome other water diſtilled from *calamba*; which gives it a delicious ſmell, and is a delicate compoſition.

Between meals they drink hot water, wherein they boil the root of an herb they call *chia*, from which the liquor takes name. It is cordial, and helps to diſpel humours from the ſtomach, and advance digeſtion. The *Japoneſes* and *Chineſes* uſe ſuch a ſort of drink, only that in *China*, inſtead of the root, they boil the leaves of the herb; and in *Japan*, a powder made of the ſame leaves; but the effect is the ſame, and they all call it *chia*.

Amidſt this great plenty of meat, and abundance of proviſions, it is incredible how much hunger and thirſt we *Europeans* endure; not ſo much for want of food, as becauſe we are not uſed to that diet, nature finding a very great miſs of bread and wine: and I believe the *Cochin-Chineſes* would be in the ſame condition, ſhould they come into *Europe*, where they would be deprived of their uſual ſuſtenance of rice, tho' they had plenty of other delicate proviſions. To this purpoſe I will not omit to relate what happened to us with a governor of *Cochin-China*, he being a friend of ours, was invited by us to eat at our houſe; and the more to ſhew our affection, we endeavoured to have ſeveral diſhes dreſſed for him after the *European* manner. He ſat down to table, and when we expected he ſhould acknowledge our kindneſs, commend the cookery, and thank us for the rarity, becauſe we had been at much trouble about it: when he had taſted them all, he could not eat of any one, though out of civility he ſtrove againſt his ſtomach; and we were forced to dreſs more meat after the country-faſhion, the beſt we could, whereof he afterwards eat very ſavourily,

BORRI. to his own and our ſatisfaction. Yet providence does not neglect a thouſand ways to ſupport thoſe that undergo theſe hardſhips for the preaching of the goſpel, finding means, even in this world, to requite what they ſuffer for the ſake of GOD, as happens in this particular of food, as was before ſaid of going bare-foot; for by degrees nature grows familiar with it, and comes to be ſo habituated to the cuſtom of the country, that it looks ſtrange when to return to its firſt ways. This happened to me, who when I returned from thence, coveted nothing but the rice of *Cochin-China*, which I thought ſatisfied me more than any other thing.

Phyſicians. As for phyſicians, and their way of practice, there are abundance of doctors, not only *Portugueſes*, but natives; and it often is experimentally known, that the country phyſicians eaſily cure ſeveral diſeaſes, which the *European* phyſicians know not what to do with: ſo it ſometimes happens, that after our phyſicians have given over a patient, they call one of the country, and he cures him.

Way of practice. The phyſicians of the country uſe this ſort of practice: being come to the patient's bed-ſide, they ſtay a little to ſettle themſelves after the motion of coming; then they feel the pulſe for a long while together, very attentively, and with much conſideration; after which they uſually ſay, You have ſuch a diſtemper; and if incurable, they honeſtly ſay, I have no cure for this diſeaſe: which is a ſign the patient will die. If they find the diſeaſe curable, they ſay, I have a medicine that will cure him; and I will do it in ſo many days. Then they agree what they are to have if they cure the ſick man, bargaining the beſt they can, and ſometimes they draw up writings to bind the contract. After this the phyſician himſelf prepares the medicine, without the help of an apothecary; for which reaſon there are none in the country: and this they do, that they may not diſcover the ſecret of the art they work; and becauſe they will not truſt another to put together the ingredient they preſcribe. If the patient recovers within the time appointed, as generally happens, he pays the price agreed on; if he miſcarries, the phyſician loſes his labour and medicines.

Medicines. The medicines they give are not like ours, which cauſe a loathing, and are laxative; but theirs are palatable as their broths, and nouriſhing without any other ſuſtenance, which makes them give the patient ſeveral doſes in a day, as we give broth at ſo many hours interval; and theſe do not alter the courſe of nature, but only help the uſual operations of nature diſperſing the peccant humours, without wracking the patient.

I remember a paſſage worth the relating in this place: a *Portugueſe* falling ſick, ſent for the *European* phyſicians; who having uſed their endeavours, gave him over. When they were gone, a phyſician of the country was called; who undertook to cure him in ſo many days, ſtrictly enjoining him, whilſt he was under his hands, to have a care of having to do with women upon pain of certain death, from which the vertue of his medicine could not deliver him. They agreed upon the price, and the phyſician undertook to cure him in thirty days. The patient took the medicines preſcribed him, and in a few days found himſelf ſo well recovered, that he was not afraid to tranſgreſs the phyſician's injunction; who coming to viſit him, by the alteration of his pulſe diſcovered the ſick man's incontinency, and bid him prepare to die, becauſe there was no cure for him; but that he ſhould pay him his money, ſince it was none of his fault that he muſt die. The caſe was try'd; the ſick man was adjudged to pay: and ſo he died. A notable ſtory.

Bleeding. Bleeding is alſo uſed, but not ſo much as in *Europe*, nor is it done with a ſteel lancet; but they have abundance of gooſe-quills, in which they fix ſome bits of fine porcelane, made ſharp, and ſhaped like the teeth of a ſaw, ſome bigger, ſome leſs, of ſeveral ſizes. When they are to let blood, they apply one of theſe quills to the vein, proportionable to the bigneſs of it, and giving it a fillip with the finger, open the vein, only ſo much of the porcelane entring as is requiſite: and what is moſt wonderful, when they have drawn the blood, they uſe no fillet or binding to ſtop it; but wetting their thumb with ſpittle they preſs the orifice, ſo that the fleſh returning to the place whence it was parted, the blood is ſtopt, and runs out no more: which I ſuppoſe to proceed from the manner of opening the vein, as it were ſawing it with that porcelane full of teeth, and therefore it cloſes again the eaſier.

Surgeons. There are alſo ſurgeons, who have ſome wonderful ſecrets, whereof I will give but two inſtances, one practiſed upon my ſelf, the other upon one of our brothers, my companion: I happened to fall from a very high place, with my breaſt againſt the corner of a ſtone, whereupon I preſently began to ſpit blood, and had a wound in my breaſt outwardly. We applied ſome medicines after our *European* manner, but to no purpoſe. A ſurgeon of the country came and took a quantity of a certain herb like that we call mercury, and making it into a plaiſter, laid it on my breaſt, then he cauſed ſome of that herb to be boiled for me to drink, and made me eat Great Cures.

the

the ſame herb raw: and thus in a few days perfectly cured me. I, to make another experiment, cauſed the leg of a hen to be broke in ſeveral places, and making a plaiſter as he had done of the ſame herb, bound it upon the broken leg, and in a few days it was whole and ſound.

A ſcorpion bit a brother of ours, my companion, in the neck; and in that kingdom the bite of a ſcorpion is mortal. All his throat ſwelled immediately, and we were about giving him extreme unction. A ſurgeon was ſent for, who immediately ſet a pot of rice a boiling in nothing but fair water, then clapping the pot to the brother's feet, covered him and it cloſe with cloths, that the ſteam might not go out, and as ſoon as the ſaid ſteam and hot ſmoke of the rice came up to the place where the bite was, the brother felt the pain aſſwage, the ſwelling in his throat fell, and he remained as ſound as if nothing had ailed him. BORRI.

Many other inſtances might be added, but I ſhall only ſay, that the medicines in thoſe parts have a greater virtue than when they come to us; and particularly I can affirm, that I brought with me a ſmall caſk of *rhubarb*, which was extraordinary good there, and when I came into *Europe*, having ſpent two years by the way, I found it ſo changed, that I ſcarce knew it my ſelf, ſo that thoſe medicines loſe much of their virtue in bringing from thoſe countries to our parts.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Civil and Political Government of the Cochin-Chineſes.

I Will give a brief account of as much as may ſuffice for the reader's information; for it would be too tedious, and from the purpoſe of this my ſhort relation, to diſcourſe of every thing in particular. The government of *Cochin-China*, in general, is a medium betwixt thoſe of *China* and *Japan:* for whereas the *Japoneſes* make leſs account of learning than military knowledge: and on the contrary, the *Chineſes* attribute all to learning, taking little notice of warlike affairs. The *Cochin-Chineſes* following the example of neither, equally encourage learning, and ſkill in war, according as occaſion offers, ſometimes preferring the ſoldier, and ſometimes the ſcholar, and ſo repulſing them as appears moſt convenient.

Learning. In *Cochin-China* there are ſeveral univerſities, in which there are profeſſors, ſcholars, and degrees conferred by way of examination, in the ſame manner as is practiſed in *China*, the ſame ſciences being taught, and the ſame books and authors read; that is, *Zinfu*, or *Confucius*, as the *Portugueſes* call them; which are authors of ſuch profound learning, and in ſuch eſteem and reputation among them, as *Ariſtotle* is among us, being much ancienter than he. Theſe books of theirs are full of erudition, of ſtories, of grave ſentences, of proverbs, and ſuch like things, for the directing a civil life, as are *Seneca*, *Cato*, and *Cicero*, among us; and they ſpend many years in learning the true ſenſe of the phraſes, words, characters, and hieroglyphicks, they are writ in; but that they moſt value is moral philoſophy, or ethicks, œconomy, and policy. It is comical to ſee and hear them, when they are ſtudying, read and repeat their leſſons in ſuch a tone as if they were ſinging, which they do to uſe themſelves to it, and give every word its proper accents, which are many, every one expreſſing a ſeveral thing: and therefore one would think, that to converſe with them, a man muſt underſtand the grounds of muſick.

The language they generally ſpeak, is different from that they read and teach in at the ſchools, and which their books are writ in: as among us the vulgar language differs from the *Latin* uſed in the ſchools. Wherein they differ from the *Chineſes*, who, if they are learned, or noble, always uſe the ſame language, which they call of *mandarines*; that is, of doctors, judges, and governors, and the characters they uſe in writing and printing their books, are above eight thouſand, all differing from one another. And for this reaſon the fathers of the ſociety ſpend eight, and even ten years, in ſtudying the *Chineſe* books, before they can be maſters, and go abroad to converſe with them. But the *Cochin-Chineſes* have reduced the characters to three thouſand, which they generally make uſe of: and theſe are enough to expreſs themſelves in their harangues, letters, petitions, memorials, and ſuch things which do not belong to printed books; for thoſe of neceſſity muſt be in *Chineſe* characters. The *Japoneſes* have been more ingenious, who tho' in all that belongs to books, whether written or printed, they agree with the *Chineſes*; yet for common uſes have found out forty eight letters, wherewith they expreſs whatſoever they pleaſe, as well as we do with our alphabet: and yet the *Chineſe* characters are in ſuch eſteem even among the *Japoneſes*, that theſe forty eight letters, notwithſtanding the uſe they are of above the others,

BORRI. others, are contemned in compariſon of them; inſomuch, that in ſcorn they call them women's letters.

The ingenious invention of printing was found out in *China*, and *Cochin-China*, long before it was in *Europe:* but not in ſuch perfection: for they do not compoſe joining letters and characters, but with a graver, penknife, or ſuch inſtrument, cut and carve the characters upon a ſtone as they will have them in their books: on this board ſo carved they lay their paper, and print it off, as we in *Europe* do copper-plates, or the like.

Beſides theſe books of morals, they have others, which contain things they account ſacred; as for inſtance: the creation and beginning of the world: of the rational ſouls of demons: of idols, and of their ſeveral ſects. Theſe books are called *Sayc Kim*, to diſtinguiſh them from the profane, which they call *Sayc Chiu*. Of the doctrine of their ſacred books, we ſhall treat in the ſecond part of this account, where the ſubject will be more ſuitable.

The language.

Tho' the language of the *Cochin-Chineſes* be in one reſpect like that of the *Chineſes*, both of them uſing all monaſyllables, delivered in ſeveral tones and accents; yet they utterly differ in the word it ſelf, the *Cochin-Chineſes* being more full of vowels, and conſequently ſofter and ſweeter, more copious in tones and accents, and therefore more harmonious. The language of *Cochin-China* is, in my opinion, the eaſieſt of any, for thoſe that have a muſical ear, to take the tones and accents; for it has no variety by way of conjunction of verbs, or declination of nouns, but one and the ſame word, with the addition of an adverb, or pronoun, ſignifies the preſent, the preterit, and future tenſes, the ſingular number, and the plural; and in fine, ſerves for all moods, tenſes, and perſons, and the diverſity of numbers and caſes. For inſtance: This word, *To have*, which in the *Chineſe* language is *Co*, by only adding a pronoun, ſerves all occaſions, ſaying, *I have*, *Thou have*, *He have*; the name of the perſon making that diverſity, which we expreſs by altering the termination, thus, *I have*, *Thou haſt*, *He has*. In the ſame manner they make the ſeveral tenſes; ſaying, for the preſent, *I now have*; for the preterit, *I heretofore have*; and for the future, *I hereafter have:* And ſo without ever altering the word *Co*; by which it appears how eaſily this language may be learned: as it happened to me, who in ſix months underſtood ſo much, that I could diſcourſe, and even hear their confeſſions, tho' not ſo perfectly, for it requires at leaſt four years to be a maſter. [*This variety of moods and tenſes, appears better by the* Latin, *or other languages, than in* Engliſh, *where we uſe much the ſame method, as he repreſents in* Cochin-China; *our variations the ſame, being but few, as to inſtance in the ſame word,* I have, You have, We have, They have, I ſhall have, May we have: *and ſo in this, and many others.*]

Rewards for military men.

But to return to our relation: I was ſaying, that the *Cochin-Chineſes* reward not only the learned with dignities, employments, and revenues; but that they make great account of good ſoldiers, in which particular they act differently from us; for inſtead of aſſigning brave commanders, ſome land, earldom, or marquiſate, as a reward of their valour, they allot him ſuch a number of people, and vaſſals, belonging to the king himſelf, who whatſoever part of the kingdom they live in, are obliged to own him as their lord, to whom they have been aſſigned by the king, being bound upon all occaſions to ſerve him with their weapons, and to pay him all thoſe duties they before paid to the king himſelf; and therefore, as we ſay, ſuch a one is lord, earl, or marqueſs of ſuch a place; they ſay, ſuch a one is a man of fifty, ſuch a one of a thouſand men, to ſuch a one the king has added three thouſand, to ſuch a one two thouſand; their dignity, wealth, and grandeur increaſing by the addition of many vaſſals. We ſhall ſpeak of the wars of this kingdom in the next chapter.

Trials at law.

It remains that we ſay ſomewhat worth being known of the civil government. In the firſt they govern rather after a military manner, than by judges, counſellors, and lawyers, and their formalities, the vice-roys and governors of provinces performing that function; for every day they give publick audience for four hours daily, in a large court within their own palace, two hours in the morning, and two after dinner. Hither all ſuits and complaints are brought, and the vice-roy, or governor, ſitting on a tribunal raiſed like a balcony, hears every man in his turn; and theſe governors being generally men of ſound judgment, capacity, and experience, they eaſily diſcover the truth of the matter by the queſtions they put, and much more by the common conſent of the ſtander-by, which is gathered by the applauſe they give the plaintiff, or defendant, and accordingly they immediately, without delay, give judgment with a loud voice, which is immediately executed without any demur, or appeal, whether the ſentence be death, baniſhment, whipping, or fine, every crime being puniſh'd as the law appoints.

False witneſſes, how puniſhed.

The crimes generally try'd and ſeverely puniſhed are many, but they are particularly rigid againſt falſe witneſſes, thieves, and adulterers. The firſt of theſe being convicted

convicted of having given falſe evidence, are themſelves indiſpenſably condemned, as if they themſelves had committed the crime they accuſe others of. And if the crime they alledged deſerved death, they are ſentenced to die: and experience teaches, that this way of trial is very proper to find out the truth.

Thieves. Thieves, if the theft be conſiderable, are beheaded; if ſmall, as for example, a hen, for the firſt offence they have a finger cut off, for the ſecond another finger, for the third an ear, and for the fourth the head.

Adulterers. Adulterers, both men and women, indifferently are caſt to the elephants to be killed, which is done thus: They lead the criminal out into the field, where in the preſence of an infinite number of people flocking together, he is ſet in the middle with his hands and feet bound, near an elephant, to whom the condemned perſon's ſentence is read, that he may execute every part of it orderly; firſt that he lay hold of, graſp, and hold him faſt with his trunk, and ſo hold him in the air, ſhewing him to all the company; then that he toſs him up, and catch him upon the points of his teeth, that his own weight may ſtrike them through him; that then he daſh him againſt the ground; and laſtly, that he bruiſe and cruſh him to pieces with his feet: All which is exactly performed by the elephant, to the great terror and amazement of the ſpectators, who are taught by this puniſhment, at another man's coſt, what fidelity is due between married perſons.

Since we are upon this point of matrimony, it will not be from the purpoſe to deliver ſome farther particulars concerning it, before we conclude this chapter. The *Cochin-Chineſes*, tho' heathens, never uſe to contract matrimony within thoſe degrees forbid by the laws of God and nature, nor within the firſt degree of the collateral line of brothers and ſiſters. In other degrees matrimony is lawful to every man with only one woman; tho' rich men uſe to have many concubines, under pretence of grandeur and generoſity, looking upon it as covetouſneſs, not to have as many as every man's income will conveniently maintain; and theſe are called ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth wives, and ſo on, according to every one's rank, all which wait upon the firſt, which is accounted, and really is the true wife, whoſe buſineſs it is to chuſe the others for her huſband. But theſe marriages of theirs are not indiſſoluble, the laws of *Cochin-China* allowing of divorces, but not at the will of either party, it being firſt requiſite, that the perſon ſuing for it, convict the other of many offences; which being made out, it is lawful to diſſolve the firſt marriage, and marry again. The huſbands bring the portion, and leave their own houſes to go to the wife's; upon whoſe fortunes they live, the women managing all the houſhold-affairs, and governing the family whilſt the huſband lives idle at home, hardly knowing what there is in the houſe, ſatisfied that they have meat and clothes.

Borri. Matrimony.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Power of the King of Cochin-China, *and of the Wars he has in his Kingdom.*

Their skill in cannon and ſmall arms. I Took notice at the beginning of this account, that *Cochin-China* was a province of the great kingdom of *Tonchin*, uſurp'd by the grandfather of the king now reigning; who being made governor of it, rebelled againſt the ſaid king of *Tonchin*; to which he was not a little encouraged, by having in a ſhort time got together a great many pieces of cannon of the wrecks of ſeveral *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* ſhips, caſt away upon thoſe rocks, which being taken up by the country people, there are above ſixty of the biggeſt, at this time, to be ſeen in the king's palace. The *Cochin-Chineſes* are now become ſo expert in managing artillery, that they perform it better than the *Europeans*, practiſing continually to ſhoot at a mark, with ſuch ſucceſs, that being proud of their ſkill, as ſoon as any *European* ſhip arrives in their ports, the king's gunners challenge ours, who being ſenſible that they cannot ſtand in competition with them, as near as they can, avoid this trial of ſkill, being convinced by experience, that they will hit any thing as exactly with a cannon, as another ſhall do with a firelock; which they are alſo very expert at, often drawing out into the field to exerciſe. Another great encouragement to rebellion, was, his having above a hundred gallies, which rendring him formidable by ſea, and the artillery by land, he eaſily compaſs'd his deſigns againſt the king of *Tonchin*. Beſides, by reaſon of the conſtant trade in *Japan*, there were in *Cochin-China* abundance of *Catana's*, which are ſcymitars made in *Japan*, and excellently temper'd: And all the country abounding in horſes, which tho' ſmall, are handſome and mettleſome,

Gallies, ſcymitars, and horſes.

BORRI. tleſome, on which they fight, caſting darts, and daily exerciſe themſelves.

King's power. The power of this king is ſo great, that whenſoever he pleaſes, he can bring 80000 fighting men into the field, and yet is always in fear of the king of *Tonchin*, whoſe power is four times as great; to whom, for quietneſs ſake, he, by agreement, pays a tribute, of all ſuch things as his kingdom affords, and are uſeful for that of *Tonchin*, particularly of gold, ſilver, and rice; furniſhing, beſides all this, plank and timber for building of gallies. And for the ſame reaſon he was about entring into a league with the fugitive ſon of the late king, who lorded it in the utmoſt province of *Tonchin*, which borders upon *China*, that in caſe he ſucceeded, and became maſter of *Tonchin*, *Cochin-China* might remain free from all tribute and acknowledgment.

For the better underſtanding hereof, it is to be obſerved, that when I was in *Cochin-China*, that kingdom was in the poſſeſſion not of the precedent king, but the tutor or governor of that ſon, who made his eſcape from the ſaid governor to ſave his life. The ſaid prince lived like a fugitive, in the fartheſt province adjoining to *China*; where being known to be what he was, that is the late king's ſon, he was received by that people as their ſovereign lord, and by his good government he had ſo ſtrengthened himſelf, that his tutor already declared king of *Tonchin*, was much afraid, ſeeing him grow ſo great, leſt he ſhould agree with the king of *Cochin-China*, who is of the oppoſite ſide, to catch him between them, and expel him his unjuſt poſſeſſion. He therefore every year form'd a conſiderable army to deſtroy the aforeſaid prince; but always to no purpoſe, becauſe the army being of neceſſity to march five or ſix days, through a country where there is no other water to drink, but that of ſome rivers coming from the enemies country; the army always found it poiſon'd by the prince's party, with a ſort of herb, the effect whereof was ſuch, that it deſtroyed both men and horſes; which obliged him always to retire after much trouble and expence caſt away.

Wars in *Cochin-China.* The military diſcipline, and art of war in *Cochin-China*, is almoſt the ſame as in *Europe*, the ſame form being obſerved in drawing up, fighting, and retiring. This king has generally war in three parts of his kingdom: Firſt, he is always upon his defence againſt the king of *Tonchin*, who as has been ſaid continually threatens and aſſaults his frontiers, and therefore the king of *Cochin-China* has his reſidence in *Sinuua*, the extreme part of his dominions, the better to oppoſe him, and march his forces towards the confines of *Tonchin*, which is a powerful province, and generally under experienced and martial governours.

The next is a ſort of civil war, raiſed by two of his own brothers, who aiming to be equal in command and power, not ſatisfied with what has been allotted them, have rebelled againſt him, and craving ſuccours from *Tonchin*, gave him perpetual trouble. Whilſt I lived in thoſe parts, they having got ſome pieces of cannon, which they carried upon elephants, fortified themſelves ſo well upon the frontiers, that the king's army marching againſt them, was in the firſt engagement routed with the loſs of 3000 men; but coming to a ſecond battle, the king's brothers loſt all they had gained before, being both made priſoners; and they had both immediately loſt their lives, had not his majeſty's natural clemency and brotherly affection prevailed, and taken place of his anger, ſo far as to ſpare their lives, yet ſo as to keep them priſoners.

The third place where he has continual war, is on the weſt-ſide, and utmoſt bound of his kingdom called *Renran*, againſt the king of *Chiampá*; whoſe efforts being weaker, are ſufficiently repulſed by the troops of that ſame province, and the governor.

He is alſo in continual motion, and making warlike preparations to aſſiſt the king of *Cambogia*, who has married his baſtard daughter, ſending him ſuccours of gallies, and men, againſt the king of *Siam*; and therefore the arms of *Cochin-China*, and their valour, is famous and renowned, as well by ſea as by land.

The gallies. At ſea they fight in gallies, as has been ſaid, each of which carries cannon, and is mann'd with muſketeers: Nor will it ſeem ſtrange, that the king of *Cochin-China* has an hundred, or more, gallies in a readineſs, when the method of furniſhing them is known. It is therefore to be obſerved, that the *Cochin-Chineſes* do not uſe to have a crew of criminals, or other ſlaves, to row in their gallies; but when they are to go out to fight, or for any other purpoſe, the way to man them immediately is this: A great number of officers, and commiſſaries, go out privately, and ſcouring on a ſudden all together throughout the whole kingdom, with the king's authority, preſs all they find fit for the oar, conducting them all together to the gallies, unleſs they be exempted by birth, or any other privilege. Nor is this method ſo troubleſome as it appears at firſt ſight; for in the firſt place they are well uſed and paid aboard the gallies; and beſides, their wives and children are fed and provided with all things neceſſary,

ceſſary, according to their condition, all the while they are from their houſes. Nor do they only ſerve at the oar, but upon occaſion lay hold of their weapons, and behave themſelves bravely; for which purpoſe every one has his muſket, darts, and ſcymitar allotted him; and the *Cochin-Chineſes* being of an undaunted ſpirit, and brave, they give good tokens of their valour, either rowing to join their enemies, or with their arms when joined. Their gallies are ſomewhat leſs, but particularly narrower than ours, but ſo neat, and ſo well adorned with gold and ſilver, that they afford a glorious ſight. Chiefly the ſtem, which they account the moſt honourable poſt, is all over gold, there the captain and perſons of chief note have their ſtation: and the reaſon they give for it is, that it being the captain's duty to be the firſt upon any danger, it is fit he ſhould be in the propereſt part of the gally for that purpoſe. BORRI.

Among other ſorts of defenſive arms they uſe in war, they have certain oval, hollow targets, ſo long that they cover a man quite, and ſo light, that they can manage them without any trouble. The cities of this kingdom have a great advantage in the manner of their houſes, which being all of wood upon pillars of timber, as has been ſaid before when the enemy comes ſo ſtrong, that they perceive they cannot oppoſe him, every man flies to the mountain with what he has, firing the houſes, ſo that the enemy finds nothing but the ruins left by the flames, and having no place to fortify himſelf, nor any thing to ſubſiſt on, is forced to retire back to his own country, and the inhabitants returning to the ſame place in a ſhort time, with great eaſe rebuild their houſes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Trade and Ports of Cochin-China.

Trade of *Cochin-China.*

THE great plenty *Cochin-China* affords of all things neceſſary for the ſupport of human life, as has been ſaid before, is the cauſe that the people have no curioſity, or inclination to go into other kingdoms to trade; and therefore they never go ſo far to ſea, as to loſe ſight of their beloved ſhore; yet they are very ready to admit of ſtrangers, and are very well pleaſed they ſhould come not only from the neighbouring countries, but from the remoteſt parts to trade with them. Nor do they need to uſe any art for this purpoſe, ſtrangers being ſufficiently allured by the fruitfulneſs of the country, and the great wealth which abounds there; and therefore they reſort thither not only from *Tonchin*, *Cambogia*, *Chincheos*, and other neighbouring places, but from the remoteſt, as *China*, *Macao*, *Japan*, *Manila*, and *Malacca*, all of them carrying ſilver to *Cochin-China*, to carry away the commodities of the country, which are not bought, but exchanged for plate, which is here put off as a commodity, being ſometimes worth more, and ſometimes leſs, according as there is more or leſs plenty of it, as is uſual with ſilk and other goods.

All the coin they uſe is of braſs, and of the ſame value, like a *quatrine*, 500 of which make a crown. Theſe pieces are quite round, with the king's arms and enſign ſtamped on them, and every one of them has a hole through the middle, which ſerves to ſtring them by thouſands, and every thouſand is worth two crowns.

Rich trade of the *Chineſes* and *Japoneſes.*

The *Chineſes* and *Japoneſes*, drive the chief trade of *Cochin-China*; which is managed at a fair held yearly at one of the ports of this kingdom, and laſting about four months. The *Chineſes*, in their veſſels they call *junks*, bring the value of four or five millions in plate; and the *Japoneſes*, in their ſhips called *ſommes*, an infinite quantity of very fine ſilk, and other commodities of their country. The king has a vaſt revenue from this fair by cuſtoms, and impoſt, and all the whole country receives great profit. The *Cochin-Chineſes* applying themſelves very little to arts, becauſe plenty makes them lazy; and being ſoon taken with the curioſities of other countries it comes to paſs, that they put a great value upon, and buy at great rates, many things, which to others are of very ſmall worth; as for inſtance, combs, needles, bracelets, and pendants of glaſs, and ſuch-like womens tackling. I remember a *Portugueſe*, who bringing into *Cochin-China* from *Macao*, a box full of needles, which could not be worth above thirty ducats, made above a thouſand of it, ſelling that for ſixpence in *Cochin-China*, which had not coſt him above a farthing at *Macao*. In ſhort, they out-bid one another, in buying any thing that is very new and ſtrange without ſparing for price. They are very fond of our hats, of caps, of girdles, ſhirts, and all other ſorts of garments we wear, becauſe they are quite different from theirs; but above all, they put a great value upon coral.

Sea-ports.

As for their ports, it is wonderful that in a coaſt little more than an hundred leagues in length, there ſhould be above ſixty moſt convenient landing-places; which

is

BORRI. is ſo, becauſe there are many large arms of the ſea. But the principal port, to which all ſtrangers reſort, and where the afore-mentioned fair is kept, is that of the province of *Cacchian*; which has two mouths, or inlets from the ſea, the one called *Pulluchiampello*, and the other of *Turon*, being at firſt three or four leagues diſtant from one another, but running in ſeven or eight leagues like two great rivers, at laſt join in one, where the veſſels that come in both ways meet. Here the king of *Cochin-China* aſſigned the *Chineſes*, and *Japoneſes*, a convenient ſpot of ground, to build a city for the benefit of the fair. This city is called *Faifó*, and is ſo large, that we may ſay they are two, one of *Chineſes*, the other of *Japoneſes*; for they are divided from one another, each having their diſtinct governor, and the *Chineſes* living according to the laws of *China*, as the *Japoneſes* do according to thoſe of *Japan*.

All nations admitted to trade.

And becauſe, as we ſaid before, the king of *Cochin-China* gave free admittance to all nations whatſoever, the *Dutch* reſorted thither with all ſorts of commodities. Hereupon the *Portugueſes* of *Macao* reſolved to ſend an embaſſador to the king, to demand in their name, that the *Dutch*, as mortal enemies to their nation, ſhould be excluded all *Cochin-China*. One captain *Ferdinand de Coſta*, a man well known for his valour, was appointed to go upon this embaſſy; which he delivered and was favourably heard, with aſſurances of obtaining his demands. Nevertheleſs, whilſt he was yet at that court, there arrived a *Dutch* ſhip, and coming to an anchor in the port, ſome of them landed with much mirth and jollity, and preſently went with rich preſents to the king: He accepted of them very graciouſly, and granted them the uſual liberty of trading freely in his kingdom. *Acoſta* hearing of it, went preſently to the king, and complaining, That his majeſty did not keep his word with him, in a *Portugueſe* bravado gave a ſtamp on the ground to ſhew his reſentment. The king and all the courtiers were pleaſed at his paſſion, and bidding him have patience, and expect the event, for he ſhould find he had no cauſe to complain, diſmiſſed him. In the mean while he ordered all the *Dutch* to go aſhore, and land all their goods againſt the fair at *Turon*, as the *Portugueſes* did; which they perform'd: But as they were going upon the river in boats, they were on a ſudden aſſaulted by the gallies, which deſtroyed moſt of them. The king remained maſter of their goods; and to juſtify this action, alledged, that he very well knew the *Dutch*, as notorious pirates, who infeſted all the ſeas, were worthy of ſeverer puniſhment; and therefore, by proclamation, forbid any of them ever reſorting to his country: and it was actually found, that thoſe very men had robbed ſome veſſels of *Cochin-China*, and therefore took this juſt revenge; admitting the *Portugueſes* as good and ſincere friends: Who not long after ſent another embaſſador from *Macao*, to obtain of the king a confirmation of the aforeſaid edict, at the inſtance of *Acoſta*, alledging as a motive, the danger that the *Dutch*, in time, might cunningly poſſeſs themſelves of ſome part of *Cochin-China*, as they had done in other parts of *India*. But the new embaſſador was adviſed by knowing men of that country, not to mention any ſuch thing to the king, becauſe that very thing would be a motive to him to grant the *Dutch* a free trade, and invite all *Holland* to come over; he pretended to be afraid of no nation in the world; quite contrary to the king of *China*, who being afraid of every body, forbids all ſtrangers trading in his kingdom; and therefore the embaſſador muſt urge other motives to obtain his deſire.

Dutch baniſhed.

Portugueſes favour'd in *Cochin-China*.

The king of *Cochin-China* has always ſhewn himſelf a great friend to the *Portugueſes* that trade in that kingdom, and has ſeveral times offered them three or four leagues of the fruitfulleſt country about the port of *Turon*, that they may build a city there with all ſorts of conveniences, as the *Chineſes*, and *Japoneſes*, have done. And were it allowed me to give his catholick majeſty my opinion in this point, I ſhould ſay, he ought, by all means, to command the *Portugueſes* to accept of the kind offer made them, and to build a good city there as ſoon as poſſible; which would be a refuge, and brave defence, for all the ſhips that paſs by towards *China*: For here a fleet might be kept in readineſs againſt the *Dutch*, that ſail to *China* and *Japan*, who of neceſſity muſt paſs through the middle of the bay, that lies between the coaſt of this kingdom, in the provinces of *Ranran*, and *Pulucambi*, and the rocks of *Puluſiſi*.

This is what ſmall matter I thought I could, with truth, give an account of, concerning the temporal ſtate of *Cochin-China*, according to the knowledge I could gain in ſome years I reſided there; as will farther appear in the ſecond part of this relation.

The End of the Firſt Part.

The

The Second PART.

TREATING
Of the SPIRITUAL STATE of *Cochin-China.*

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt entring of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS into that Kingdom: And of the two Churches built at Turon *and* Cacchian.

The jeſuits the firſt that taught Chriſtianity in *Cochin-China.*

BEFORE the fathers of the ſociety of JESUS went into *Cochin-China*, it was the cuſtom of the *Portugueſes* trading thither, to carry thither with them from *Malacca*, and *Macao*, and the *Spaniards* from *Manila*, ſome chaplains, to ſay maſs and adminiſter the ſacraments to them, during their ſtay there, which generally was three or four months in a year. Theſe chaplains having no other obligation but only to ſerve the *Portugueſes*, never thought of promoting the ſpiritual welfare of the natives of that country, not applying themſelves to learn their language, nor uſing any other means to communicate the light of the goſpel to them. And yet there was one of theſe who had the face to publiſh in *Spain*, in a book call'd, *The Voyage of the World*; that he had catechis'd and baptis'd the infanta or princeſs of *Cochin-China*, and a great many of her ladies: whereas never infanta, nor any other perſon of all that royal family, till this time, has ſhewn any inclination to become Chriſtian, notwithſtanding we fathers go every year to viſit the king, and diſcourſe with all the great men of the court; and yet the infanta has not given any token of being a Chriſtian, or ſo much as knowing what a Chriſtian is. And it may well be diſcern'd, how falſly he talks in this point, by the other fables he adds in the ſame book, concerning that infanta; as that ſhe would have marry'd the ſaid chaplain, and the like. We know of none but ſome fathers of the order of St. *Francis*, that went from *Manila*, and one of St. *Auguſtine*, from *Macao* to *Cochin-China*, merely for the converſion of thoſe ſouls. But they meeting with no ſucceſs, by reaſon of the many ſeveral difficulties that occur, they return'd to their countries: Providence ſo ordering it, which had deſign'd that land to be cultivated by the ſons of the holy patriarch *Ignatius*, which was done as follows. BORRI.

Manner of their going thither.

Certain *Portugueſe* merchants acquainted the ſuperiors of the ſociety of JESUS at *Macao*, with the great advantages that might be gain'd, to advance the glory of GOD in *Cochin-China*, if there were undaunted and zealous labourers ſent thither; and particularly one captain earneſtly preſſed the father provincial, not to abandon a kingdom ſo capable of being inſtructed in the holy faith. The propoſal ſeem'd to the father very agreeable to the ſpirit of our vocation, and therefore without demurring upon the execution of it, he made choice for this enterprize of F. *Francis Buzome*, who had been profeſſor of divinity at *Macao*, by birth a *Genoeſe*, but educated in the kingdom of *Naples*, where he was admitted into the ſociety, and whence he ſet out for *India:* together with F. *James Caravalho*, a *Portugueſe*, who from *Cochin-China* was to attempt to go over to *Japan*, as he did. This was he, who being put into a pool of cold water in the dead of winter, and expos'd to the wind and ſnow, gave up his life for the ſake of his Redeemer, freezing leiſurely to death. F. *Caravalho* being gone, F. *Buzome* was left alone in *Cochin-China*, with only a lay-brother to attend him: being zealouſly inflam'd with the deſire of ſaving ſouls, he us'd all poſſible means for their converſion, and to this purpoſe began his miſſion at *Turon*. But as yet he knew not the language, nor could he find any interpreter that knew any more *Portugueze* than what was requiſite for buying and ſelling, and ſome words or phraſes, which the interpreters of the chaplains of ſhips, who were there before the fathers of the ſociety, made uſe of to aſk the *Cochin-Chineſes*, Whether they would be Chriſtians? After this manner they

Miſtaken converſions.

Borri. they had made ſome, but ſuch as might rather be accounted ſo by name than by profeſſion; for they did not ſo much as underſtand what the name of a Chriſtian meant: and this by reaſon of the phraſe the interpreters us'd to ask them, Whether they would be Chriſtians: for the words they made uſe of, ſignify'd nothing more, than that they would become *Portugueſe*; which F. *Francis Buzome* found out by this following accident: a play was acted in the publick market-place, at which the father ſaw one in the habit of a *Portugueſe*, brought in by way of ridicule, with a great belly ſo artificially made, that a boy was hid in it; the player, before the audience, turn'd him out of his belly, and ask'd him, Whether he would go into the belly of the *Portugueſe?* Uſing theſe words, *Con gnoo muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam?* That is, *Little boy, will you go into the belly of the* Portugueſe, *or not?* The boy anſwer'd, *He would:* and then he put him in again, often repeating the ſame thing to divert the ſpectators. The father obſerving, that the phraſe the player ſo often repeated, *Muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*, was the ſame the interpreters us'd, when they aſk'd any one, Whether he would be a Chriſtian? Preſently conceiv'd the miſtake the *Cochin-Chineſes* were under; who thought, that to become a Chriſtian was only to ceaſe being a *Cochin-Chineſe*, and become a *Portugueſe*; which to make ſport was expreſs'd in the play, by making the boy go into the belly of him that acted the *Portugueſe*. The father took care, that ſo pernicious an error ſhould ſpread no farther, teaching thoſe already baptis'd their duty, and inſtructing thoſe that were newly converted, what it was to be baptis'd and become a Chriſtian, taking particular care that the interpreters ſhould be well inform'd in this particular, that they might afterwards ſerve faithfully in teaching of others; changing the abovemention'd phraſe into this, *Muon bau dau chriſtiam chiam?* That is, *Will you enter into the chriſtian law, or no?* His great diligence and charity was ſo ſucceſsful, that within a few days he began to reap the fruit of his labours, as well by the reformation of thoſe who before were Chriſtians only in name, as the converſion of many more. Nor was the fame of his charity and zeal for the gaining of ſouls confin'd to *Turon*, his uſual place of reſidence, but ſpread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to inſtruct, convert, and diſpoſe the people to receive baptiſm with ſuch fervour, and ſo great a concourſe about him, that in a ſhort time thoſe new Chriſtians built a very large church at *Turon*, in which the moſt holy ſacrifice of the maſs was publickly celebrated, and the chriſtian doctrine preach'd and taught, by means of the interpreters, then well inſtructed; all perſons being very much taken with F. *Francis Buzome:* who beſides his being a perſon of great knowledge and virtue, entirely gain'd the affections of thoſe heathens, by his great meekneſs and affability, inſomuch that they all flock'd after him. This particularly happened at *Cacchiam*, the city where the king reſides, ſix or ſeven leagues from *Turon*, up the river. Churches erected.

Here F. *Buzome* made ſo great an impreſſion, that a place was preſently allotted him for a church, which was built in a very ſhort time, every body contributing to the expence, and to the work, according to their power. Beſides, he had a good houſe aſſign'd him, fit for to make a reſidence of fathers, who were to go thither in time to inſtruct that people in matters of faith: all which was done with the aſſiſtance of a moſt noble lady, who was converted, and in baptiſm took the name of *Joanna*. She not only undertook the foundation of the houſe and church, but erected ſeveral altars and places of prayer in her own houſe, never ceaſing to bleſs and praiſe God for the mercy ſhewn her, in enlightening and drawing her to the faith. All this his divine majeſty brought to paſs in the ſpace of a year, through the means of his ſervant, F. *Francis Buzome*; whoſe fame being ſpread as far as *Macao*, the following year our father provincial thought fit to ſend him another father, that was younger, with a *Japoneſe* brother, that learning the language, he might afterwards preach without ſtanding in need of an interpreter. This was F. *Francis de Pina*, a *Portugueſe*, who had learn'd divinity under F. *Francis Buzome*. And tho' this ſecond year the increaſe was not anſwerable to that of the firſt, as to the converſion of ſouls, yet the advantage was much greater in the ſufferings of a cruel perſecution, rais'd by the enemy that ſow'd the tares, who could not endure to ſee the divine ſeed grow up ſo proſperouſly in thoſe parts, and endeavour'd to choke it; as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Perſecution the New Church of Cochin-China *endur'd, at its firſt Inſtitution: and how I was ſent thither to be aſſiſting to it, by my Superiors.*

Cauſe of the perſecution.

THE perſecution againſt the fathers took its beginning from an accident at firſt ſight ridiculous, and of no moment, which afterwards gave them much cauſe to lament. That year there happened an univerſal barrenneſs throughout the whole kingdom, for want of the uſual inundation in autumn; which, as was ſaid in the firſt part, is ſo neceſſary for bringing up the rice, the chief ſupport of life in that country. Hereupon their prieſts, whom they call *omſaiis*, held a great council, to find out the cauſe why their idols were ſo angry with all their kingdom, that ſeeing the people ſtarve to death about the fields, yet they were not the leaſt mov'd to compaſſion for ſo great a calamity. It was there unanimouſly agreed, that there was nothing new in the kingdom, ſo oppoſite to the worſhip of the idols, as the admitting of ſtrangers freely to preach up a law there, that utterly contradicted the honour given to thoſe Idols; and that they being juſtly provok'd at it, reveng'd themſelves by denying them their deſired rain.

The fathers baniſh'd.

This being agreed on as a moſt undoubted truth, according to their ignorance, they preſently went in a tumultuous manner to the king, and preſs that the preachers of the new law may be baniſh'd all the kingdom, that being the only means to appeaſe the wrath of their gods. The wiſe king laugh'd at their project, knowing it to be a fooliſh notion of thoſe prieſts, and made little account of it, having a great eſteem for the fathers, and a kindneſs for the *Portugueſe*. Yet this favour of the king avail'd them but little to oppoſe the fury of the miniſters of Satan; for they ſo ſtirr'd up the people to preſs that the preachers of the goſpel might be expell'd the kingdom, that the king, not able to reſiſt without danger of a mutiny, ſent for the fathers, and with much concern told them, He was ſenſible of the folly of the people, and ignorance of the prieſts; but that it was not prudence to withſtand a multitude, ſo eagerly bent upon ſuch an affair as that was, which was deſigned for the removing ſo general a calamity; and therefore they muſt depart his kingdom as ſoon as poſſible. The fathers having heard theſe words with tears in their eyes, ſeeing themſelves oblig'd to forſake thoſe new and tender plants of Chriſtianity, yet ever ſubmitting to the will of God, went away to embark; but being got aboard, in obedience to the king's command, they could never get out of the harbour, becauſe at that time a ſort of contrary winds, which uſually hold three or four months, had begun to blow, which by the *Portugueſes* are call'd *Moncao*, or general winds. The *Cochin-Chineſes* obſerving it, would not allow them to return into the city, but oblig'd them to remain upon the ſhore depriv'd of all human comfort, and expos'd to the burning heat of the ſun, which in thoſe parts is very violent. It was a great ſatisfaction to them in the midſt of their ſufferings, to ſee the conſtancy of ſome of thoſe new Chriſtians, who never forſook their maſters, following, accompanying, and relieving them the beſt they could, becoming voluntary companions in their ſufferings. F. *Buzome* had here a new trial of his virtue; for the uneaſineſs of this uncomfortable life, in a few days, caus'd an impoſthume to break out in his breaſt, from which abundance of corruption ran, and was a mighty weakening to him. BORRI.

An hypocrite prieſt of the idols detected and puniſh'd.

The infernal fiend, not ſatisfied to have brought the preachers of the goſpel to this miſerable condition, made yet farther efforts to diſcredit their doctrine, and catholick religion, making uſe to this purpoſe of one of thoſe *omſaiis*, who living a ſolitary life, was therefore in great reputation of ſanctity. This man coming one day from his hermitage, publickly boaſted, That by his prayers he would cauſe the idols immediately to ſend rain: and without more to do, went away follow'd by an innumerable multitude to the top of a mountain, where he began to call upon his devils, and ſtriking the earth three times with his foot, the ſky was preſently clouded, and there fell a ſhower of rain; which tho' not ſufficient to ſupply the want, yet was enough to give a reputation to that miniſter of hell, and to diſcredit our holy faith, every one ſaying, They had not yet ſeen the foreign prieſts obtain ſo much by their prayers of the great God, whoſe ſervants they proſeſs'd themſelves. This accident troubled the fathers more than the miſery they liv'd in: but Providence comforted them by the means of the lady *Joanna* above-mention'd. She, as it were, with a prophetick ſpirit, bid them not be concern'd at any thing that had happened; for in a little time God would make the hypocriſy of that *omſaii*, and the vanity of his idols, known to all men, by deſtroying the reputation he had gain'd till then; all which was verified to a tittle ſoon after. For the fame of his ſanctity

BORRI. ſanctity being ſpread abroad upon account of the rain, and coming to the king's ear, he preſently ſent for him, and gave him an apartment in the palace. There he fell in love with one of the king's concubines, and found no difficulty to compaſs his deſign; but the matter being known, tho' in *Cochin-China* this be accounted a moſt heinous crime, and it be death to have to do with a woman the king has once touch'd; yet they could not proceed to execution againſt him, as being a perſon ſacred among them, but according to the form appointed by their laws. The king therefore gave the ſentence, That the *omſaii* ſhould vaniſh; but that he ſhould neither go eaſt, weſt, north, nor ſouth, nor through any part whatſoever of his kingdom. This decree being publiſh'd, was immediately executed in ſuch manner, that the *omſaii* vaniſh'd with great ſhame, and was never more ſeen in the kingdom, nor out of it.

The church burnt.

But the devil being enraged, vented his fury againſt GOD's ſervants, ſtirring up the people to fire the church in *Turon*, to the grief of the fathers, who beheld all from the ſhore without hopes of redreſs.

The author in *Cochin-China.*

In the mean while the news of the fathers misfortune was ſpread all about the neighbouring countries, and even as far as *Macao*, which was a great trouble to the fathers of that college, who pitying their brethren, reſolv'd to ſend them ſome relief by a *Portugueſe* veſſel that was ready to ſail to *Cochin-China*; and the fathers judg'd the buſineſs might ſucceed the better, if two fathers going in it, one had the name of chaplain of the ſhip, to return in it; and that the *Cochin-Chineſes* might have no cauſe to complain, or be incens'd, he that remain'd was to go diſguis'd: F. *Peter Marques*, a *Portuguſe*, was appointed chaplain; and I had the good fortune to be his companion, obedience ſo ordering it: for tho' I had been deſtin'd for *China* by our father general, I freely and affectionately embraced the opportunity of dedicating my ſelf to GOD in the miſſion of *Cochin-China*, and for the comfort of thoſe afflicted fathers, ſeeing my ſelf quite ſhut out of *China*, by reaſon of the perſecution rais'd there. I ſet out from *Macao* in the habit of a ſlave, and ſoon arrived in *Cochin-China* upon my birth day, which was very near opening the way for me to a bleſſed life; but it pleas'd Providence to order matters otherwiſe, either becauſe my ſins made me unworthy of ſuch a mercy, or for other cauſes only known to GOD: as the veſſel was entring the harbour, upon which there were abundance of the country people, there happened, I know not how, a quarrel between two *Portugueſes*, and one of them falling down for dead, the other leap'd into the ſea to eſcape the wounded man's friends and companions, who would have kill'd him. He ſwam a-while, but being tir'd, drew towards the ſhip again, to ſave himſelf from ſinking, and endeavouring to catch hold could not, becauſe they were ready above with half-pikes, javelins, and ſwords, to wound him. I ſeeing him in that diſtreſs, endeavour'd to relieve him; and tho' I was in a ſervile habit, ran among them, and calling out to one, and pulling another, took ſuch pains that I appeas'd them. The *Cochin-Chineſes* who were aboard the Ship, ſeeing the *Portugueſes* pacified at the ſight of a ſlave, began preſently to ſuſpect the matter; and knowing by experience, that the *Portugueſes*, when in a paſſion, are not ſo eaſily quell'd, unleſs religious men interpoſe, ſaid to one another, This man is certainly no ſlave, as his habit ſeems to ſuggeſt; and being no merchant, as the reſt are, he is certainly one of their religious men, that endeavours, contrary to the king's command, to be conceal'd in our country, but we will diſcover him to the king himſelf, that he may be puniſh'd as he deſerves. Immediately they flock'd about me, and tho' I did not underſtand their language, yet I plainly perceiv'd they had all a jealouſy of me; and notwithſtanding all my endeavours not to diſcover my ſelf, I could not prevent their ſending advice to court. When I had ſatisfy'd my ſelf as to this point, believing I was certainly a dead man, I reſolv'd to die as what I was: accordingly I put on my habit of the ſociety, a ſurplice over it, and a ſtole about my neck; and in that habit I began publickly to preach the faith of Chriſt by means of the interpreter; then erecting an altar on the ſhore, I ſaid maſs, and gave the communion to the *Portugueſes* that were preſent, ſtanding ready for whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe GOD to appoint: But it pleas'd him not that I ſhould then ſhed my blood for him. Whilſt my cauſe was in hand, it rain'd ſo abundantly day and night, without ever ceaſing, that every man apply'd himſelf to tilling of the ground, and ſowing of rice, and perhaps reflecting that they had obtain'd that at my arrival, which they had ſo long wiſh'd for, looking upon it as a good omen; and concluding it was not the fault of the fathers that they had wanted rain, they repented them of all they had done againſt us, and never gave us any farther trouble, but ſuffer'd us to live freely throughout the kingdom.

Charity of *Japoneſe* Chriſtians.

Matters being thus pacified, I reſolved to go look out F. *Buzome*, and his companion, ſince I was gone thither to that end; and whilſt I was endeavouring to hear ſome news of him, the report of my arrival being ſpread about the city, that lady

Joanna above-mentioned found me out. By her I underſtood that F. *Francis de Pina*, with the *Japoneſe* brother, had been privately conveyed by *Japoneſe* Chriſtians to the city *Faifó*, all people certainly concluding that the fathers were then got out of the kingdom. Upon this information, F. *Peter Marques*, who knew the language of *Japan* very well, would have us go to *Faifó*, where we found F. *Francis de Pina*, who was there hid, but very well uſed by thoſe good *Japoneſe* Chriſtians, to whom he privately adminiſtred the ſacraments. We received incredible joy in meeting: for beſides the general charity of religion, we had been companions, and great friends, in the college of *Macao*; and the kindneſs of the *Japoneſes* was extraordinary, for they treated us during a fortnight very ſplendidly, with great demonſtrations of affection and joy.

Here I alſo underſtood how, through God's ſpecial providence, F. *Buzome* was alſo ſafe in the kingdom, as if God had particularly defended him for the good of that miſſion, where whilſt he was upon the ſtrand amidſt ſo many afflictions, and with that impoſtume in his breaſt, the governor of *Pulucambi* came to *Turon*; who ſeeing that man ſo ill uſed, that he looked like a walking ghoſt, being moved to compaſſion aſked who he was, and what misfortune had brought him to that miſerable condition. He was told all that had happened; and that the want of rain being laid to his and his companion's charge, he had been baniſhed by the king's order. The governor was not a little amazed, and laughed to think that this ſhould be attributed to a poor religious man, which could no way depend of him; therefore he ordered him to be taken from that open ſhore, and carry'd into one of his gallies, in which he carry'd him to his province, entertained him in his own houſe, had him looked after by the moſt ſkilful phyſicians in that city, and made his own children attend him during a whole year; for ſo long his ſickneſs laſted: all men admiring that a heathen ſhould behave himſelf ſo charitably towards a ſtranger utterly unknown to him only out of mere natural compaſſion.

Thus we were four prieſts of the ſociety in *Cochin-China*: F. *Buzome*, at *Pulucambi*, one hundred fifty miles from the port of *Turon*; F. *Peter Marques* remained at *Falfó*, as ſuperior, and to ſerve the *Japoneſes*; keeping F. *Francis de Pina* for his companion: and I returned to *Turon*, there to ſerve the *Portugueſes*, to ſay maſs, preach to them, and hear their confeſſions, and learning at the ſame time the language of *Cochin-China*, endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of the interpreters, to perſuade ſome of thoſe heathens to be baptized; and above all, to encourage and confirm thoſe that were already baptized. Soon after my firſt coming, their happened a mean accident worthy to be known: I was called to make a dying infant a Chriſtian; I did ſo, and ſoon after it gave up the ghoſt. I was concerned, not knowing where to bury it, which made me think of fixing a burying-place for all the Chriſtians that ſhould die for the future. To this purpoſe I ordered a maſt of a ſhip that was caſt by, to be taken, and a ſtately croſs to be made of it: which done, I invited all the *Portugueſes*, and ſailors, to help to carry it to the appointed place, I attending with my ſurplice and ſtole. Whilſt the hole was digging to erect the holy croſs, a company of armed men came out from the neighbourhood, who with their muſkets threatned to kill me; which I perceiving, caus'd the interpreter to endeavour to know of them, what it was they would be at? And was told, they would not have that croſs erected there, becauſe they feared the devils would infeſt their houſes. I anſwer'd, It would be quite contrary; becauſe the croſs had ſuch a virtue, that it put the devil to flight. With this they were ſo well pleaſed, that laying down their arms, they all ran to help: and thus the croſs was ſet up to the general ſatisfaction of all parties, and the burial-place fixed. Soon after the governor of *Pulucambi* came thither, and brought F. *Buzome* with him; and we met all four fathers of the ſociety, to our unſpeakable joy at *Falfó*, together with two lay-brothers, one a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Japoneſe*. After a charitable reception, we conſulted together about the moſt proper means of promoting that miſſion. It was unanimouſly agreed, that F. *Peter Marques* ſhould ſtay at *Falfó* with the *Japoneſe* brother, becauſe he was a good preacher; and the other three, with the *Portugueſe* brother, ſhould follow the governor of *Pulucambi*, who earneſtly deſired it; which was accordingly done, as ſhall be here related. BORRI.

CHAP. V.

The Governor of Pulucambi *introduces the Fathers of the Society into his Province, building them a Houſe and Church.*

BORRI. F. *Francis Buzome*, F. *Francis de Pina*, and I, ſet out from *Faifó*, for *Pulucambi*, with the governor of that province; who all the way treated us with inexpreſſible courteſie and kindneſs, always lodging us near himſelf, and behaving himſelf in ſuch manner, that there being no human motives to incline him ſo to do, it plainly appeared to be the work of Providence.

Great goodneſs of the governor of *Pulucambi*

He appointed a galley only to carry us and our interpreters, not ſuffering ſo much as our baggage to be put aboard it, but ordered another boat for it. In this eaſie manner we travelled twelve large days journey, putting into a port morning and evening, and all the ports being near great towns or cities of the province of *Quanghia*, in which province the governor had as much power as in his own at *Pulucambi*; all people ran to pay their reſpects and acknowledgments, bringing him rich preſents, the firſt of which always fell to our ſhare, he himſelf ſo ordering it, every one admiring to ſee us ſo honoured; which gained us much eſteem and reputation among thoſe people, that being the deſign of the governor: and this was much forwarded by the great account he made of our interceſſion, when any criminal was to be puniſhed: for we no ſooner opened our mouths, but we obtained all we deſired; by which means we not only gained the reputation of being great with the governor, but of having compaſſion and kindneſs for thoſe people, who therefore loved and reſpected us. Beſides, during the whole voyage, he treated us as if we had been ſome great lords, contriving ſports and paſtimes in all parts, cauſing the gallies ſometimes to repreſent a ſea-fight, ſometimes to row for rewards. Nor did there a day paſs but he came aboard our galley to viſit us, ſeeming much pleaſed with our converſation, eſpecially when we diſcourſed of religion and our holy faith. In this manner we came to the province of *Pulucambi*, thro' which we had ſtill ſome days journey to make, before we arrived at the governor's palace, who for our greater diverſion would have us travel by land. To this purpoſe he ordered ſeven elephants to be provided; and the more to honour us, would have one for each, cauſing an hundred men, ſome on horſeback, and ſome a foot, to attend us: and the journey being for recreation, we ſpent eight days in it, being royally entertained whereſoever we came; but particularly in the houſe of a ſiſter of his, we had a moſt ſplendid entertainment, not only for the variety and number of diſhes, but much more for the rarity of the dreſſing, all things being dreſſed after the *European* manner, tho' neither the governor, nor any of the family were to taſte of them.

His grandeur, and affection to the fathers.

Being at length come to the governor's palace, all the entertainments and dainties of the journey concluded in ſuch a reception as he uſed to make for kings and great princes, treating us for eight days together in moſt ſplendid manner, making us ſit in his royal throne, and eating with us himſelf in publick, with his wife and children; to the great aſtoniſhment of all that city, where it was unanimouſly affirmed, ſuch a reception had never been ſeen, unleſs it were for ſome royal perſon: and this was the cauſe of the report generally ſpread throughout the kingdom, that we were a king's ſons, and were come thither about matter of great concern; which being known by the governor, he was mightily pleaſed; and before the chiefeſt men of the court he publickly ſaid, *It is very true, that the fathers were the ſons of a king, for they were angels, come thither, not for any want or neceſſity of their own, being provided with all things in their own countries, but only out of pure zeal to ſave their ſouls:* And therefore he adviſed them, *to give ear to the fathers, and obſerve the law they would preach to them, learn the doctrine they taught, and receive the faith they delivered: for* (ſaid he) *I have often diſcourſed and converſed with theſe men, and plainly perceive by the doctrine they teach, that there is no true law but theirs, nor no way but that they ſhew, which leads to eternal ſalvation. But take heed what you do; for unleſs you learn that true doctrine, which I, your chief, bring to you by means of theſe fathers, your neglect and infidelity will be puniſhed eternally in hell.* Thus ſpoke that lord, becoming a preacher of the goſpel, tho' himſelf a heathen; all men being the more amazed and aſtoniſhed at it, becauſe of the great conceit they had of his wiſdom.

The fathers ſettled.

After the firſt eight days, we gave him to underſtand, that we would rather go live in the city, the better to promote the preaching of the goſpel, which we could not ſo well attend in the palace, becauſe it was three miles from the city, in an open field, according to the cuſtom of the country. The governor would not have parted with

with us, becauſe of the great affection he had for us, but preferring the publick good before his own ſatisfaction, he immediately ordered there ſhould be a very convenient houſe provided in the city *Nuoecman:* and moreover told us, we might ſee above a hundred houſes that were about his palace, and take our choice of the conveniencteſt of them, to make a church of it; and acquainting him with it, he would provide all that was neceſſary. We returned him thanks for ſo many favours beſtowed on us during our journey, and thoſe we ſtill received. Having taking our leaves for the preſent, we mounted the elephants again, and with a great attendance went away to the city *Nuoecman*, which extends it ſelf five miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, where we were by the governor's order received with extraordinary honour. He not being able to endure to be ſo far from us, came the next day to viſit us, to know whether the houſe we had given us was convenient; and told us, he knew that we being ſtrangers, could not have money and other neceſſaries, but that he took upon him to provide every thing; and immediately ordered a good ſum to be paid us monthly, and every day fleſh, fiſh, and rice to be ſent in for us, our interpreters, and all the ſervants of the houſe: and not ſo ſatisfied, he frequently ſent us ſo many preſents, that they alone were ſufficient to furniſh us plentifully with all things. The more to honour and credit us among all men, he one day gave publick audience in the court of our houſe, in the manner as we ſaid above was practiſed in *Cochin-China.* Here ſeveral criminals were tryed, every one receiving ſentence according to his crime; among the reſt, two were condemned to be ſhot to death with arrows, and whilſt they were bound we undertook to beg their pardon; which was immediately granted, and he ordered them to be diſcharged, publickly proteſting, he would not have done it at the requeſt of any other, but to theſe holy men, who teach the true way for the ſalvation of ſouls, (ſaid he) I can deny nothing; and I am my ſelf impatient to be rid of thoſe impediments that obſtruct my being baptized, and receiving their holy faith; which is what you all ought to do, if you deſire to oblige me.

A rare way of building a church.

Then turning to us, he again deſired we would appoint the place for the church, that he might give orders for its ſpeedy fitting up. We ſhew'd him a place that ſeem'd convenient enough, and he approving of it, went away to his palace. Before three days were over, news was brought us, that the church was coming: we went out with great joy, and no leſs curioſity, to ſee how a church ſhould come, which tho' we knew was to be made of timber, as had been agreed, yet it could not chooſe but be a great pile, according to the ſpace it muſt fill, ſtanding upon great pillars. On a ſudden, in the field, we ſpied above a thouſand men, all loaded with materials for this fabrick. Every pillar was carried by thirty luſty men; others carried the beams, others the planks, others the capitals, others the baſes; ſome one thing, ſome another, and ſo all of them went in order to our houſe, filling all the court, which was very large, to our unſpeakable joy and ſatisfaction. One only thing diſpleaſed us, that we had not proviſions enough in the houſe, to give ſo great a multitude a ſmall entertainment; for tho' they were paid by the governor, yet it looked like ill-breeding to ſend them away without ſome refreſhment: but we were ſoon eaſed of this trouble; ſeeing every one ſit down upon the piece he brought, being obliged to keep and deliver it, and take out of his wallet, his pot with fleſh, fiſh, and rice, and lighting a fire, fall to cooking very quietly, without aſking any thing. When they had eaten, the architect came, and taking out a line, view'd the ground, mark'd out the diſtances, and calling thoſe that carried the pillars, fixed them in their places; this done, he called for the other parts, one after another, that every man might give an account of what he brought, and go his way: and thus all things proceeding very regularly, and every man labouring his beſt, all that great pile was ſet up in one day; yet either through over-much haſte, or the negligence of the architect, it proved ſomewhat awry, and leaning to one ſide; which being made known to the governor, he preſently commanded the architect, upon pain of cutting off his legs, to call all the workmen he had need of, and mend it. The architect obey'd, and taking the church to pieces with a like number of workmen, rebuilt it in a very ſhort time very compleatly. And we bleſſed God, for that a time when Chriſtians were ſo lukewarm, it had pleaſed him to ſtir up a heathen ſo zealouſly to build a church, in honour of his Divine Majeſty.

BORRI.

And to ſhew how affectionately the governor looked to our affairs, I will give one particular inſtance, and ſo end this chapter. In the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, the ſouth-weſt winds generally reign in *Cochin-China*, which cauſes ſuch an extraordinary heat, that the houſes are perfectly parch'd and dried up; and being all of wood, the leaſt ſpark of fire, that through negligence or other accident falls upon them, immediately takes, as it would

BORRI. would do in tinder; and therefore during those months, there are generally great fires throughout the kingdom; for when it has taken hold of one houſe, the flame ſoon catches hold of thoſe that lie the way the wind blows, and miſerably conſumes them. To deliver us from this danger, our houſe being in the middle of the city, and to make it farther appear what eſteem the governor made of us, he put out an edict, commanding, that the tops of all the houſes that lay ſouth-weſt of us, ſhould be taken off; and there were ſo many of them, that they extended at leaſt two miles; which he did to the end, that if any of them took fire, it might be the eaſier to prevent its paſſing forward to ours: and this was readily performed by them all, by reaſon of the great reſpect they bore us.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Governor of Pulucambi's *Death.*

OUR affairs advanced very proſperouſly in this city, and it was now the time, when the Divine Providence was, according to its uſual method, to give us a taſte of ſufferings, wherewith GOD frequently tries his ſervants; and ſo we ever ſee he gives ſuch a mixture of proſperity and adverſity, that they neither be depreſſed by the one, nor puffed up by the other: and as the primitive church was founded by the holy apoſtles upon theſe two pillars of proſperity and tribulation, even ſo it pleaſed the Almighty, that the new church of *Cochin-China* ſhould be eſtabliſhed by his apoſtolical miniſters. The firſt beginnings of this miſſion were very ſucceſsful, as has been ſeen in the firſt chapter of this ſecond part; but very ſoon after enſued that terrible perſecution for want of rain, which had like to have ruined all. Afterwards, with the favour of the governor of *Pulucambi*, the ſtorms ſeemed to be blown off, and the budding vine ſeemed to promiſe abundance of fruit: but it pleaſed him that diſpoſes of all things, that the governor of *Pulucambi*'s death, like a violent north-wind, almoſt deſtroyed all in the bud. This misfortune happen'd as follows: the governor went out one day a hunting on his elephant, very well pleaſed, and the ſport drawing him on, he made no reflection that he rode all day over a ſcorching plain, where the heat pierced his head in ſuch manner, that at night he fell into a burning fever; upon notice whereof, we haſted to the palace to viſit, or rather to baptize him, if we found him in imminent danger. He kept us with him two days, we ſtill preſſing him to be baptiſed, as he had often ſaid he would; to which he always anſwered, he was ordering his affairs for that purpoſe, but came to no concluſion. The third day he loſt his ſenſes, GOD ſo permitting, for cauſes only known to himſelf; and perhaps that vain honour he ever paſſionately coveted, was the reward of the good turns he did us: in fine, he began to rave, and ſo continued three days, till overcome by the violence of the diſtemper, he died without baptiſm.

The governor's death.

Any man may gueſs how much we were concerned at this accident, ſeeing ourſelves forſaken in a ſtrange country, and deſtitute of all human help; but it chiefly grieved us, that a perſon ſo well diſpoſed, and through whoſe means we had conceived hopes, that the faith might ſpread throughout the whole kingdom, ſhould die ſo in our hands without baptiſm. Abundance of their rites and ſuperſtitious ceremonies were performed at this governor's death, at which we were preſent till the laſt. It would be endleſs to relate them all, and therefore I will ſet down two or three, by which the others uſed by thoſe gentiles upon ſuch occaſions may be gueſſed at. Firſt, whilſt he lay in his agony, there was a multitude of armed men, who did not ceaſe to cut and make thruſts in the air with their ſcimitars, caſt darts and fire muſkets in the rooms of the palace; but particularly two, that ſtood on each ſide of the dying man, were continually ſtriking the air about his mouth with their ſcimitars, and both theſe and the others being aſked, why they did ſo, told us, they frighted the devils, that they might not hurt the governor's ſoul, as it was departing his body. Theſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies made us pity their ignorance, but not fear any harm to our ſelves, as followed when the governor was dead: for we had much cauſe to fear being expelled that province of *Pulucambi*, and perhaps all the kingdom, with the loſs of all we had acquired towards ſettling Chriſtianity, and perhaps worſe. It is the cuſtom when any great perſon dies, for all the *omſaiis*, or prieſts of the country, to meet together, in order to find out not the natural, but the ſuperſtitious cauſe of his death; and being agreed upon what it may be, immediately that thing to which it is attributed, is ordered to be burnt, whether it be a houſe, garment, man or beaſt. Accordingly all the *omſaiis* being aſſembled in a great hall, they began to argue this point:

Heathen ceremonies at the governor's death.

we who were preſent, remembring the perſecution for want of rain, there being at that time nothing extraordinary in the province, but the governor's kind reception to us, and his aſſigning a houſe, and building a church in the city, with ſuch extraordinary tokens of affection for our holy law; did not at all queſtion, but that theſe things being repreſented to them, they would lay the death of that lord to our charge, and conſequently would order us all to be burnt alive, together with our houſe and church, and all our goods. Therefore we ſtood in a corner of the hall, recommending our ſelves to God, and preparing our ſelves for whatſoever his Divine Majeſty ſhould ſuffer to be decreed againſt us; when one of the *omſaiis*, who was the eldeſt of them, and as it were their dean, ſtanding up, ſaid with a loud voice, that, in his opinion, the only cauſe of the governor's death, was the falling of a beam ſome days ſince in the new palace; and he was the more apt to believe it, becauſe all the diſtemper was in his head, as appeared by his raving; an evident ſign, as he ſaid, of the ſtroke he had received in his head by the aforeſaid beam: all which he meant metaphorically, and in a ſuperſtitious ſenſe, and therefore it pleaſed the other *omſaiis*, who all unanimouſly agreed in the ſame ſentiment: and ſo riſing without more to do, they went and ſet fire to that palace, which was all reduced to aſhes, whilſt we gave thanks to God for having eſcaped ſo manifeſt a danger.

Sorcery to diſcover the ſtate of the ſoul departed.

This done, ſome other *omſaiis*, who profeſs necromancy, came to the governor's palace, to perform another ſuperſtitious ceremony, according to the cuſtom of the country. The kindred of the party deceaſed looking upon it as a great bleſſing, that any body inſpired by an evil ſpirit, ſhould ſpeak concering the ſtate of the ſoul departed; and to this purpoſe thoſe wizard *omſaiis* were called, of whom they all earneſtly beg that deviliſh favour, he that obtains it being much envyed by the reſt. Theſe conjurers made their circles, and uſed ſeveral charms both in words and actions, that the devil might enter into ſome one of the governor's kindred, who were there in a ſuppliant poſture, but all in vain. At laſt a ſiſter of the governor's, for whom he had an extraordinary kindneſs, came in, and begging the ſame favour, immediately gave manifeſt ſigns that ſhe was poſſeſt: for being decrepid, by reaſon of her great age, and not able to go alone, ſhe began, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators, to ſkip as nimbly as if ſhe had been a young girl, and the ſtick ſhe threw from her hung in the air, all the while the devil was in her body, during which time talking in a raving manner, and doing many diſorderly actions, ſhe uttered ſeveral extravagancies about the ſtate and place her brother's ſoul was in; and concluding her mad diſcourſe, the devil leaving her, ſhe fell down as if ſhe had been dead, remaining ſo ſpent for the ſpace of eight days, that ſhe could not ſtir for meer weakneſs, all the kindred and friends flocking to viſit her, and congratulate her happineſs, in that ſhe had been choſen among all the relations for an action (as they thought it) ſo glorious and honourable for the dead man. Borri.

Heathen canonization.

At length they began to order the funeral of this lord; and as in the catholick church it is the cuſtom to honour the memory of men renowned for ſanctity of life, by a ſolemn canonization; ſo in *Cochin-China*, the devil always mimicking holy things, the more to delude the people, it is cuſtomary to honour the death of thoſe who have been univerſally reputed juſt men, and upright in their actions, and adorned with moral virtues, with great ſolemnity and magnificence, canonizing them, if we may ſo call it, after their manner, by eternizing their memory, and giving them immortal veneration. For this reaſon, the governor of *Pulucambi*, who by all men, not only in his own province, but throughout all the kingdom was, for his extraordinary natural parts, reputed a man of great wiſdom, and incomparable prudence, his government being adorned with ſingular juſtice and integrity, together with an unuſual inclination and affection for all needy perſons, was judged not to require a doleful ſad funeral pomp, as was due to others; but on the contrary, all demonſtrations of joy and grandeur, which might declare him worthy of religious honours, and to be added to the number of their gods. This being decreed, they all endeavoured to lay aſide their mourning and ſorrow, and to expreſs all pleaſure and ſatisfaction; and to this purpoſe all the governor's kindred, for the ſpace of eight days, ſumptuouſly treated all the people, during which time, they did nothing from morning till night, but eat and drink, ſing, dance, and play upon muſical and warlike inſtruments.

The governor's funeral.

After the eight days, the body was carry'd in a ſilver coffin gilt, under a canopy, to the city where he was born, called *Chifu*, three days journey diſtant, attended by a multitude of all ſorts of people, dancing and rejoicing, leaving the palace where he died utterly diſinhabited, that it might run to ruin, and no ſign of it remaining; ſo the memory of the governor's death might be loſt in perpetual oblivion, he ſtill remaining alive with perpetual praiſe and veneration in the

BORRI. hearts and mouths of all men. Being come to a ſpacious plain without *Chiſu*, they all fell to work upon a palace, twice as magnificent and ſumptuous as that the governor died in; and to make a greater ſhew of the dead man's wealth, they built as many gallies as he uſed to keep, upon wheels, for them to run upon dry land. In the ſame manner they made wooden elephants and horſes, and all other moveables uſed when the governor went abroad when alive, without ſparing any coſt. In the midſt of the palace they erected a ſtately temple, with a fine altar, on which they placed the coffin covered, and hid with ſuch curious workmanſhip, that the hieroglyphicks, carving, and painting, greatly move thoſe gentiles to reſpect. For three days continually they performed ſeveral ſacrifices and ceromonies, by the miniſtry of five or ſix hundred *omſaiis*, all clad in white, who ſpent the time in ſinging and ſacrificing, offering wine, oxen, and buffaloes, in great numbers, the publick entertainments continuing theſe three days, for above two thouſand men of note, every one having his table to himſelf, according to cuſtom, and each of them covered with above two hundred diſhes. At the end of theſe three days they ſet fire to all that pile, burning the palace and temple, with all the perfumes and furniture, only ſaving the coffin with the body, which was afterwards buried, and privately removed to twelve ſeveral graves, that the people being always in doubt where it had been left, that uncertainty might increaſe the honour of the new idol, they adoring it in all thoſe places where they thought the bones might be. Thus the ſolemnity ended for that time, till ſome months after, that is, in the ſeventh moon, according to their computation of time, it was repeated in the ſame manner as it had been performed at firſt; a few months after it was done a third time, and ſo from time to time for three years, all the revenues aſſigned the governor of that province by the king, being ſpent upon this ſolemnity for thoſe three years, and therefore no other governor was appointed during that time, they being perſuaded that the dead man's ſoul, which was placed among the gods, would continue in the government for thoſe three years. However, his own ſon was appointed his deputy-governor, or lieutenant.

The fathers queſtioned concerning the governor's ſoul.

We three fathers of the ſociety then in that province, were preſent at moſt of this ſolemnity; and tho' we did not attend at their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, yet to avoid being thought ungrateful and unmannerly, we were forced to accept of ſome invitations, in one of which we were forewarned we ſhould be aſked where the governor's ſoul was; aſſuring us, that if we ſaid it was in hell, we ſhould preſently be cut to pieces. We were a little after publickly aſked the queſtion, and anſwered, That no man could be ſaved without baptiſm; but that through the mercy of GOD, and earneſt deſire to be baptized ſufficing, where better cannot be; if the governor, at laſt, had ſuch a deſire, as it was likely he had, becauſe of the affection he bore our faith, as we ſaid above, and that he would have aſked it, but that the violence of his diſtemper hindred, therefore it might be believed he was ſaved, and not damned.

This anſwer, tho' new and unexpected, in ſome meaſure ſatisfy'd them, in token whereof they offer'd us ſome whole buffaloes, ſome boiled, ſome roaſted, which had been ſacrificed to their new idol, the dead governor; but we refuſing them, ſaying, Our law forbid us to eat of that fleſh ſo defiled by their ſacrifice: inſtead of the dead ſacrificed buffaloes, they ordered others alive to be given us; the governor's kindred afterwards ſending us elephants, that we might return on them to *Pulucambi*, with as much honour as when the governor was living.

The fathers in diſtreſs.

Theſe were the laſt favours we received in virtue of the governor of *Pulucambi*'s favour; and therefore returning home, we were left like fatherleſs children, forſaken by all the world. Now no body minded us, the allowance of rice for our maintenance failed, and we having but twenty crowns muſt in a few days have been reduced to great miſery and want; and if any one fell ſick, we durſt not call any body to breath a vein, becauſe we had not wherewithal to pay for it; and tho' there were among them people very ready to ſupply the needy, eſpecially with ſuſtenance, as was ſaid above, yet it was not convenient for us to aſk any thing, leſt we ſhould loſe all the advantage we made, as to the converſion of ſouls, becauſe they would have ſaid, we went not thither to preach the law of JESUS CHRIST, but to ſupply our wants under the protection of the governor. No body now came to our houſe, that firſt ſhew of authority ceaſing, and tho' we had learned the language of the country, yet they made no account of the words of three poor men, left in the midſt of infinite idolaters, and deſpiſed our doctrines, as an invention of our own, carried thither to oppoſe the ancient ſects and tenets.

Three years paſs'd after this manner, and yet we were not ſo much troubled at our own wants, which GOD knows were very great, as to ſee every day leſs hopes of promoting the ſervice of GOD among

thoſe pagans, having during thoſe three years converted but very few, and that with unſpeakable labour and toil. Things being in this poſture, in ſome meaſure deſperate, we being inclinable to believe the time was not yet come, when it would pleaſe GOD to enlighten the darkneſs of thoſe people, either becauſe our ſins obſtructed it, or for ſome other hidden judgments of GOD. But when our human frailty ſhewed it ſelf moſt diffident of divine aſſiſtance, even then, the more to confound us, the GOD of mercy ſhewed the wonderful effects of his divine omnipotency, that the noble undertaking of converting ſouls might be wholly attributed to him, we then owning we had no power to proceed in it, and that we might know experimentally, that *neither he who waters, nor he who plants, does any thing; but it is* GOD *that gives the increaſe*; as will appear in the following chapter. BORRI.

CHAP. V.

How God made way for the Converſion of the Province of Pulucambi, *by means of the nobleſt Perſons in it.*

The fathers diſperſe.

WE having nothing to maintain us at *Pulucambi*, and converting no body, diſperſed our ſelves into ſeveral parts: F. *Francis de Pina* went to live at *Faifó*, a *Japoneſe* city, as has been ſaid, with a deſign to ſerve thoſe Chriſtians, whoſe paſtor he had been before, and to live upon their alms. He being well ſkilled in the language of *Cochin-China*, and talking it naturally, never ceaſed there to preach our holy faith. F. *Francis Buzome* went away for *Furon*, carrying along with him the beſt interpreter we had, to endeavour to obtain ſome alms of the *Portugueſes* there, that might at leaſt maintain us two in *Pulucambi*, in our houſe at *Nuoecman*, till ſome ſupply came from *Macao*.

Converſion of a great lady.

Thus was I left in *Pulucambi*, ſolitary and diſconſolate, without any hopes of the converſion of thoſe gentiles. When one day being at home, far from any ſuch thought, I ſaw a number of elephants before our door, with many ladies, and a large retinue of gentlemen, after whom followed a great lady, and principal matron, moſt richly clad, and adorned with abundance of rich jewels, according to the country faſhion. I was much ſurprized at the unuſual ſpectacle, and majeſty of the lady, and in ſuſpence, not imagining what might be the deſign of the new viſit. Going out at laſt to receive her, I underſtood ſhe was wife to the embaſſador the king of *Cochin-China* was ſending to the king of *Cambogia*, which embaſſador was a native of *Nuoecman*, where we dwelt, and next the governor the chief man in that city, who was then at the court of *Sinuá*, treating with that king upon the ſubject of his embaſſy. After the uſual ceremonies and compliments, according to the cuſtom of the country, the lady being unwilling to loſe time upon matters that were not to her purpoſe, *Let us come* (ſaid ſhe) *to the buſineſs I aim at; I have been fully informed, father, of your coming into this our country and province, and of the occaſion of your coming; I ſee the holy and unblemiſhed life you lead, I know you preach and teach the true* GOD; *and being ſatisfied that this is moſt agreeable to reaſon, am perſuaded that there is no true law but yours, nor other* GOD *but yours, nor any way to life everlaſting, but that you teach; and therefore my coming to your houſe, is for no other intent, but earneſtly to beg of you, that bathing me in your holy water, you will add me to the number of Chriſtians; this is the utmoſt of my wiſhes and deſires.* In the firſt place I commended her good and holy reſolution, exhorting her to return thanks to GOD for ſo ſignal a mercy beſtowed on her, in calling her to the knowledge of his holy law, there being nothing in this world to be valued equal to the ſoul's ſalvation. Next I made my excuſe for not complying out of hand with her pious and reaſonable requeſt; becauſe, altho' I had ſome knowledge of the *Cochin-Chineſe* language, yet it was not enough to inſtruct her in the lofty myſteries of our chriſtian religion; and therefore I adviſed her excellency to wait for F. *Buzome*, who in a few days was to return from *Turon*, having with him an excellent interpreter, by whoſe means ſhe would be inſtructed as ſhe ought to be to her own ſatisfaction, and obtain the end of her holy deſires. *The great fire* (replied ſhe) *that inflames my heart, will not allow of ſuch a long delay; and the more, for that my huſband is hourly expected from court, with whom I am ſoon to embark for the kingdom of* Cambogia, *where the dangers of the ſea being frequent, a ſtorm may happen to riſe, where dying, I may periſh for ever.* She added, that it was enough if I diſcourſed of matters divine, as I did of other things; for ſhe ſhould underſtand all I ſaid. Theſe viſible tokens of her reſolution obliging me to it, I began the beſt I could to inform her in ſeveral matters and principles of our holy faith. Soon after it pleaſed GOD, F. *Buzome* returned, and ſeeing this good ſucceſs, gave infinite thanks

to

BORRI. to GOD. The lady was much pleaſed with the arrival of the interpreter, whom ſhe had ſo earneſtly expected; with whoſe aſſiſtance, and her continual application, ſtudy, and attention at catechizing, which was done for two hours before and two hours after dinner, in a fortnight's time ſhe became perfect in the chriſtian doctrine. Above all, what made the greateſt impreſſion on her heart, was the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, true GOD, made man, and humbled for the ſake of man; and therefore in ſome meaſure to imitate our Saviour's great humility, ſhe for the future came to our houſe, which was a good mile from hers, not only without the ſtate and elephants ſhe uſed before, but bare-footed, in dirt, and upon ſtones, obliging her gentlemen and ladies, by her example, to imitate her devotion.

Twenty ſix baptized.

In our ſpiritual diſcourſes, and expoſition upon the catechiſm, when we came to make mention of hell, deſcribe its torments, repreſent the greatneſs, eternity, and variety of torments there ſuffered, the horrible company of devils, the darkneſs of thoſe infernal dungeons, and uninhabitable dens; and laſtly, the torture of fire: both ſhe and her ladies were ſo terrified, that having by themſelves, all night, conſidered upon what they had heard, they came again the next day to tell us, they would all be Chriſtians, to avoid that everlaſting miſery: But we telling them it was impoſſible, they being ſervants, and conſequently concubines to the embaſſador, according to the cuſtom of the country, as has been mentioned in the firſt treatiſe, the embaſſador's lady anſwered, *That impediment does not concern me. It is ſo*, ſaid we, *for your excellency is your huſband's only wife, and has not to do with other men, and therefore may freely be baptized.* At theſe words, lifting up her hands to heaven, ſhe gave ſuch tokens of joy, as if ſhe had been beſides her ſelf, tho' ſhe had never been truly ſo much her ſelf, as when ſhe ſhewed ſuch ſigns of joy, for that which ought to be the only cauſe of all our ſatisfaction. Her women on the other ſide, ſeeing themſelves excluded the way of ſalvation, cried out aloud, they would forbear being the embaſſador's concubines, ſince it obſtructed their baptiſm, and was the way to damnation. The lady ſeconded their good purpoſes, taking upon her to deliver them from that ſin, and get every one of them a huſband. All lets and impediments being removed by theſe promiſes of the lady, and firm purpoſes of the women, one day, which was the joyfulleſt I ever ſaw in my life, the embaſſador's lady richly apparelled, and dreſſed with jewels, and nobly attended to our church by gentlemen, was baptized, with twenty five of her women, and as chief of them called *Urſula*, to the glory of JESUS CHRIST, who by means of theſe few women, opened a way to the converſions made by our miſſion in *Cochin-China*.

Zeal of the converts.

After they were baptized, we went in proceſſion to the palace of the embaſſador's lady *Urſula*, where there was an oratory, in which ſhe uſed before to perform her ſuperſtitious devotions to an idol. When we came in, we firſt ſprinkled the houſe with holy water, and then the lady, and her women, couragiouſly laid hold of the idol, and throwing it violently againſt the ground, beat it to peices, trampling on it; in whoſe place we ſet up a fine picture of our Saviour, which thoſe new devout Chriſtians falling down, devoutly worſhipped, owning themſelves his moſt humble and devout ſlaves. Then we put about their necks ſome *Agnus Dei's*, croſſes, medals, and relicks, which they valued above the gold chains, and ſtrings of pearls they were adorned with. Having obtained this victory over the devil, after ſaying the litany, and other prayers in the oratory, now bleſſed, F. *Buzome*, and I, returned home with that ſatisfaction and thankſgiving that every man may imagine. The embaſſador's lady, and her women, came after this, every day duly to maſs, catechize, and other ſpiritual exerciſes, with great tokens of fervour, and chriſtian piety.

The lady's carriage to her huſband.

At this time the embaſſador, huſband to the lady *Urſula*, came from court, to depart in a ſhort time upon his embaſſy to the king of *Cambogia*. It is the cuſtom of that country, when the head of the family comes from afar off, for the wife, children, and reſt of the family, to go out at leaſt a mile upon the way to meet him. The lady *Urſula* failed to perform this ceremony, being then retired in her oratory. The huſband wondring at it, and ſuſpecting ſhe might be hindred by ſickneſs, aſked what was become of her; but underſtanding ſhe was well, admired it the more, till coming to the gate of his palace, and miſſing the uſual reception, he began to miſtruſt ſhe was angry with him. At length he went up, and into the oratory, where he found his lady and her maids, with *Agnus Dei's*, and relicks about their necks, beads in their hands, and other chriſtian ſigns, praying before the image of our Saviour. The embaſſador was aſtoniſhed at this ſight, and his lady directing her diſcourſe to him, bid him not admire that ſhe had forbore the uſual compliments to him, becauſe ſhe was raiſed to a higher pitch of honour than he was, both ſhe and her women being children of the true

true God, and Saviour of the world, JESUS CHRIST, whose picture she shewed him, saying, he ought to adore him, if he would be equal to them in dignity. The embassador moved by his lady's words, and the beauty of the picture, with tears in his eyes fell down and adored, then standing up, he turned to his wife and women, saying, *How is it possible you should be Christians? Have you a mind to leave me? Do not you know that the law the fathers preach forbids polygamy? Therefore you must either find another dwelling-place, or I leave this to you, and seek out another house.* His lady answered, *Neither need you depart, nor we leave you, for there will be a remedy for all things:* Wisely concealing for the present, the prohibition of plurality of wives, to avoid that difficulty which would have bred a disturbance. The embassador took heart at these words, and conceiving, as yet, that he need not be obliged to leave his women; thus piously imposed upon, he said, he would be a Christian too, and follow the good example set him by his wife, and her women.

The next morning betimes the embassador came to our house, to tell us, that since we had made his wife a Christian, he had a mind to embrace the same religion, if we thought it practicable. Very practicable, said we, full of joy and satisfaction at so grateful a question: For in case he were resolved, we would in a short time instruct him sufficiently to be baptized. He was pleased, and because the affairs of his embassy took up the day, so that he had not leisure to be instructed: upon his request we agreed to go to his house at night, where we began to catechize him, continuing it for twenty nights, four or five hours at a time, informing him in the mysteries of our holy faith, from the creation of the world, till the redemption of man, the glory of heaven, and pains of hell. It was no small matter for so great a person, and so full of business, to lose his sleep to hear the word of God; and he gave himself to them with great application, asking many very ingenious questions, which shewed his great wit. In all our discourses, our whole aim was to imprint the truth of our holy law in the heart of this noble-man, and make it agreeable to reason, that being made sensible of the great importance of salvation, and the terror of the pains of hell, and being well inclined to, and convinced of the certainty of our religion, he might afterwards make less difficulty in the main point concerning polygamy, which was the only thing he stuck at, and which we till then had designedly forbore to speak of. Having gone so far towards the embassador's conversion, we began to expound upon the commandments, where we informed him, that among Christians it was unlawful to have many wives.

The embassador instructed

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This proposition was so unexpected, that like fire that has water thrown on it, the embassador presently cooled, and taking leave of us, said, this was a matter of great consequence, and therefore required time to come to a resolution. This answer was so displeasing and grievous to us, that returning home we spent that night in prayer and mortification, praying to GOD with all the fervour we could, that he would be pleased to put a happy conclusion to the work he had so well begun. Next morning one of the most learned *omsaiis* in the city came to us from the embassador, to examine the reasons for the prohibition of polygamy. Among other objections, this man made one, in his opinion, of the greatest force; which was, Why plurality of wives should be forbid, since generation and children were a work of perfection, and so agreeable to nature, chiefly when a man had a barren wife, as was the embassador's case, and might not have another to get heirs upon. We wanted not answers according to our divinity, but perceiving they were not satisfactory to them because they were not used to our theological notions, we at last added a reason out of scripture, whereof the embassador had before some knowledge from us, and it pleased GOD, this made an impression on his heart, and absolutely convinced him. This was putting of him in mind, that GOD being so just, and the law he had prescribed so agreeable to natural reason, as he himself had owned, he ought without doubt to obey in this point, since GOD himself commanded it; and this so much the more, in regard that GOD creating man, intimated the same to him, when there was most occasion for propagating human race, and yet he gave *Adam* but one wife, whereas he could as easily have given him many more, that man might multiply the faster. This reason, I say, fully satisfied the embassador, yet finding it difficult to observe the precept, as being a thing he was much addicted to: *Is there no remedy*, said he, *or dispensation from the pope, or any other means, tho' never so difficult, to have this point remitted?* We told him, it was in vain to seek any redress whatsoever in this case; and therefore, if he desired to be saved, he must dismiss the other women, and stick to his wife. Then the embassador lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, as it were struggling with himself, and press'd on by truth, with a generous resolution said, *If then multiplicity of wives be incon-*

Convinced about polygamy.

BORRI. *ſiſtent with my ſalvation, let them all go in the name of* GOD; *for it is pity to loſe an eternity of glory, for a tranſitory delight.* Then turning to his concubines, who were preſent with his wife, he diſcharged them all: but perceiving they laughed at his diſcharge, as a thing that would never ſtand good; to ſhew he was in earneſt, he ordered his wife to pay them all off immediately, and let not one of them ſtay in his palace that night. After which turning again to the fathers, *Behold*, ſaid he, *I have readily performed all you commanded me.* Having obtained our deſires, we went home to give thanks to Almighty GOD.

His converſion.

But the devil found out a way ſtill to make oppoſition, making uſe of the lady *Urſula*'s womaniſh temper; for ſhe had not the heart to turn away thoſe women ſhe had bred up from their infancy in her houſe, and loved them as if they were her own children. Therefore ſome ſtrife ariſing between the man and his wife, he preſſing to have them gone, and ſhe oppoſing, the embaſſador diſſatisfied, came to us to juſtify himſelf, and deſire to be baptized, ſince the impediment was removed, he being willing the women ſhould depart his houſe. We were about going to work, perceiving he ſpoke rationally, and particularly becauſe he reſolved they ſhould not continue in his houſe as his concubines, but as his lady's ſervants. But the good man making a ſtand as if he were thinking, at laſt ſaid he had a ſcruple to propoſe: *Since, according to what you fathers have taught me,* ſaid he, GOD *ſees into the heart of man, and cannot be deceived, tho' I deſire to forſake and ſend away the women, yet whilſt they continue in the houſe, I plainly ſee, either my ancient habit, or frailty of nature will eaſily cauſe me to fall again into ſin; therefore methinks I do not proceed with due ſincerity in this affair.* We perceiving, by the embaſſador's diſcreet and chriſtian diſcourſe, he foreſaw the danger of being in the immediate occaſion of ſin, ſtudied ſome proper means to remove ſo conſiderable an impediment, but nothing occurring for the preſent he himſelf being very earneſt upon the buſineſs, propoſed a method, which we ſtuck to as the beſt of all others: *Fathers*, ſaid he, *the ſafeſt way I can think of is that you as their directors powerfully perſuade the chriſtian women that were my concubines, (for the heathens I will infallibly make my wife turn away) that in caſe through frailty I ſhould be under any temptation they reſiſt me reſolutely; and foraſmuch as I bear a great reſpect to, and ſtand in awe of our Saviour's picture placed in the oratory, if the women lie in that place, I will rather be torn to pieces than have any thing to do with them in the preſence of that great Lord; and they being thus ſecured againſt me, till there be an opportunity of marrying them, it will be known abroad, that they are not kept in the houſe as my concubines, but only as ſervants to my only wife* Urſula, *and the people will be ſenſible I do not act contrary to the law of* GOD. This method was ſo well approved of, that the day after it was put in execution, the embaſſador was baptized in great ſtate, attended by drums, fifes and other inſtruments, and he himſelf clad in rich apparel. With him were baptized twenty other gentlemen, his beſt friends, and he had the name of our holy patriarch *Ignatius* given him. After which, taking his wife *Urſula* by the hand, ſhe renewed the old contract of matrimony as a ſacrament of the church. The joy they all conceived at their baptiſm, and new marriage, was unſpeakable.

It now remained that the embaſſador ſhould depart on his embaſſy for *Cambogia*; and he ordered, that the ſhip which was to carry him, ſhould have a croſs in its colours, and the picture of the glorious father S. *Ignatius* his protector, cauſing all the jacks and pennants to expreſs the religion he profeſſed. Embarking with all his gentlemen and chriſtian women, he had a proſperous voyage from *Nuoecman* to *Cambogia*. When the ſquadron appeared, being well known to the people of *Cambogia* to be the embaſſador's, they were all aſtoniſhed, ſeeing chriſtian colours ſet up; and therefore they imagined that the king of *Cochin-China*, inſtead of the ordinary embaſſador, had ſent ſome extraordinary *Portugueſe* Chriſtian; but their doubt was ſoon cleared, ſeeing the uſual embaſſador land with a croſs and medals on his breaſt, among the gold chains and jewels. This ſight on the one hand, moved the *Portugueſe* and *Japoneſe* Chriſtians, who reſide there on account of trade, to give ſhouts of joy, and bleſs GOD for this new off-ſpring *Cochin-China* had produced; and on the other, the heathens could not believe that the embaſſador, who before was obſerved to be exceſſively laſcivious, ſhould embrace the chriſtian religion, which forbids all immodeſty. But the grace of the holy Ghoſt ſoon appeared to ſtrengthen human frailty; for tho' the embaſſador at his palace in *Cambogia*, had double the number of concubines, as generally uſed to attend his wife, he ordered them to be all diſmiſſed; nor did he ever lift up his eyes to look at them, which made his fame ſpread abroad, as of a man of ſingular ſanctity and virtue; and being reputed a man of great knowledge, his example moved many of the moſt learned perſons of *Pulucambi* to be baptized.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

How God open'd another way to Chriſtianity, through the means of the learned People among the Heathens.

Means for the converſion of the *Cochin-Chineſes.*

GOD's infinite mercy, and his ardent deſires for the ſalvation of mankind, finds out divers means ſuitable to the ſeveral conditions of perſons, which are as it were ſo many ways to direct and lead them to that end for which they were created. Thus we ſee he himſelf in perſon called upon his people, and complying with the inclination of the perſons, invited the wiſe men by means of the ſtar; *Denis* the *Areopagite* the aſtronomer, by the prodigy of the wonderful eclipſe; S. *Auguſtine* by the knowledge of the true light and law, and the confuſion and obſcurity of former, errors; and in fine, he calls the ignorant multitude, by the means of prodigies, wonders and miracles. So it fell out in the new church of *Cochin-China*; for when his divine majeſty had by himſelf convinced ſome of the principal perſons, as has been ſhewn, next he call'd not only the learned and wiſe philoſophers and mathematicians, by means of ſome eclipſes, as ſhall be ſhewn in this chapter, but alſo the *omſaiis* or prieſts, who were hardened in the errors of their heathen ſects, to the knowledge of the true religion, as the following chapter will make appear. And laſtly, in the next to that we ſhall ſet down, how he opened the way of ſalvation to the people by means of ſeveral prodigies and miracles.

Aſtrology in great eſteem.

Now to come to the manner of converting the wiſe and learned *Cochin-Chineſes*, reputed excellent mathematicians, by means of the eclipſe. For the better underſtanding of what we are to ſay, it is requiſite in the firſt place to be acquainted with a cuſtom they have in this kingdom, relating to the ſcience of aſtrology, but particularly of eclipſes; for they make ſuch a great account of it, that they have large halls where it is taught in their univerſity; and there are ſpecial allowances aſſign'd the aſtrologers; as for inſtance, Lands which pay them a tribute or ſtipend. The king has his peculiar aſtrologers, and ſo has the prince his ſon, who uſe all their art to ſet down eclipſes exactly. But wanting the reformation of the calendar, and other matters, relating to the motion of the ſun and moon which we have, they commit ſome miſtakes in the calculation of the moons and eclipſes, wherein they generally err two or three hours, and ſometimes, tho' not ſo often, a whole day; tho' generally they are right as to the material part of the eclipſe. Every time they hit right, the king rewards them with a certain quantity of land; and ſo when they miſtake, that ſame quantity is taken from them. BORRI.

Superſtitions concerning eclipſes.

The reaſon why they make ſuch account of fortelling the eclipſe, is becauſe of the many ſuperſtitions at that time us'd towards the ſun and moon, for which they prepare themſelves in very ſolemn manner: for the king being told the day and hour a month before the eclipſe happens, ſends orders throught all the provinces of the kingdom, for the learned and common ſort to be in a readineſs that day. When the time is come, all the lords in every province meet with their governors, commanders and gentry, and people with their proper officers in every city and liberty. The greateſt aſſembly is at court, where the principal men of the kingdom are, who all go out with colours and arms. Firſt goes the king cloath'd in mourning, and after him all the court, who lifting up their eyes to the ſun or moon, as the eclipſe comes on them, make ſeveral obeiſances and adorations, ſpeaking ſome words of compaſſion for the pain thoſe planets endure; for they look upon the eclipſe to be no other, but that the dragon ſwallows up the ſun or moon; and therefore, as we ſay, the moon is all or half eclips'd; ſo they ſay, *Da an nua*, *Da an het*; that is, the dragon has eaten half, now he eats all.

Their aſtrological terms and ours alike.

Which way of expreſſion, tho' it be nothing to the purpoſe, yet it ſhews that they aſſign the ſame ground for the eclipſe originally that we do, which is cutting of the ecliptick, that is the ſun's circle and the line of the courſe of the moon, in thoſe two points which we call the dragon's head and tail, as aſtronomers well know: whence it follows, that the very ſame doctrine, and the ſame terms and names of the dragon, are common both to us and them, and ſo they give names like ours to the ſigns of the zodiack, ſuch as *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, &c. And thus in proceſs of time the people have invented fabulous cauſes of the eclipſe, inſtead of the true, ſaying that the ſun and moon, when eclipſed are drown'd by the dragon; whereas, at that time they are really in the head or tail of the aſtronomical dragon.

Now to return to the compaſſion they have for thoſe ſuffering planets; when the adoration is over, they begin firſt at the king's palace, and then throughout all the city to fire muſkets and cannon, ring bells, ſound trumpets, beat drums, and play upon other inſtruments, even to clatter-

ing.

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Converſions by means of an eclipſe.

When we were inform'd of this cuſtom, the firſt eclipſe that happened was one of the moon, in the year 1620. on the ninth of *December*, at eleven at night. I was then in the city *Nuoecman*, in the province of *Pulucambi*, where there was the commander of the ward we liv'd in, whoſe ſon was become a Chriſtian; tho' the father, as proud of his own learning, deſpis'd not only our religion but our knowledge; and we earneſtly deſir'd his converſion, hoping that if he receiv'd the catholick faith, his example would induce thoſe of his ward or quarter to do the ſame. This man came once to viſit us before the eclipſe of the moon happened, and in diſcourſe we happened to talk of it, he poſitively affirming there would be no ſuch eclipſe: and tho' we demonſtrated it to him, according to our calculation, and ſhew'd him the figure of it in our books, yet he would never believe it; alledging among other arguments for his obſtinacy, that if any ſuch eclipſe were like to be, the king would doubtleſs have ſent him notice a month before, according to the cuſtom of the kingdom, whereas there wanted but eight days of the time by us appointed; wherefore he having no ſuch advice, it was a certain ſign that there would be no ſuch eclipſe. He perſiſting obſtinately in his opinion, would needs lay a wager of a *Cabaia*, which is a ſilk gown. We agreed to it upon condition, that if we loſt we were to give him ſuch a garment; but if we won, inſtead of paying the gown, he was to come to us for eight days together, to hear the catechize and myſteries of our faith expounded. He reply'd, he would not only do ſo, but the very moment he ſaw the eclipſe would become a Chriſtian: for he ſaid, if our doctrine was ſo certain and infallible in ſuch hidden and heavenly things as eclipſes are, and theirs ſo erroneous, there was no doubt but our religion and knowledge of the true GOD was no leſs aſſured and ſafe, and theirs falſe. The day of the eclipſe being come, the aforeſaid gentleman with a great many ſcholars came to our houſe at night, bringing them as witneſſes of the event. But becauſe the eclipſe was to be at eleven at night, I went to ſay my office, turning up the hour glaſs in the mean while. An hour before the time theſe men came ſeveral times, calling upon me by way of deriſion to ſee the eclipſe, thinking I had not withdrawn to ſay my office, but had hid my ſelf for ſhame that there would be no eclipſe. Yet they could not but admire at my aſſurance in anſwering them, that the hour was not yet come, till the glaſs was run out, which they gaz'd at, as if it had been ſome wonderful thing. Then going out, I ſhew'd them that the circle of the moon on that ſide the eclipſe began, was not ſo perfect as it ſhould be, and ſoon after all the moon being darkened, they perceiv'd the truth of my prediction. The commander and all of them being aſtoniſh'd, preſently ſent to give notice of it to all the ward, and ſpread the news of the eclipſe throughout the city, that every man might go out to make the uſual noiſe in favour of the moon; giving out every where, that there were no ſuch men as the fathers, whoſe doctrine and books could not chooſe but be true, ſince they had ſo exactly foretold the eclipſe, which their learned men had taken no notice of; and therefore in performance of his promiſe, the commander with all his family became Chriſtians, as did many more of his ward, with ſome of the moſt learned men in the city, and other men of note.

The fathers foretel the eclipſe truer than the *Cochin-Chineſe* aſtrologers.

Such another accident happened at the ſame time, tho' among people of greater quality, and in a more eminent place. Tho' the king's aſtrologers had not foreſeen this eclipſe, yet thoſe belonging to the prince at *Cacciam*, being more ſtudious and intelligent, foretold it; but with a groſs miſtake as to time: for it was not of an hour or two, as is uſual, but of a whole day, giving out that the full moon, and conſequently the eclipſe would be a day ſooner than it was. F. *Francis de Pina*, who was then at court, had given notice of it to a courtier who was very great with the prince, being his *omgne*; that is, in the nature of maſter of the ceremonies. The father told him, That ſince the eclipſe was not to fall out as their aſtrologers ſaid, but as F. *Chriſtopher Borri* affirm'd, the following night, he ſhould give the prince his maſter notice of it. But the *omgne* not giving entire credit to the father, would not do that duty of his office at that time. The hour appointed by the aſtrologers being come, and the prince having notice of it, he went out with his whole court, according to cuſtom, to ſee and help the moon, that as they ſaid was to be eclips'd; but finding he was deceiv'd, and growing angry with his mathematicians for their miſtake, he order'd they ſhould forfeit the revenue of a town, according to the cuſtom before-mention'd. Hence the *omgne* took occaſion to acquaint the prince that the *European* father had, before this happened, told him the eclipſe would be the night following. The prince was mightily pleas'd that the fathers ſhould hit

right, where his mathematicians had miſ-carry'd.

The *omgne* repair'd immediately to the father, to know the preciſe time of the eclipſe; who having ſhew'd him that it was to be exactly at eleven the following night, he ſtill continu'd doubtful of the truth of the matter, and therefore would not wake the prince till he ſaw the beginning of the eclipſe. Then he ran to rouze him, and he coming out with ſome of his courtiers, perform'd the uſual ceremonies and adorations to the moon. Yet he would not make the matter publickly known, for fear of utterly diſcrediting their books and mathematicians, tho' all men conceiv'd a great opinion of our doctrine, and particularly the *omgne*, who from that time forwards for a whole month came to hear the catechiſing, diligently learning all that belongs to our holy faith. However he was not baptiz'd, wanting reſolution to overcome the difficulty of the multiplicity of women, as the embaſſador *Ignatius* had done before. He forbore not nevertheleſs publickly with much fervour to declare our doctrine and law were true, and all others falſe, and ſaid he would certainly die a Chriſtian, which mov'd many others to deſire to be baptiz'd.

An eclipſe of the ſun miſtaken.

Having talk'd of the eclipſe of the moon, we will conclude with another of the ſun, which happened on the 22d of *May*, 1621. which the king's aſtrologers foretold was to laſt two hours; but having conceiv'd a great opinion of us as to this particular, for their own greater ſecurity, they came to aſk our opinions concerning it. I told them it was true there would be an eclipſe of the ſun, the figure whereof I ſhew'd in our *ephemerides*; but I purpoſely forbore to let them know, that it would not be ſeen in *Cochin-China*, by reaſon of the moon's parallax to the ſun. Now they know not what the parallax is, which is the cauſe they are often deceiv'd, not finding the juſt time by their books and calculations. This I did, that their error being obſerv'd, our knowledge might appear the more: I therefore demanded time to find out the preciſe time, ſaying in general terms, it was requiſite to meaſure heaven by the earth, to diſcover whether that eclipſe would be viſible in their country; and I delay'd the anſwer ſo long, till the time of making known the eclipſe being come, the aſtrologers ſatisfy'd that our book agreed with their opinion, without farther reflection, concluded the eclipſe was moſt certain, and adviſ'd the king to publiſh it after the uſual manner. When the aſtrologers had ſpread their falſe prediction throughout the kingdom, I gave it out that the eclipſe would not be ſeen at all in *Cochin-China*. This aſſertion of ours was carry'd to the prince, who being doubtful in the matter, ſent his mathematicians to me to aſk my opinion, and argue the point. This diſpute had no other effect on them, but only to increaſe their doubt, and hold the prince in ſuſpenſe, whether he ought to ſend his orders throughout the kingdom, as the king his father had done, or publiſh the contrary; for on the one hand it wrought upon him to ſee that both their books and ours granted the eclipſe, wherefore he thought it would be a diſhonour to him, in caſe it happened not to have ſent the uſual advice; and on the other ſide, he had a great opinion of us on account of the antecedent eclipſe of the moon. Hereupon ſending to conſult me again, I anſwer'd, that having calculated the eclipſe very exactly, I found it could not poſſibly be viſible in his kingdom; and therefore he need not take any care to ſend advice about the country, for I would be anſwerable for his and his aſtrologers reputation, againſt the king and his mathematicians. He at laſt rely'd upon my words, and took no care to give notice in his liberty of the eclipſe, the whole court and king's aſtrologers admiring at it; and they enquiring into the cauſe of the prince's neglect, were anſwer'd, that he had better mathematicians in his court than the king his father: by which they underſtood that ſome of our fathers being there, he forſook the opinion of the natives for theirs. However the publication they had made being irrevokable, the uſual preparations were made againſt the day of the eclipſe, till the hour being come they experimentally perceiv'd their error. The day was clear and not a cloud to be ſeen, and tho' it was the month of *May*, when the ſun is there in the zenith, and the time of the day about three in the afternoon when the heat is violent, yet the king did not omit to go out with his courtiers, enduring all the burning ſun for a long time; but finding himſelf impos'd upon, and being much incens'd, as well by reaſon of the great heat he endur'd, as at the ignorance of his methematicians, who had put him to that trouble without any reaſon, he reprimanded them ſeverely. They alledg'd for their excuſe, that there would be an eclipſe infallibly, but that they had made a day's miſtake as to the conjunction of the moon, and therefore it would be ſeen the next day at that ſame hour. The king ſubmitted to his aſtrologers, and coming out the next day at the ſame hour, ſuffer'd the ſame inconveniency of heat, to the great ſhame of his aſtrologers, who eſcap'd not unpuniſh'd; for he not only took away their revenues, but order'd they ſhould kneel a whole day in the court of the palace, bare-headed expos'd to the

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It is not to be imagin'd how much reputation this accident gain'd us among the learned, inſomuch that even the king's and prince's mathematicians came to us, earneſtly begging we would receive them for our ſcholars; and upon this account the fame of the fathers was every where ſo great, that not only our knowledge in aſtronomy, but our religion was extoll'd above their own, they arguing from the heavenly bodies to things above the heavens, as I ſaid before.

CHAP. VII.

How God open'd another way to Chriſtianity, by means of the Omſaiis, *or Heathen Prieſts.*

Converſion of a heathen prieſt.

GOD in his infinite wiſdom foreknowing of how great conſequence it would be for the converſion of thoſe heathens, that ſome of their prieſts or *omſaiis* ſhould be converted, becauſe of the great authority they have among all the people, it pleas'd his Divine Majeſty to open even this way to his holy faith. An *omſaii* whoſe name was *Ly*, liv'd near to our houſe, and had the charge of an idol temple, and being a neighbour had frequent opportunities of converſing with us, and of coming to ſome knowledge of our rules, actions, and courſe of life. This pleas'd him ſo well, that proceeding ſtill farther, he would needs be inform'd as to the law of GOD, whereof we gave him a full account; and coming to diſcourſe of the reſurrection of our LORD, ſhewing him how he roſe again, that he and all men might riſe again the laſt day, he was ſo pleas'd at it, that being inſpir'd by GOD, he aſk'd to be baptis'd, which was accordingly granted to him and all his family upon Chriſtmas night, which he ſpent on his knees in prayer with floods of tears, uttering theſe words, *Tuii ciam biet*; that is, I knew not, as if he would have ſaid, Forgive me my GOD, for till now I knew you not. Then continuing ſome time very ſtill, as it were contemplating, he repeated the ſame words, making a ſweet harmony to the new born infant. After baptiſm he took ſuch an affection for us, that he reſolv'd to come to us with all his family, that he might live under our rule; but being inform'd that could not be, becauſe he was marry'd, he concluded to live nearer to our houſe, that he might regulate his actions by the ſound of our bell, even to ſaying the long litany in his oratory, at the time we uſe to ſay it every day, according to the cuſtom of the ſociety. And it is remarkable, that obſerving me at a certain hour us'd to ſay our beads walking, he would walk at the ſame time, to the amazement of his countrymen, who look upon walking as a ſtrange and ridiculous action, becauſe they never going a ſtep but what is about buſineſs, or to ſome diverſion, look'd upon our action of walking as idle, becauſe we went to a place to no other end but to return; ſo that the people flock'd to ſee us walk, and admiring the ſtrangeneſs of it ſaid, *Omſaii di lay*; that is, the father goes and come, goes and comes. Yet their gazing did not make *omſaii Ly* leave his cuſtom, which tended to nothing but to be like us in all points. He had but one wife, and had lived about thirty years, which was his age, ſo ſtrictly up to the law of nature, that he had never, as he ſaid, to that time, knowingly deviated in any matter of conſequence from what was juſt and upright; and his adoring of idols was becauſe he thought it contrary to reaſon not to adore them. This ſhews how true that doctrine of divines is, to wit, that GOD never fails to have baptiſm adminiſtred, either by the hands of men, as this was, or the miniſtry of angels, to a heathen who lives a good moral life, according to the dictates of reaſon, and law of nature. This *omſaii Ly* wholly devoted himſelf to the ſervice of GOD, and after providing for the maintenance of his family, all he and they could earn was beſtow'd upon our church, taking ſpecial care of its neatneſs and decency, and of adorning the altars.

A notable moral heathen.

Nor was this all GOD requir'd of this his belov'd ſervant; for he ſo inflam'd his heart, that he applied himſelf to preach the faith of CHRIST publickly, making the myſtery of the reſurrection the uſual ſubject of his diſcourſe, whereby he attracted and converted abundance, not only of the common ſort, but ſeveral *omſaiis*; for tho' he was none of the moſt learned, yet his fervour ſo well ſupply'd that defect, that among thoſe who came to deſire baptiſm, there was one of the moſt learned and famous men in the kingdom, whoſe authority, he himſelf proving the falſity of the heathen ſects, immediately increas'd the harveſt of the church. This man there-

Other converts.

fore

fore took upon him to oppoſe the other gentiles, eaſily confuting them, as being well acquainted with the grounds they went upon; herein very much eaſing our fathers, who not being ſo well acquainted with their ſects, could not ſo well oppoſe them.

Several ſorts of *omſaiis*.

And in truth there was need of ſuch a help; for there is ſuch variety of *omſaiis* in that country, that it looks as if the devil had endeavoured among thoſe gentiles, to repreſent the beauty and variety of religious orders inſtituted by holy men in the catholick church, their ſeveral habits anſwering their ſeveral profeſſions; for ſome are clad in white, others in black, others in blue, and other colours; ſome living in community, ſome like curates, chaplains, canons, and prebends; others profeſs poverty, living upon alms; others exerciſe the works of mercy, miniſtring to the ſick, either natural phyſick, or magick charms, without receiving any reward; others undertaking ſome pious work, as building of bridges, or other ſuch things for the publick good, or erecting of temples, and going about the kingdom, begging alms to this purpoſe, even as far as the kingdom of *Tonchin*; others teach the doctrine of their religion, who being very rich, have publick ſchools, as univerſal maſters. There are alſo ſome *omſaiis* who profeſs the farriers trade, compaſſionately cure elephants, oxen, and horſes, without aſking any reward, being ſatisfy'd with any thing that is freely given them. Laſtly, Others look to the monaſteries of women, who live in community, and admit of no man among them but the *omſaii* who looks to them, and they are all his wives. BORRI.

The temples.

There are vaſt temples with beautiful towers and ſteeples, nor is there any town, tho' never ſo little, without a temple to worſhip its idols, which are generally very large ſtatues, with abundance of gold and ſilver ſhut up in their breaſts or bellies, where no body dares to touch it, till extream neceſſity obliges ſome thief to gut the idol, without regard to ſo great a ſacrilege as that is accounted among them; and what is very remarkable, they have chaplets and ſtrings of beads about their necks, and make ſo many proceſſions that they outdo the Chriſtians in praying to their falſe gods. There are alſo among them ſome perſons reſembling abbots, biſhops, and arch-biſhops, and they uſe gilt ſtaves, not unlike our croſiers, inſomuch that if any man come newly into that country, he might eaſily be perſuaded there had been Chriſtians there in former times; ſo near has the devil endeavoured to imitate us. This will give us an opportunity of adding here a chapter of the ſects in *Cochin-China*, to give ſome light how we may draw that people out of ſuch darkneſs, and bring them into the light of the goſpel.

CHAP. VIII.

A ſhort Account of the Sects in Cochin-China.

THE end of all ſects is either the god they adore, or the glory and happineſs they expect, ſome believing the immortality of the ſoul, others concluding that all ends when the body dies. Upon theſe two principles the eaſtern nations build all their ſects; all which took their origin from a great metaphyſician of the kingdom of *Siam*, whoſe name was *Xaca*, much ancienter than *Ariſtotle*, and nothing inferior to him in capacity, and the knowledge of natural things. The ſharpneſs of this man's wit raiſing him to conſider the nature and fabrick of the world, reflecting on the beginning and end of all things, and particularly of human nature, the chief lady of this worldly palace; he once went up to the top of a mountain, and there attentively obſerving the moon, which riſing in the darkneſs of the night, gently raiſed it ſelf above the horizon to be hid again the next day in the ſame darkneſs, and the ſun getting up in the morning to ſet again at night, he concluded that as well moral as phyſical and natural things were nothing, came of nothing, and ended in nothing. Therefore returning home, he writ ſeveral books and large volumes upon this ſubject, calling them, *Of nothing*; wherein he taught that the things of this world, by reaſon of the duration and meaſure of time, are nothing: for tho' they had a being, ſaid he, yet they would be nothing, nothing at preſent, and nothing in the time to come, for the preſent being but a moment, was the ſame as nothing.

The philoſopher *Xaca*.

His opinion, that all this world is nothing.

His ſecond argument he grounded on the compoſition of things; let us inſtance, ſaid he, in a rope, the which not being naturally diſtinguiſhed from its parts, inaſmuch as they give its being and compoſition, ſo it appears that the rope as a rope is nothing; for as a rope it is no diſtinct thing from the threads it is compos'd of, and the threads themſelves are no diſtinct thing from the hemp they are made of, and the hemp has no other being but the elements, whereof its ſubſtance conſiſts: ſo that reſolving all things after this manner into the elements, and thoſe to a ſort of *materia prima*, and meer *potentia*,

BORRI. which is therefore actually nothing, he at laſt proved, that as well the heavenly things, as thoſe under heaven, were truly nothing.

So of all moral things.

In the ſame manner did he argue as to moral things: that the natural happineſs of man did not conſiſt in a poſitive concurrence of all that is good, which he looked upon as impoſſible, but rather in being free from all that is evil, and therefore ſaid, it was no other thing but to have no diſeaſe, pain, trouble, or the like; and for a man to have ſuch power over his paſſions, as not to be ſenſible of affection or averſion, to honour or diſgrace, want or plenty, riches or poverty, life or death, and that herein conſiſted true beatitude. Whence he inferred, that all theſe things being nothing, they took their origin as it were from a cauſe not efficient but material, from a principle which in truth was nothing, but an eternal, infinite, immenſe, immutable, almighty, and to conclude, a GOD that was nothing, and the origin of this nothing.

The world how made

As a prelude or introduction to his ſect, this philoſopher gave ſome account of the making of the world under two metaphors. The one was, that the world came out of an egg, which ſtretched out ſo vaſtly, that the heavens were made of the ſhell; the air, fire, and water, of the white; and of the yolk, the earth and all earthly things. The other metaphor he took from the body of a vaſt great man, whom they call *Banco*, whom he would call *Microcoſm*, ſaying that the maſs of the world came from him, his ſcull extending to form the heavens, his two eyes making the ſun and moon, his fleſh the earth, his bones the mountains, his hair plants and trees, and his belly the ſea, and thus applying all the limbs and parts of man's body, to the fabrick and ornament of the world; he added, that the other men ſpread about all the world, were made of this great man's lice.

Another doctrine of the ſame philoſopher.

Having eſtabliſhed this doctrine of nothing, he gathered ſome ſcholars, by whoſe means he ſpread it throughout all the eaſt. But the *Chineſes* who knew that a ſect which reduced all things to nothing, was hurtful to the government, would not hearken to it, nor allow there was no puniſhment for wicked men, or that the happineſs of the good ſhould be reduced only to the being free from ſufferings in this world, and the authority of the *Chineſes* being ſo great, others following their example, rejected his doctrine. *Xaca* diſſatisfied that he was diſappointed of followers, changed his mind, and retiring writ ſeveral other great books, teaching that there was a real origin of all things, a Lord of heaven, hell, immortality, and tranſmigration of ſouls from one body to another, better or worſe, according to the merits or demerits of the perſon; tho' they do not forget to aſſign a ſort of heaven and hell for the ſouls departed, expreſſing the whole metaphorically under the names of things corporeal, and of the joys and ſufferings of this world.

The ſect that believes all to be nothing.

This ſecond doctrine being made publick, the *Chineſes* received it, and above others the *bonzis*, who are generally the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable people in *Japan*, who being zealous for their ſpiritual advantage admitted this doctrine, and preſerved it in twelve ſeveral ſorts of ſects all differing from one another, tho' that which is moſt followed and eſteemed, is the opinion and ſect that believes all to be nothing, which they call *genſiu*. Theſe ſometimes go abroad into a field to hear a ſermon, that is a diſcourſe of bliſs made by a *bonzo*, who treats of no other ſubject, but to perſuade his congregation, that human bliſs is nothing, and that he is happy who values not whether he has children or no children, whether he is rich or poor, ſick or well, and the like; and the *bonzo* preaches this doctrine with ſuch ſtrength of argument, and vehemency, that the audience being fully bent upon the contempt of all things, which in themſelves they look upon as nothing, ſuffering themſelves to be in a manner tranſported, they expreſs their ſatisfaction and happineſs in this manner, that is often crying out with a loud voice, *xin*, *xin*, *xin*; that is, nothing, nothing, nothing, accompanying their voices with certain bits of boards they clap between the fingers of one hand ſtriking them together with the other (as boys play on their ſnappers) and with this noiſe they are quite beſides themſelves as if they were drunk, and then they ſay they have done an act of bliſs. The *Japoneſes* and others making ſo great account of this opinion of nothing, was the cauſe that when *Xaca* the author of it was come to his laſt, calling together his diſciples, he proteſted to them upon the word of a dying man, that in the many years he had lived and ſtudy'd, he had found nothing ſo true, nor any opinion ſo well grounded, as was the ſect of nothing; and tho' his ſecond doctrine ſeemed to differ from it, yet they muſt look upon it as no contradiction or recantation, but rather a proof and confirmation of the firſt, tho' not in plain terms, yet by way of metaphors and parables, which might all be apply'd to the opinion of nothing, as would plainly appear by his books.

Errors of the *Cochin-Chineſes*.

But it is time to return to our *Cochin-Chineſes*, who not receiving this moſt fooliſh and vain doctrine, which denying the ſubſtantial

ſtantial form, reduces all things to nothing, they generally throughout all the kingdom hold the immortality of the ſoul, and conſequently the eternal rewards for the juſt, and puniſhments for the wicked, yet mixing a thouſand errors with theſe truths. The firſt of which is, that they do not diſtinguiſh between the immortal ſoul and the demons, calling both by one and the ſame name *Maa*, and attributing to them both, the ſame practice of doing miſchief to the living. The ſecond is, that they aſſign one of the rewards of the ſoul to be tranſmigration from one body to another, more worthy, nobler, and in greater dignity; as from one of the common ſort to a king, or great lord. The third, that the ſouls of the dead ſtand in need of ſuſtenance and corporal food, and therefore at certain times in the year according to their cuſtom, the children make plentiful entertainments for their dead parents, men for their wives, and friends for their acquaintance departed, expecting a long time for the dead gueſt to come and ſit down at table to eat. We one day confuted theſe errors with arguments which the philoſopers call *à priori*, and therefore told them that the ſoul was a ſpirit, and had no mouth or other material part to eat, and therefore they were deceived to think they could feed. And then *à poſteriori*, for in caſe they did eat, then the diſhes would not be as full after they had done as they were before. They laughed at theſe arguments, ſaying, theſe fathers know nothing; and to ſolve both difficulties, anſwered, that meat conſiſted of two parts, one the ſubſtance, the other the accidents of quantity, quality, ſmell, taſte, and the like. The immaterial ſouls of the dead, ſaid they, taking only the ſubſtance of the meat, which being immaterial, was proper ſuſtenance for the incorporeal ſpirit, left only the accidents in the diſhes, as they appear to our corporal eyes, to which purpoſe the dead had no need of corporeal parts as we ſaid. Any wiſe man may by this falſe anſwer diſcover the acuteneſs of the *Cochin-Chineſe* philoſophers, tho' they abſolutely err as to the reality of the argument. BORRI.

They alſo err in reſpect to the ſouls themſelves, adoring thoſe of men who were looked upon as holy in this world, adding them to the number of their idols, whereof their temples are full, placing them orderly according to their ſeveral degrees, in rows along the ſides of the temples, the leaſt firſt, and ſo bigger and bigger, till the laſt are extraordinary large. But the high altar being the moſt honourable place in the temple, is purpoſely kept empty, behind which is a vacant dark ſpace, to expreſs that he whom they adore as GOD, and on whom the pagods, who like us were viſible and corporeal men, is inviſible, wherein they think the greateſt honour conſiſts. Such a multitude of idols, by them accounted gods, giving us occaſion to endeavour to demonſtrate to them, that there can be but one only GOD: They anſwered, they agreed to it, ſuppoſing thoſe that were placed along the ſides of the temples, were not they that had created heaven and earth, but holy men whom they honoured, as we do the holy apoſtles, martyrs, and confeſſors, with the ſame diſtinction of greater and leſſer ſanctity, as we aſſign among our ſaints. And therefore to corroborate their aſſertion they added, that the vacant dark place about the high altar, was the proper place of the Creator of heaven and earth, who being inviſible, and quite remote from our ſenſes, could not be repreſented by viſible images of idols, but that under that vacuity and darkneſs the due adoration was to be given him as to a thing incomprehenſible, uſing the interceſſion of the idols, that they may obtain favours and bleſſings of him. And altho' according to what has been hitherto ſaid, they ſeem to have an efficient and intellectual cauſe for GOD, yet upon mature examination of the matter and their books, we find that they certainly adore a predominant element.

CHAP. IX.

How God opened another Way to the Converſion of the meaner ſort by miraculous Means.

Frequent apparitions of devils.

IT remains that we ſhew how GOD acting conformably to the mean vulgar people of *Cochin-China*, who were uſed to ſee phantoms, viſions, and apparitions, the devil often appearing to them, was pleaſed to ſhew ſome miracles, to the end that declining in their opinion of diabolical prodigies, they might own the only Lord and ſingular worker of true wonders. The devils appear ſo frequently among thoſe heathens, that not to ſpeak of the oracles they deliver by the mouth of idols, which are in great eſteem among the wretched gentiles, they walk about the cities ſo familiarly in human ſhapes, that they are not at all feared but admitted into company, and this is carried ſo far, that there are abundance of *Incubi* and *Succubi*. And among *Incubi* and *Succubi*.

BORRI. among great people thoſe husbands account themſelves happy, who know their wives have ſuch familiars; for generally they have to do with none but married women, publickly boaſting that they are worthy to mix with a nature ſo much above their own as is the devils. It happened in my time, that a woman of great quality, mother to two ſons who were Chriſtians, envyed by her neighbours not ſo much for her beauty, as for her diſhoneſt familiarity with the devil, poſitively refuſing to become a Chriſtian, came to die in labour, and by the aſſiſtance of the devil brought forth two eggs: Now it being held as moſt certain among them, that the devil her *Incubus* was god of the rivers, they did not bury the body in a cave, building a chapel over it as is the uſual cuſtom, but carrying it in ſolemn proceſſion to a river caſt it into the deep, together with the two eggs, ſaying, let her go to the lord of the river, ſince ſhe was worthy to have to do with him when living. Among the common ſort this filthineſs is not eſteemed an honour, but they rather account it a grievous diſtemper when their women are thus moleſted by the devil, as we ſhould their being poſſeſt. Theſe women therefore underſtanding that the religion of the fathers was altogether oppoſite to the devil, they imagined they might have ſome medicine againſt this diſtemper, calling holy things, as the water of baptiſm, *Agnus Deis*, and the like, medicines, and therefore came to our houſe to beg ſuch medicines; and by the grace of GOD all thoſe that carried away with them any bit of *Agnus Dei*, were never more moleſted by the devil, yet with this difference, that thoſe who were not Chriſtians ſaw the *Incubus* come to the bed's-ſide, but had not power to lay hold on, or touch their perſons, whereas the Chriſtians perceived that he could not come near the chamber-door, which occaſioned ſeveral to be baptized.

Other monſtrous viſions.

Tho' theſe *Incubus* devils appearing in human ſhapes, do no harm to the body, yet ſometimes there are others that appear in horrid and frightful ſhapes, and the *Cochin-Chineſes*, who have often ſeen, deſcribe them after the ſame manner as we paint them, for example, with a cock's face, a long tail, a bat's wings, a hideous look, bloody flaming eyes; and when they appear in ſuch ſhapes, they are much feared, being then generally hurtful to men, ſometimes carrying them up to the tops of houſes to caſt them down headlong. We once heard a wonderful noiſe of people in our ſtreet, crying out very loud, *Maqui Maco*, that is, the devil in a monſtrous ſhape; whereupon ſome gentiles came running to deſire us, that ſince we had weapons againſt thoſe evil ſpirits, we would go relieve thoſe diſtreſſed people who were infeſted by them. Having recommended our ſelves to GOD, and arm'd our ſelves with croſſes, *Agnus Deis* and relicks, we went two of us to the place where the devil was, and came ſo near, that we only wanted turning of a corner to be upon him, when he ſuddenly vaniſhed, leaving three prints of feet upon the pavement, which I ſaw, and were above two ſpans long, with the marks of a cock's talons and ſpurs. Some attributed the devil's flying to the virtue of the holy croſs and relicks we carried with us.

Good viſions.

Theſe frightful apparitions GOD has made uſe of to attract many to his holy faith, yet not denying them good viſions, as will appear by the following accidents, which happened before me in that kingdom. The firſt was, that as we were one day in our own houſe, we ſaw a proceſſion of a vaſt multitude of people in a field making towards us, whither when they came, being aſked what they would have, they anſwered, that a moſt beautiful lady came from their land through the air, on a throne of bright clouds, who bid them go to that city, where they ſhould find the fathers, who would ſhew them the ſure way to bliſs, and the knowledge of the true GOD of heaven. This made us give thanks to the bleſſed Virgin, whoſe this great benefit was owned to be, and having catechiſed and baptiſed the people ſent them home well pleaſed.

The ſecond was at another time, F. *Francis Buzome* and I returning homeward together, ſuch a multitude of people came to another place, who having paid us very much reſpect, told F. *Francis Buzome*, they were come to him to teach them what he had promiſed them the night before when he was in their town. The father was aſtoniſhed at their demand, having never been in the place they ſpoke of; but examining into the matter, I found that GOD of his infinite mercy had cauſed ſome angel in the father's ſhape, or in a dream had given thoſe people ſome knowledge of our holy faith. The fame of theſe miracles being ſpread abroad, ſuch numbers of people were converted, that the church given us by the governor was too little, and we were forced to build one larger, his wife, children, and kindred, with many other Chriſtians contributing towards it.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Churches and Chriſtians of Faifo, Turon, *and* Cacchiam.

What the fathers did at *Faifo*.

F. *Francis de Pina* being gone to *Faifo*, a city of the *Japoneſes*, as was ſaid before, he there joined F. *Peter Marques*, and they did great ſervice in that city. The laſt of them, who was maſter of the *Japoneſe* tongue, in a ſhort time reformed ſome of thoſe Chriſtians who were become libertines, and kept women, and converted many pagans. The other who underſtood the language of *Cochin-China* made many Chriſtians, and having convinced ſome *bonzos* and *omſaiis*, by that means drew over many more to the holy faith; ſo that between *Japoneſes* and *Cochin-Chineſes*, that church for number and religious obſervance might compare with many in *Europe*, ſuch was their piety, zeal, frequenting of the ſacraments, and other godly works. The

At *Turon*. church of *Turon*, which we ſaid in the ſecond chapter of this book, the heathens burnt down during the firſt perſecution, was by God's permiſſion rebuilt by means of the fathers of the ſociety, who gained many Chriſtians in that city.

At *Cacchiam*. Abundance of people were likewiſe converted to our faith at *Cacchiam*; which good work was much forwarded by the *Omgne*, who on account of the father's foretelling the eclipſe ſo certainly, as was before obſerved, publickly affirmed, there was no other true religion but that the fathers taught. This was the ſtate of affairs there, when I came away out of that country for *Europe*, which was in the year 1622. BORRI.

Afterwards by the annual letters ſent me by thoſe fathers, my companions left there cultivating that vineyard, I underſtood that there were ſtill about a thouſand converted and baptized in a year, and that Chriſtianity flouriſhed more than ever it had done at *Cacchiam* particularly. But now of late they write, that the king had forbid any more becoming Chriſtians, and threatned to expel the fathers out of the kingdom, and this becauſe the *Portugueſe* trade failed. Yet it pleaſed God this perſecution went no farther, the king being ſatisfied, provided one of the fathers went away to *Macao*, to endeavour to perſuade the *Portugueſes* to continue the trade, as it ſeems was afterwards done; ſo that things are now quiet, and the fathers continue gaining new Chriſtians as they did at firſt.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Kingdom of Tunchim.

WHEN the ſuperiors of *Macao* ſent me into *Cochin-China*, they told me, they did not abſolutely deſign I ſhould continue in that miſſion, but only to learn the language, that I might afterwards diſcover the kingdom of *Tunchim*. For this reaſon during thoſe five years I dwelt there, I almoſt made it my buſineſs to enquire into, and get certain information of the affairs of that kingdom, the language being the ſame, as formerly it was but one kingdom. I will therefore ſay as much of it as any way concerns *Cochin-China*, which has ſome dependance upon *Tunchim*, and this according to the accounts given me by natives of *Tunchim*, who came to the province of *Pulucambi*, where I reſided moſt part of my time; the reſt I will leave to the news we ſhall receive from our fathers, who are there ſtill making further diſcoveries.

A deſcription of *Tunchim*. This kingdom, beſides *Cochin-China* which belongs to it, contains four other provinces, all extending equally in length and breadth. In the very center of them is the royal city of *Tunchim*, from which all the kingdom takes name, there the court is kept, and the king reſides, being encompaſſed on all ſides by thoſe four provinces, compoſing a ſquare four times as big as *Cochin-China*. On the eaſt-ſide of this kingdom is the gulf of *Ainam*, into which falls a great and navigable river that runs down eighteen leagues from the city *Tunchim*, and *Japoneſe* ſhips call'd *Jonks* go up it. This river generally overflows twice a year, in *June* and *November*, drowning almoſt half the city, but it laſts not long. On the ſouth are the frontiers of *Sinuva*, the court of *Cochin-China*, as has been obſerved already. On the north of it is *China*, without the defence of a wall, the trade and commerce between the *Chineſes* and *Tunchineſes* being ſo mutual and conſtant, that it will not allow of walls and gates ſhut, as they are againſt other foreigners. This is the reaſon that induces the fathers of our ſociety to attempt the entrance into *China* that way, knowing they ſhall not on this ſide meet with all thoſe impediments that ſtrangers meet with throughout all the reſt of the kingdom, and more eſpecially about *Canton*. Laſtly, on the weſt it borders on the kingdom of

BORRI. *Lai*, into which F. *Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon* made his way thro' *Cochin-China*; and this kingdom, I am of opinion, cannot but border upon that of *Tibet*, newly diſcovered; which I am apt to believe, as well by reaſon of the extent and length of the land of *Tibet* and borders of *Lai*, becauſe by the greatneſs and compaſs of theſe two kingdoms, it ſeems impoſſible that any other land ſhould lie betwixt them; as alſo much more on account of what the ſame fathers who were there relate of *Tibet*, who report that the fartheſt province of *Tibet* eaſtward borders upon, and trades with a people, who ſell them raw ſilk and fine diſhes, like thoſe of *China*, and ſuch like commodities, which we know *Tunchim* abounds in, and ſell them to the *Laiis*.

The government. As to the government of this kingdom it is hereditary, and ruled as follows: The ſupreme regal dignity reſides in one they call *Buna*; but he of himſelf does nothing at all, all things being left to his favourite, whom they call *Chiuua*, whoſe power is ſo abſolute both in peace and war, that he is come by degrees to own no ſuperior; the *Buna* remaining in his royal palace, quite cut off from all management of the publick affairs, ſatisfied with an exteriour reſpect due to him as a ſort of ſacred perſon, and with the authority of making laws, and confirming all edicts. When the *Chiuua* dies, he always endeavours to have his ſon ſucceed him in the government; but for the moſt part it falls out that the tutors of thoſe ſons aſpiring themſelves to that dignity, endeavour to murder them, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the dignity of *Chiuua*.

Power. The *Chiuua*'s power is ſo great, that ſuitable to the bigneſs of the kingdom, he is able to bring into the field three or four times the number of men as the king of *Cochin-China*, whoſe army as was ſaid above amounts to 80000 men. Nor is it any difficult matter for the *Chiuua*, as often as he pleaſes, to raiſe 300000 armed men or more, becauſe the prime lords of his kingdom, ſuch as among us, dukes, marqueſſes, and earls, are oblig'd in time of war to furniſh them at their own expence. The *Buna*'s ſtrength is not above 40000 men for his guard. Yet he is always own'd as ſuperiour to the *Chiuua* of *Tunchim*, by the king of *Cochin-China*, and by that other *Chiuua*, we obſerv'd in the firſt book to be fled into the province bordering upon *China*, tho' theſe are continually at war againſt one another; and the king of *Lais* bordering upon *Tunchim*, pays him a certain tribute.

Succeſſion Therefore when we ſay this crown is hereditary, it is to be underſtood only in reference to the *buna* whoſe children always ſucceed, the royal race being continued in his family. This is as much as I thought fit briefly to ſay of the kingdom of *Tunchim*, from what I could learn of it till my return into *Europe*.

Since then I have been inform'd, that F. *Julian Baldinotte*, an *Italian* born at *Piſtoria* in *Tuſcany*, was ſent into that kingdom to make ſome way for the goſpel, and arriv'd from *Macao* at the city *Tunchim*, after a month's ſail. As for what the ſaid father found in that country, what paſs'd between the king and him, the ſolemnity of his reception, and the firſt foundation he laid for Chriſtianity, I refer the reader to the account given lately by that father himſelf; and we are ſtill expecting freſh advices from the other fathers, as F. *Peter Marques* a *Portugueſe*, and F. *Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon*, who we ſaid before had been in *Cochin-China* and are there ſtill gaining Chriſtians. We therefore hope both theſe kingdoms of *Tunchim* and *Cochin-China*, will ſoon be united to the flock of the church, acknowledging and giving the due obedience to the univerſal paſtor and vicar of CHRIST our LORD on earth.

The CONCLUSION.

IT is not poſſible but that ſuch as have leaſt inclination to the diſcovery of the world, and are moſt affected to their own countries and homes, muſt be excited by this ſhort account to deſire to ſee not only the variety but the truth of ſuch ſtrange things, which tho' they be not ſupernatural, may yet be term'd miracles of nature. Such are thoſe I have ſaid I ſaw in *Cochin-China*, a land as to its climate and ſeaſons of the year habitable, by reaſon of the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil abounding in proviſions, fruit, birds, and beaſts, and the ſea, in choice and delicious fiſh; and moſt healthy, becauſe of the excellent temper of the air, inſomuch that thoſe people do not yet know what the plague is. It is rich in gold, ſilver, ſilk, *Calambá*, and other things of great value, fit for trade by reaſon of the ports and reſort of all nations: peaceable, becauſe of their loving, generous, and ſweet diſpoſition: and laſtly ſecure, not only by the valour and bravery of the *Cochin-Chineſes* accounted ſuch by other countries, and their ſtore of arms, and ſkill in managing them; but even by nature, which has ſhut it in on the one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the rocky *Alps*, and uncouth mountains of the *Kemois*. This is that part of the earth call'd *Cochin-China*, which

BORRI. which wants nothing to make it a part of heaven, but that GOD ſhould ſend thither a great many of his angels, ſo S. *John Chryſoſtom* calls apoſtolical men, and preachers of the goſpel. How eaſily would the faith be ſpread abroad in this kingdom of *Cochin-China*, where there are not thoſe difficulties which we fathers of the ſociety diſpers'd about the *Eaſt*, do meet with in other countries; for there is no need here of being diſguis'd or conceal'd, theſe people admitting of all ſtrangers in their kingdom, and being well pleas'd that every one ſhould live in his own religion. Nor is it neceſſary before preaching to ſpend many years in ſtudying their letters and hieroglyphicks, as the fathers in *China* do, for here it is enough to learn the language, which as has been ſaid is ſo eaſie, that a man may preach in a year. The people are not ſhy, nor do they ſhun ſtrangers, as is practis'd in other eaſtern nations, but make much of them, affect their perſons, prize their commodities, and commend their doctrine.

They do not lie under that great impediment for the receiving the grace of the goſpel, that is, the ſin of ſodomy, and others contrary to nature, which is frequent in all the other eaſtern countries, the very name whereof the *Cochin-Chineſes* naturally abhor. In ſhort, theſe people may very eaſily be taught the principal myſteries of our holy faith, they, as we have ſhewn, in a manner adoring but one only GOD, accounting the idols as inferior ſaints, allowing the immortality of the ſoul, eternal puniſhments for the wicked, and bliſs for the juſt, uſing temples, ſacrifices, proceſſions; ſo that changing the objects, it would be eaſie to introduce the worſhip. That there will be no difficulty in making out the myſtery of the holy euchariſt may appear by the diſtinction they make between the accidents and ſubſtance of the meat they provide for the dead, as has been ſaid above in this ſecond book. All theſe things inflame the minds of the children of the ſociety, who tho' recluſe and ſhut up in the colleges and provinces of *Europe*, have an ardent deſire to convert the world. And tho' many of them put it in practice with the aſſiſtance of the holy ſee apoſtolick, which with a fatherly care relieves the miſſion of *Japan*; as alſo by his catholick majeſty king *Philip*, and his council of the *Indies*, who ſo frequently with incredible bounty ſupply the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* with miniſters of the goſpel, yet it is impoſſible that theſe two great pillars which ſupport other mighty weights, and bear almoſt all the world on their ſhoulders, can ſufficiently ſupply all that daily occurs and is diſcover'd. I therefore truſt in GOD, that his Divine Providence will rouze up ſome generous ſoul, inflam'd with the zeal of GOD's honour, to ſend and maintain ſome evangelical miniſters, who ſatisfy'd with a religious and poor ſuſtenance, may convey the food of the goſpel not only throughout *Cochin-China*, but unto the great kingdom of *Tunchim*, founding a church and chriſtian flock that may compare with the moſt renowned in the world.

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